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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

IN THE

AUSTRALIAN COLONIES,

1840-1865



Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D in  
the Australian National University

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i.

Summary and Perspective

In the century or so beginning 1776, European communities all over the world were politically remoulded in terms of the Enlightenment politique: the sovereignty of the multitude realised in legislatures of elected representatives, and even ( in some cases) in an elected executive. Now this development was congenial to Catholic thinking, as the future Pius VII declared when Napoleon first upturned the status quo ante in Italy. For instance, election and representation and consultation with the governed dominate the entire constitution of several of the mediaeval religious orders which flourish to this day. In 1800, however, the Catholic West had to rediscover this thomist tradition - the diffusion of responsibility under the aegis of the natural law - after the centuries of practical and theoretical authoritarianism introduced by, and in response to, the Protestant revolt. O'Connell managed this in Ireland, between 1800 and 1840; Bishop England ( more than any other) spread the good news in the United States; McEncroe ( more than any other) in Australia. But there was in all these men a pronounced tendency to mobilise the Catholic vote by an explicit appeal to a combination of national and religious loyalties - very effective, when the appeal was made against the

social background of penal Ireland, a warm and intimate alliance of people and priest against an invader alien in religion as well as race, and ruling, for all practical purposes, by martial law. What was needed, to finish the education of the Catholic political conscience in modern industrial nation-state democracy, was a more careful disengagement of the sacred from the secular. O'Connell himself began this; it was part of his genius to see that the British Constitution as it stood, provided sufficient guarantee of the liberties of the Church, and that in New South Wales where the national issue was not there to complicate, there could in truth be "a free church in a free state". For a very short period in the 1830's, the moderation of Bourke, in the civil sphere, and Polding in the ecclesiastical, seemed likely to achieve this; W.G. Broughton assisting, in a fashion, by dividing the Protestants, at a time when open and ideological unbelief was rare.

There followed, however, a period of crisis; the critical period, not only in the formation of Australian Catholicism, but in the formation of Australian civilisation as a whole. Population, settlement, and economic diversification, went ahead at a very rapid rate. While the Church shared in the sudden prosperity, its rulers were confronted with a building



iii.

and staffing programme which imposed a severe strain on slender resources - resources the more slender in that the growth of secularism restricted state aid just when geographical scattering and the break-up of the family as a group threatened to attenuate popular allegiance to the hierarchical church. The difficulties were best met, as the majority were convinced, by tying the Australian Church to the Irish; an imperialistic mood among the Irish clergy, touched at times with blatant careerism, went half-way to meet the situation; sheer distance - not only the physical distance at a time when steam travel was not yet fully established, nor the Suez Canal dug, but the cultural distance between Rome and London - persuaded Propaganda, given Cardinal Barnabo's regard for Cullen and Manning, to take a pragmatic viewpoint, and favour the Irish take-over. The key man <sup>at</sup> ~~the~~ the Australian end - the Archbishop of Sydney, Polding - was disposed to resist this. His resistance was motivated only in part by a sentimental desire to restore the missionary glory of his own order, the Benedictine; for second only to preaching the gospel he put the cultivation of the great tradition of European letters, and he saw the two as one; and the nationalism of the Irish, verging on hysteria, even paranoia, among the huge and tragic exodus following the Great Famine of 1845-8, seemed to him inimical to his conception of Australian Christian

civilisation. Even prelates of Irish extraction, like Goold, were bound to agree with him here, particularly when they had seen Irish national feeling used by several of the clergy to boost their private careers. But pragmatic considerations won out, and Irish bishops and priests began, about 1860, to dominate the Australian Church. Those of Cullen's immediate circle, who formed the nucleus of the hierarchy prior to 1900, had a uniformly high sense of responsibility, whatever their personal or national foibles, and sound ecclesiastical sense. "Very zealous, self-sacrificing men ... a harder-working set than our English hierarchy", the Englishman Vaughan was to say of them.

This ~~did~~ not solve the problem of church-state relations in a political democracy. It must be remembered that a great many of the earlier generation of Catholics, transportees, were not of the finest moral or religious calibre; some, indeed, who on emancipation had acquired wealth were (in 1840) out to restrict the franchise in their own interests, when this must evidently prejudice the Church's position in society. The later arrivals, the free immigrants, were eager to recover the exhilaration of the first Irish Catholic experiences in the exercise of the franchise, and the election of members sympathetic, not only with the Church's needs, but with Ireland's political aspirations; and the same sort of enthusiasm spilled

over into the religious sphere, where it upset discipline, taking the form of public/<sup>opinion</sup>campaigns to re-cast Church government in a democratic sense. These demagogues had little appreciation for the monarchical character of episcopal rule, nor for the dangers of the precedent, should they succeed in forcing a Bishop's hand even once by such a campaign. No bishop went unchallenged in this fashion .

The fuss had died down, in the main, by the time the Church came to confront the thorniest question in its relation to the state: education. It was the tragedy of this sanguine age, not only in Australia, that the laws, its boast and its glory, which it designed in order to give every citizen a chance to live a completely human life, were informed by no mature grasp of where man's true good lay. Having so little theological learning institutionalised in its first generations, and so little experience, Australian society was exposed, in greater degree than any other ( I repeat, any) to the dominant intellectual fashion of the period 1815-1848: liberalism. How much at home out here were the religious subjectivism, the political optimism, the practical materialism, and the missionary energy, of this new creed, was evident at once with the beginnings of representative government and a free press. Now in the concrete, the weapon of the new creed out here was simply, state



control over education; no other was needed in a country where the state was not hedged in by families, corporations, and traditions, independent in attitude and commanding its respect. Profiting from the divisions between Protestant and Catholic, and between Protestant and Protestant, the secularist minority was able to secure for their views virtual monopoly of state-financed education in every state by the end of the century, a near-monopoly much earlier. In the event, not only Christian authors, but even the sacred scriptures, and even sacred poems by profane poets, were carefully excluded from the curricula. This was a grave challenge to the Church, and was often intended to be such. And it was all the more grave, because many of the poorer Catholics, uprooted from their family and national traditions, were strongly disposed to acquire the three R's for their children, even when it meant exposing them to an education deliberately contrived to foster religious scepticism; while the O'Connell school, of separation of Church and State, was ( though against the mind of O'Connell) inclined to deduce from this, separation of religious from profane education - a conception at war with the central Catholic conception of the complementary relationship of faith and disinterested reason. The liberals, with their anti-clerical bias, were prompt to draw a distinction between the clergy and the people





(1839-1848; 1850 on) and Brisbane ( 1861-1865);

there is, I think, little doubt that the press came far more nearly home to men's business and bosoms in Australia, 1840-1860, than it does today. Ecclesiastical archives have been published, very copiously, by Moran, Birt, Cullen, McCarthy, Thorpe; memoirs of value by Ullathorne, Kenny, Salvado, and Byrne; secondary works, which are little more than collations of primary material, by Moran ( again), Hartigan ("John O'Brien"), McGovern ( whose published work falls a long way short of his historical knowledge), and Mackle and Ebsworth. From Western Australia, a Spanish Benedictine has communicated a much-needed correction to McCarthy's account of the Brady affair, 1847-1852. For the Melbourne sections, I have, in the absence of official archives beyond what Moran made public, leaned rather hard on Mackle and Ebsworth; but thought it wise, in this case, to use also the Chief Secretary's archives ( in the Public Library of Victoria), for there, careful classification makes it fairly easy to find the ecclesiastical needle in the profane haystack. The Catholic Historical Society (Sydney) has surprisingly useful material in its archives, and the National and Mitchell libraries have manuscript material throwing light on currents of opinion both lay and clerical; but far the most valuable primary source has been the archives of the arch-

diocese of Sydney: Sydney was an informal clearing house for all Australian ecclesiastical intelligence up to 1860. The secondary works of value are those of E. M. O'Brien on Therry and O'Flynn, of O'Neill on Mother McKillop, Murtagh's Catholic Chapter, and Fogarty's Catholic Education in Australia. Generally speaking, I have not been concerned to cover again ground already well covered by these men; and the same is true in anticipation of Thorpe's life of Bishop Murphy. Magazine articles, scattered papers, pamphlets, are other sources. In one or two details, I have taken the risk (rather than omit a point) of trusting memory; some of these trace back to Mgr. McGovern's table talk. All in all, I trust I have gone some way towards answering the various questions put by Dr. K. Inglis, in a remarkably penetrating paper on Catholic historiography in Australia, read to A.N.Z.A.A.S. in Adelaide in 1958.

The chapter-head meditations are designed to point the moral, not just to adorn the tale.

In the choice, which is all we have, between defensible and indefensible assumptions, I trust mine are the former. This much understood, my approach could fairly be called dogmatic, to the extent that I proceed from fixed principles. These principles figure as both assumptions and conclusions: they



x.

occupy the place, in the work of the ecclesiastical  
historian, of an explanatory hypothesis, offered,  
tested, confirmed.

*This thesis is entirely my own work.*

*T. L. Suttor*

T. L. Suttor



TABLE OF CONTENTS.

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| Summary and Perspective                                   | i    |
| PART 1  |      |
| The Fight for Life to 1850                                | 1    |
| <u>Chapter 1: Laos or Demos?</u>                          | 2    |
| i : : A hierarchy set up :<br>Polding overseas, 1840-1843 | 3    |
| ii : Sydney 1840-1843: Duncan on<br>the <u>Chronicle</u>  | 13   |
| iii : Therry and Willson in<br>Tasmania                   | 30   |
| iv : Therry versus Willson,<br>1844 - 1846                | 36   |
| <u>Chapter 2 : Old Colonial Sydney</u>                    | 40   |
| i : Conspectus of the 'Forties.                           | 41   |
| ii : Gregory  | 46   |
| iii : The case for Benedictinisa-<br>tion                 | 53   |
| iv : The case against Benedict-<br>inisation              | 56   |
| v : The Charity nuns                                      | 64   |
| vi : The Irish background                                 | 75   |
| vii : McEncroe  | 89   |
| viii : Rome's view in 1851                                | 98   |
| ix : The frontier priests                                 | 104  |
| x : The mind of the people                                | 113  |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  |   |     |
|--|---|-----|
| <u>Chapter 3 : Friction between religious groups.</u>          |   | 122 |
| i  | : The Anglican Ascendancy                               | 123 |
| ii   | : The Anglican ecclesiology                             | 133 |
| iii  | : Puseyism finally developed into Popery                | 139 |
| iv   | : The Evangelical Alliance                              | 154 |
| v  | : J.D. Lang : the Port Phillip election, 1843           | 163 |
| vi   | : J.D. Lang : Mrs. Chisholm, 1846-1866                  | 174 |
| vii  | : Murphy and South Australian public opinion, 1844-1850 | 184 |
| viii   | : Religious controversy in the 'Fifties: diminuendo.    | 194 |
| <u>Chapter 4 : Internal Faction and ill-applied resources.</u> |   | 203 |
| i  | : Coyle in Adelaide, 1848                               | 204 |
| ii   | : The Therry-Willson dispute widens in scope, 1849-'50  | 213 |
| iii  | : The Aboriginal challenge                              | 219 |
| iv   | : Failure of the Passionist mission at Moreton Bay.     | 222 |
| v  | : The Perth Aboriginal missions, 1846-1848              | 235 |
| vi   | : Mission versus Diocese in Perth, 1848-1849            | 245 |
| vii  | : Schism in Perth, 1849-1852                            | 251 |
| viii   | : Diocese and mission disengaged, 1853-1866             | 266 |
| ix   | : Moreton Bay, 1843-1858:Duncan                         | 274 |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

## PART II

|     |   |     |
|-----|---|-----|
|     | The Debate on the Good Life, 1850-1865.                               | 280 |
|     | <u>Chapter 5 : The philosophy and politics of secular liberalism.</u> | 281 |
| i   | : The liberal and dogmatic principles in conflict                     | 282 |
| ii  | : Features of the conflict in Australia, 1840-1860                    | 293 |
| iii | : The three phases of the Catholic attitude                           | 305 |
| iv  | : National versus Denominational education                            | 316 |
| v   | : Secular liberalism ascendant, 1860                                  | 326 |
|     | <u>Chapter 6 : Melbourne under Goold, 1848-1866</u>                   | 334 |
| i   | : Goold Bishop of Melbourne, 1848-1851                                | 335 |
| ii  | : The Diocese during the Gold Rush                                    | 346 |
| iii | : The political undertow ; Young Ireland                              | 359 |
| iv  | : L'esprit presbyterien   | 377 |
| v   | : The "clerico-laic" committee in action : O'Grady, 1858              | 391 |
| vi  | : Church and state and education                                      | 400 |
| vii | : Hibernicisation   | 416 |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

|                    |  |     |
|--------------------|--|-----|
| <u>Chapter 7</u> : | <u>New South Wales, 1851 -</u><br><u>1865.</u>                     | 431 |
| i :                | The Pastor : a conspectus  | 432 |
| ii :               | The flock  | 440 |
| iii :              | The first disturbances :<br>Farrelly, 1851-2, and Moore,<br>1853-4 | 452 |
| iv :               | Polding overseas, 1854-6   | 466 |
| v :                | McEncroe in the saddle.  | 473 |
| vi :               | Various shades of green  | 486 |
| vii :              | Sheridan Moore on the<br><u>Freeman</u> , 1856                     | 497 |
| viii :             | Heydon foments lay dissidence,<br>1857                             | 507 |
| ix :               | Plunkett agonistes   | 518 |
| x :                | Duncan triggers an explosion                                       | 523 |
| xi :               | <u>The Monitum Pastorale</u> , 1858                                | 539 |
| xii :              | The Lay Address and the Camp-<br>belltown conference               | 545 |
| xiii :             | McEncroe as catalyst, 1858-8                                       | 549 |
| xiv :              | The rationale of voluntarism<br>versus simony and state aid.       | 556 |
| xv :               | The Orphanage Board outcry,<br>1859                                | 564 |
| xvi :              | The Saint Vincent's Hospital<br><del>affair</del> incident         | 572 |
| xvii :             | All passion spent. A surprising<br><del>incident</del> denouement  | 581 |
| xviii :            | Gregory's recall, 1861   | 592 |



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

(Chapter 7 cont.)

|   |   |   |     |
|---|---|---|-----|
| xix   | : | The hungry sheep fed                          | 601 |
| xx  | : | The Two Boards system and its faults          | 618 |
| xxi   | : | Saint John's College and Lyndhurst            | 632 |
| xxii  | : | Adult education societies                     | 641 |
| xxiii   | : | Religious self-dedication                     | 646 |
| <u>Chapter 8 : Geoghegan and Quinn, 1859 - 1865: a stylistic contrast</u> |   |   | 654 |
| i   | : | Geoghegan and Adelaide, the last of the first | 655 |
| ii  | : | Brisbane at Quinn's arrival, 1861             | 675 |
| iii   | : | McGinty versus Quinn, 1861-1863               | 682 |
| iv  | : | Macdonnell, 1859-1864                         | 699 |
| v   | : | Press warfare                                 | 702 |
| vi  | : | The immigration laws, their use and abuse.    | 709 |
| vii   | : | The social dynamics of education theory       | 721 |
| viii  | : | The politics of education, 1861-4.            | 732 |
| ix  | : | The campaign of the two bishops, 1864-5       | 741 |

| <u>TABLE OF CONTENTS.</u>         | Page |
|-----------------------------------|------|
| Appendices                        | 751  |
| A Statistical                     | 752  |
| B Murphy's Anathemata             | 756  |
| C Simony and Voluntarism          | 759  |
| D Irish Immigration to Queensland | 770  |
| Select Bibliography               | 773  |

1.

PART 1

THE FIGHT FOR LIFE: TO 1850

Si je désire un eau d'Europe, c'est la flache  
Noire et froide où, vers le crepuscule embaumé,  
Un enfant accroupi, plein de tristesse, lache  
Un bateau frele comme un papillon de mai.

Rimbaud, Bateau Ivre



CHAPTER 1: LAOS OR DEMOS?

It often happens, when a man exerts a certain amount of influence, that he obtains a following by condescension toward inferiors. But the people who attach themselves to him are not honest in their intentions. They seek personal advantage and try to make themselves indispensable through flattery and subservience. If one becomes accustomed to such satellites and cannot do without them, it brings misfortune. Only when a man is completely free from his ego, and intent, by conviction, upon what is right and essential, does he acquire the clarity that enables him to see through such people, and become free of blame.

Wilhelm's rendering of the I Ching, No. 17, Sui.

- i: A Hierarchy Set Up: Polding overseas 1840-1843.
- ii: Sydney 1840-1843: Duncan on the Chronicle.
- iii: Therry and Willson in Tasmania.
- iv: Therry versus Willson, 1844-46.



i. A Hierarchy Set Up: Polding overseas 1840-43.

In Australia, initially, as nearly everywhere else in the world of 1800, the Roman Catholic religion was subject to civic disabilities, as Phillip's commission made clear. But where penal laws were enforced, as they were spasmodically, this was due at least as much to fear of Irish national contumacy as to conscientious religious conviction. The Catholic community, composed mainly of transported criminals, was remarkable neither for its virtues nor for its witness under such duress. With the coming of J. J. Therry in 1819, a chaplain approved by the British government, both morale and morals picked up. Therry, however, conceived the Church rather along the lines of penal-era Ireland, a close collusion of parish priest and flock, with less than normal regard for episcopal or civil supervision. Hence when the youthful Englishman Ullathorne arrived as Vicar-General in 1833 he had to deal with internal divisions and to soothe a somewhat irritated government. By that time, however, the Emancipation Act of 1829, not to mention the reorganisation of the Church following the French Wars, had made possible a regular

mission under a Vicar-Apostolic. The experienced and influential Irish priest, McEncroe, had stressed the need for this from the moment of his arrival in 1832, but the wishes of the English government prevailed when it came to the man actually chosen (1834): John Bede Polding was a cultivated and austere English Benedictine monk. He was, nevertheless, a warm personality and a dedicated and effectual missionary: he was assisted by Ullathorne's administrative energy, by Bourke's Church Act, and by numerous priestly recruits from Ireland: and by 1840 the mission had been transformed into an articulate challenge to a hitherto condescending Protestantism.

But Ullathorne was nervy; perhaps taking too much on himself. To his ordeal in the fire of public opinion, was added administrative confusion and divisions in the small circle of the clergy:

Dr. Polding's penchant for the mission makes him neglect business; the Government correspondence is in a scandalous state; the duties towards the clergy and general business, done or put off or abandoned, according to impulse, the Bishop himself a continuous prey to his own acute and morbid feelings, and his very house together with his person so thoroughly under the despotic sway of the only two priests who do not cordialise with the rest, that it was painful for any priest, even myself, to go near the house.

Brady and Ullathorne intervened, therefore, and there

was a showdown:

He admits he has not treated me well, and that I am justified in my intention of leaving him; confesses he has not firmness enough to govern the Church; that if I go all things will be confused; and there is none to succeed me whom the clergy will look up to; and surrenders the management of all affairs into my hands. I have insisted as a basis of all arrangements, a statement of accounts; and that he will live by himself, and that all may have equal access to him; that he will conceal nothing from me in which the Church is interested. That when a thing is deliberated upon and decided, it shall be committed to execution, and not changed by the first fleeting whim and nearest influence. 1

Ullathorne, in fact, felt that Murphy and Lovat, whom he had sent on ahead while abroad in 1838, had, in his absence, and with the departure of McEncroe and Gregory for Norfolk Island, ensconced themselves in the Bishop's house and confidence, and so left him all the onus of his office as Vicar<sup>3</sup> General, while undermining his influence with Polding.<sup>2</sup> At this point Broughton's attacks (1839) determined Polding to repair to Europe in order to have the mission remodelled - probably, as Duncan and Ullathorne thought preferable, in the form of a territorial hierarchy.

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1. H.N.Birt, Benedictine Pioneers in Australia, Vol.1 (2 vols. London 1911), pp.158 et seq. Brady and Murphy were the most senior of the Irish priests recruited by Ullathorne during a long trip abroad, 1836-8. Lovat was his one English recruit.
  - 2/ W.B.Ullathorne, From Cabin Boy to Archbishop, London (1941) pp.161-8. Ullathorne saw Murphy's motive as ambition, bound to frustration by "want of breadth of mind and freedom of temper" (loc.cit.); his opinion of thirty years later. For the time being things were eased by giving Murphy Saint Patrick's ~~and putting Ullathorne in charge of the territory -~~



Ullathorne was to have remained in sole charge; but when Murphy demurred at this, and spoke of leaving Australia, the Vicar-General (anxious besides not to be Polding's suffragan or coadjutor) decided to quit the scene of so many trials, probably for good. And here, between his dither and his feelings, Polding was caught in another impasse.

Originally, he had intended to take Brady as his companion; the two of them had got along well together in work among the convicts, especially in connection with the French Canadian exiles (they alone of the clergy had fluent French). But he switched his choice to Gregory, rather run down on his return from Norfolk Island; and now, further, in order to mollify Murphy, appointed him, not Brady, Vicar-General. He addressed the near-mortally offended Brady in terms a little pathetic:

Write to a L'ordinaire, and in petit mot. Comfort me by assuring me that that note is as if not written.<sup>3</sup>

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and putting Ullathorne in charge of the seminary - whence Dean Kenny's Dedication: "Imparting to us the rich stores of philosophical and historical knowledge with which your luminous and acute mind was supplied" See J.Kenny, History of the Commencement and Progress of Catholicity in Australia up to the year 1840. (Sydney 1846) I myself have no doubt Ullathorne's view of Murphy's motive (not of his personal limitations) was wrong. Murphy's motive, I think, was a belief, very intense because it ran in narrow channels, in the vocation of the Irish secular priest.

3. P.F. Moran, History of the Catholic Church in Australasia, Sydney, n.d. (c.1894 from internal evidence) p.309



Could the Bishop learn to add strength to his sweetness?

Polding and his party - the Ullathorne he had leant too much on in the past, the Gregory he was to lean too much on in the future - left Sydney for Europe, via New Zealand and South America, towards the end of 1840. Ullathorne now pressed the idea of a territorial hierarchy gradually expanding with settlement, a bishop for every province of the civil administration; meaning, for the present, with so few Catholics in Adelaide and Perth, sees in Sydney and Hobart. To Polding it seemed impractical; but Ullathorne importuned "until he became disposed to see its importance", and the Bishop in turn urged the scheme on Rome, where he was complimented on his clarity and forethought. Basic to the reasoning was the conviction that the Bishop is the soul of the Catholic body; but pragmatic considerations were weighty, the great expense of money and time in travel entailed by the existing arrangements. By reason of distance and the unsettled conditions, it would be necessary for the prelates to retain their extraordinary powers as Vicars-Apostolic. But three arguments required proper territorial jurisdiction: to challenge, and indeed forestall, the Anglican claim to territorial jurisdiction; to put the Bishop on the best possible footing vis-a-vis the civil authorities and non-



Catholic public opinion; to have the people feel themselves an integral part of the Church.<sup>5</sup> The Roman documents said simply: "we must do what the Church's good requires". With exact information, thorough deliberation, and under no constraint other than the obligation of spreading religion and securing and enriching it, Rome set up Sees in Hobart and Adelaide under a Metropolitan (Archbishop) in Sydney. The use of the terms "Australia" and "Tasmania" was a sign of the times.<sup>6</sup> Murphy took Adelaide, Willson, a friend of Ullathorne's from his 1837-38 tour, took Hobart; Polding, who had expressed a preference for Hobart, because transportation would continue there, was amused to find himself an Archbishop.<sup>7</sup> Ullathorne's direct connection with Australia was at an end; the civil authorities refused to pay his salary during a second long absence, so Polding terminated his appointment to the Sydney mission - rather abruptly, none of the personal touch.<sup>8</sup> He declined the See of Adelaide;

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5. This decision, a new departure in Roman policy, is under study by Professor L. Webb of Australian National University.
  6. Briefs given in Australasian Catholic Record, (A.C.R.) 1899, pp242 et seq.
  7. Birt ii, p.32
  8. Ullathorne, Cabin Boy p.197, p.210 Cf. Australasian Chronicle 22nd November, 1842. For the official prompting of Polding, cf. M.L. mss Al285, p.632 (Russell-Gipps 28th May, 1841). Ullathorne could not know that what, probably, held Polding's tongue was a wish not to offend Ullathorne's own modesty by his high opinion of him - see Birt ii,

and his offer to return and work under Willson was refused.

His two years abroad, 1840-1842 were, humanly speaking, the happiest of Polding's life. Murphy governed Sydney in a spirit of self-sufficiency - "I receive no intelligence thence except what the public papers give me" <sup>9</sup> - so he knew nothing of the rifts within the Catholic community there. He was surrounded by friends: Ullathorne, Willson, Gregory, were all such, and Morris <sup>of Mauritius, who had sent Ullathorne to Australia in 1832, was</sup> (albeit on dismal business) ~~was~~ in Rome at the time. In Ireland, he met on friendliest terms with leaders of clerical opinion like Mathew, Murray, Hand; and Bishop England, of North Carolina, the greatest of the pioneers of Ireland's ecclesiastical empire, whom he heard preach on the missionary vocation of the Irish race. <sup>10</sup> In a published letter to an Irish Bishop, he combated the impression to which Ullathorne had contributed, that Australia, because of the prevalent immorality, was no country for the immigrant; there had been great changes since 1838. <sup>11</sup> He also won exemption for

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p.34. Polding expected perfect detachment of those he admired, his close friends; it was a condition of his giving his intimate trust in the first place.

9. Polding-Willson, quoted by J. Cullen (Bishop Wilson of Tasmania in Australasian Catholic Record, 1950, P.37. Murphy was also a reluctant correspondent with the Government - cf Historical Records of Australia (H.R.A.) Series 1, Vol 21, page 682.

10. Moran, p.220 et seq.

11. Australasian Chronicle 18th January 1842  
22nd February, 1842.



Catholic convicts from compulsory chapel on board ship, and from reception of the Protestant scriptures: points ( he told Murray) which would have been conceded earlier, had the authorities been approached.<sup>12</sup> In England he renewed acquaintance with many old colleagues, not least his kinsman and agent Heptonstall; met O'Connell; and enjoyed a favourable reception in official and upper-class circles. Dr. Cullen was a go-between in Rome, one with whom he had the most cordial relations. He had the esteem of the Pope and Propaganda as he was never to have them again, received various purely personal honours and handled with éclat an enquiry into Church-State relations in Malta. Gregory received his doctorate.<sup>13</sup> Free from the minute-to-minute business of administration and mission-work, the new Archbishop could indulge that faculty, somewhere between planning and dreaming, he would probably have done better to curb. We find him entertaining the scheme Ullathorne had written off in 1838, of a Benedictine mission, free from the friction of rival bodies of priests, not

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12. *Ibid.*, 1st February, 1842

13. Moran, pp. 225-6, for Polding in Rome. Cardinal Acton had succeeded Cardinal Weld as unofficial protector of the English-speaking Church. A letter of Roman Courtesies passing between Polding and Acton, dated 22nd January, 1842, is in the Sydney Archdiocesan archives (S.A.A.).



to be seduced by the lure of gain.<sup>14</sup> Equally set on establishing the Benedictine nuns, he negotiated with "a mother and 3 daughters" of culture and means to come to the colony.<sup>15</sup> But dreams apart, the facts were heartening: he embarked with a party of nineteen, including four Passionists destined to enter at last on a work Polding had long wished to undertake, a more intensive mission among the aboriginal population.<sup>16</sup> A week before he left he had consecrated Willson:<sup>17</sup> the day before (1st November, 1842) Hand's All Hallows College, Dublin, had opened its doors to young Irishmen interested in the English-

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14. Cf. Polding-Willson, 14th March, 1842, quoted by J. Cullen, loc.cit., p.34: "I trust we shall be enabled to introduce the Institute into Australia in its primitive fervour and discipline. Upwards of 1400 years it has existed in England. There must be something good and substantial in it thus to endure and cling. Past experience convinces me that 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". This is an important text.
15. Birt ii, p.36.
16. Moran, p.310 (Polding to Cardinal prefect). Cf. Australasian Chronicle, 21st April, 1842.
17. Moran, p.227.

speaking missions;<sup>18</sup> three of his party were the long-sought Irish Christian Brothers.<sup>19</sup> He can scarcely have guessed that he was returning to thirty years of almost unalleviated mental trial. The simultaneous absence of **the three** Englishmen from the Colony, while Murphy had charge of the clergy and Farrelly of the seminary; and this during an explosive increase in the free population, the cessation of transportation, and the beginnings of representative government: - here were factors fatal to his plans.

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18. Australasian Chronicle 1st December, 1842.

19. A letter (in Latin) to Propaganda during 1841, arguing the need from the danger of proselytism in the state schools and depravity in the streets, emphasised that he (Polding) had no hope of getting any Brothers unless Rome intervened: nisi faveat Apostolicae sedis auctoritas. Sydney Archdiocesan Archives (S.A.A.)

ii. Sydney 1840 - 1843: Duncan on the Chronicle.

The Sydney Polding returned to was a natural society, no longer a mere improvisation of Downing Street's. Transportation was at an end; the proposed new legislature was two-thirds representative; steam navigation would shortly bring the sea-ports months nearer Europe, and soon the telegraph would link them all together; the Herald was a daily. Drought and slump had ended the unreal boom, and there were many bankruptcies; but perhaps we should see in a trivial thing like ice cream,<sup>1</sup> now freely available in all flavours, the colonists' determination to live the good life as the nineteenth Christian century was learning to define it: industrial democracy. As for the democracy, Gipps handled his shrunken powers tactfully enough, yet took up a liberal stand against Wentworth and the pastoral capitalists; the many, too many, workless immigrants were good soil in which to sow the Chartist ideas. Of the big public men, Lowe, rather than Wentworth, was the truest foreshadowing of the shape of things to come, with his anti-clericalism, his free-enterprise theory, his advocacy of the Irish system in education, on grounds of economy. But it was the earthier demagogue,

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1. See Gill's advert. in Australasian Chronicle 17th October, 1840.



J. D. Lang, who knew how to attract Catholic votes to this sort of liberalism. - So in 1843 Polding came back to an administration far more complex than he had left in Murphy's hands only two-and-a-half years before; far more complex and far more troubled.

For a time, it is true, the semblance belied the reality. His welcome was warm and tumultuous,<sup>2</sup> perhaps unprecedented as a public demonstration in the colony. It is a pretty picture, one of the young barristers of the city, in the excitement of the moment kissing his revered Prelate's face instead of his hand!<sup>3</sup> In reply to Roger Therry's address, the Archbishop spoke his inmost heart: "In Thy infinite mercy Thou has been pleased to watch over and protect me, Thy unworthy servant, and to preserve and cherish the beloved people Thou has committed to my charge". And he went on to speak with characteristic warmth of "the happy occasion of our meeting once more under the roof of this sacred temple dedicated to the glorious and ever-loved Mother of our blessed Redeemer"<sup>4</sup>. After his installation as Archbishop, he dined, much as of old, at the Therry's, with several of his clergy. But

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2. Gipps thought such proceedings "indiscreet", particularly given Broughton's Protest - H.R.A.i, xxii, p.598
  3. T. Callaghan, The Diaries of Judge Callaghan (ed. A.E. Stephen) in R.A.H.S., xxxiv, 1948, p.371 - Callaghan was the barrister in question.
  4. Australasian Chronicle 4th March, 1843.



a striking symbol of the new order, of all the new immigrants he did not know, and of the political economy he had not studied, dined with them. Mrs. Chisholm, goodlooking, and sometimes rather frivolous in her conversation, was probably by now the most influential lay Catholic under his jurisdiction.<sup>5</sup>

Late roses, alas! filled with early snow. As time went on, Polding, like all the bishops, was less and less willing to countenance the Irish system in education; whereas Therry and Plunkett associated it with Bourke and the Church Act policies, their proudest memory. Their weight was thrown into the scales against the Archbishop's views on a key political issue. Yet the two men of law no longer kept so close, between themselves, now that they were not driven together; Plunkett a "tall, thin, bilious, sallow, and somewhat saturnine-looking man",<sup>6</sup> Therry the very incarnation of civilised good living, they were far apart in sympathy even had there been no professional rivalry to divide them.<sup>7</sup> - Now therefore, the Archbishop had to keep a close watch on politics and public opinion,

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5. Callaghan, *ibid.*, p.372

6. W.H. Suttor, Australian Stories Retold, Bathurst, 1887, p.17.

7. Callaghan in R.A.H.S., 1948, p.279. Their professional ups and downs ( their advancement, to Gipps' great dismay, held up by their religion) occupy a good deal of space in H.R.A., i, vol. ~~xxiv~~ - p.45, p.151, p.328, pp.803-4.  
24

noting what was said by mob orators at election time as well as what was said in the Council, lest religion be identified with party-ends, or be diluted to suit them . Hence he had written from abroad to Duncan, as editor of the Chronicle, to follow the first election of representatives " with lynx eyes." <sup>8</sup> The Press, indeed, might prove a deciding factor; and sure enough, Duncan's control of the Chronicle had been the main issue in the internal politics of the Catholic body during the Archbishop's absence. But this, it must be said, was due as much to Duncan's ability as to his position.

Born in Aberdeenshire, of farming stock, and brought up to habits of reading and reflection, Duncan added a generous measure of soul to his heritage: " most desparately in love at five years of age", at fifteen, an " oppressive lowness of spirits". <sup>9</sup> Reading with a view to entering the ministry of the Kirk, he "found that our divines had taken the precaution to misrepresent the Church of Rome before they commenced their attacks upon Her"; he became a Catholic, though at the time, August, 1826, he "had not conversed

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8. <sup>W.A.</sup> Duncan An Appeal, Sydney, 1843, p.9.

9. The details on Duncan in this section come from his ms. Autobiography in the Mitchell Library (A2877), unless some other source is particularly indicated.

on the subject with a single individual of that religion", and the nearest chapel was twelve miles away across the mountains. Rancour, threats, tears, drove the boy of sixteen from his home, penniless, days without food, sleeping in the open. Further trials as a Catholic hardened him in his independence. Frustrated in his desire to become a priest by the consistent hostility of the local priest, he went through a phase of rebellion and disgust; the pages covering it in his manuscript autobiography have been torn out, an index of the intensity of the feelings involved. The same priest's irrational hostility pursued him when he set up as a Catholic publisher. So he came to Australia with Ullathorne; he was only twenty-eight when he undertook to edit the Chronicle in 1839. He was Polding's choice, and Polding's friend - one of the young men who used the Bishop's private beach.

The editor indicated his principles of procedure in a note in the Correspondence column in the issue of 19th November, 1839:

The Chronicle has not been and never will be an exclusively religious paper. We consider religion as a most important part of everyday business, and as such, (it) ought always to occupy an important place in every journal devoted to everyday affairs. But the Chronicle is not to be devoted



to mere controversy. We have not attacked the religion of Protestants. Our object is to maintain our political rights, rather than to propagate our religion. We have indeed defended it and pointed out some of its beauties, and this we shall continue to do.

So, beginning about that time, McEncroe's Wanderings appearing serially; a number of leaders attacking the character and motives of the sixteenth century reformers from whom so many current calumnies against the Church descend; later a long hostile serial analysis of J. D. Lang's "Question of Questions". Polding himself composed some of this material. The political positions taken up were on the liberal side, usually outspoken, but often involving quite fine points. Duncan's agile mind, in fact, led rather than followed the march of events. Thus, he was able to open 1841 with the claim that "we may with safety point to the Corporation Bill, the Master and Servants Bill, the Census Bill, the immigration question .. and ask what might now be law but for this humble publication..." The entry of the Chronicle in the field coincided with a distinct change for the better in the tone of Sydney journalism. Duncan felt (and McEncroe with him) that much of the credit for this was his.

The religious controversy to which Duncan was committed was very exacting, because often requiring to be conducted on several levels at once, hard to keep to the particular point at issue, and hard to



maintain at the level of debate without involving practical consequences. Lang, particularly, went as near to the violence and indecency of the original reformers as a nineteenth century public man was likely to go; on the Pope as the Man of Sin, and the "inundation of Popery and moral worthlessness in the shape of a free immigrant population"<sup>11</sup>. But not a week later,<sup>12</sup> there was the Australian to combat, arguing that "the spirit of their religion is anti-social ... No Roman Catholic is a real friend to the education or enlightenment of the lower classes. And why?<sup>?</sup> Because they appeal to the senses and not to the reason". - A libel case the following month showed prejudice at work on different levels of society and opinion; while in fact costly, it served also to show the high value the Catholics set on the paper. A certain Aaron, of Raymond Terrace, who had in court denied the legal force of a Catholic's oath, was described as a bigot. Suing William Davis, as the Chronicle's owner, he was awarded one shilling damages; but Judge Stephen, discerning a "most mischievous tendency" in the defendant's actions,<sup>13</sup> added costs of £200. Murphy,

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11. Australasian Chronicle, 8th January, 1842.

12. 13th January, 1842.

13. Australasian Chronicle, 24th February, 1842.

For more of Mr. Aaron, see Empire, 7th October, 1851.

as Vicar-General, merely affirmed the validity of a Catholic's oath; the Catholic Institute went one better, and set out to find the cash by subscription; and at a public meeting we find the Englishman Hawksley, who later bought the paper up, describing it as "the mainstay of their vessel", and Lynch, the priest at Maitland, calling it "the only liberal paper in the colony".<sup>14</sup> - We may catch the flavour of these times, before sectarian animosity settled down into some sort of routine, in an incident involving the newly arrived priest, Hastings, at Port Macquarie. He was following the funeral of a death-bed convert, reading the offices, until they reached the church:-

Here, however, the scene became more enlivened by the presence of the Rev. Mr. Cross, who came out of his church with his bible in his hand reading aloud, and by that means stifling the voice of his opponent.

At the grave, when Hastings attempted to finish the service, his voice was drowned by the oaths and imprecations of the mob.<sup>15</sup>

There were several indications of Duncan's comparative isolation in the Catholic community. One was his lack of enthusiasm for J. J. Therry, on one of his erratic visits to Sydney - he offended the "old hands" he knew, by this, but considered the Church's interest to demand his acting as he did. Another was a clash with Brady, a friend and

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14. Ibid., 12th March, 1842

15. Ibid., 14th June, 1842.

supporter, but very much the soggarth aroon, the people's priest, whose figure seems to have loomed as large in the popular eye at this time as Murphy's. In 1841 the Chronicle had defended him against Burton's criticisms of his gaucheries of language. We find him reported, on occasion, in the strain that must originally have won him Polding's confidence, and Ullathorne's; as, for instance, on the Gospel, "which the philosophy of human reason cannot comprehend", being at the same time social and beneficent, sanctioning our ordinary duties "with the certain rewards of eternity", every doctrine going to "polish and soften the rugged heart". His power to inspire was rooted in a grasp of the ordinary mode of thinking of his flock. In particular, he took up the cause of total abstinence, then almost a mystique in its own right among the Irish, propagated among the children, and extended to include total abstinence from political and religious controversy. The financial depression, of course, lent power to the cause, greatly reducing the consumption per head of

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16. Ibid., 10th June, 1841.

17. Ibid., 5th March, 1842.

18. Ibid., 3rd January, 1843. For Brady at length on temperance, and Father Mathew, *ibid.*, 4th January, 1842. On the declining per caput consumption of spirits during the recession of 1840-43, cf. S.M.H. 28th January, 1847.



spirits. Duncan took the risk of criticising this sensitive prelate. During floods at Windsor in 1842 he had evacuated his orphan school to a disused government building on higher ground; a police magistrate forced him to evacuate. Brady alleged harshness, and was very indignant. Duncan, sympathetic, nevertheless remarked, in print, that he had taken possession of <sup>a</sup> government building without authority, and could not expect to get away with it. <sup>19</sup> The importance of this should not be exaggerated; but it underlined Duncan's independence - and his isolation.

Within six weeks of the flood incident - by 30th July, 1842, that is, - Duncan was openly at war with three of the Chronicle's proprietors, Davis, Smith and Maher, who advertised in the non-Catholic press for a new editor. Against the cautions of Ullathorne, Polding had consented that the Chronicle be financed in large part, by a number of wealthy emancipists. Duncan fell in with this arrangement, stipulating only that he have complete control of policy - against " the constant desire of individual proprietors to pervert the publication to their own private ends" - and refusing to mix socially. But the emancipists' interests coincided only to a

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19. Australasian Chronicle, 18th June, 1842.



limited extent with Duncan's radicalism. It served them when he opposed a clause in the Census Bill requiring of the citizen to state how he arrived in the colony, or when he advocated their inclusion in the franchise, no questions asked. But it was the free immigrants he served, against their interest, when he opposed the Masters and Servants Bill, or advocated a low property qualification in the Act incorporating the City of Sydney ( whereas his shareholders sought a £50 franchise, enough to near-annihilate the Catholic electors, and sought - unsuccessfully - to strike Duncan himself from the roll on the grounds that he was a hired servant). By 1842, therefore, he saw himself as a lone voice in Sydney against a pure merino-emancipist ganging up under Wentworth; the franchise ( as Polding, too, thought) for the representative Council set far too high; Murphy ( and it was the three Deans, Brady, McEncroe, O'Reilly, made the point) "weak and vacillating" in the situation.

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A meeting of all the shareholders reinstated Duncan; but Maher ran off with the keys to the editor's room, and Smith carried off the bolts of the printing press. Duncan held out till early the

following year, long enough to let the real issues appear.<sup>21</sup> Correspondents spoke of private feelings as the root of the matter, of Duncan's enemies going about with a sheet of paper to induce subscribers to give up the Chronicle.<sup>22</sup> His supporters, despite Murphy's opposition, set up a public testimonial to him.<sup>23</sup> But to Duncan the issue was national and ecclesiastical, not personal. Under the heading "The Australian Church", he used to put the colonial Catholic news of the day. He not only "repeatedly refused to light up the flame of 'repeal' in the colony",<sup>25</sup> but even declared his express opposition to it:<sup>26</sup> whether or not the Union served Ireland, it served the Church to have the Irish Ms.P. in the Commons. The bent of his mind appeared in an item in October. Mahony of Maitland was very active and successful in conversion work. When he made rather a public occasion of the reception into the Church of two adult converts from Protestantism, Duncan's comment was that "even the stoppage of Irish

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21. After a hint of friction *ibid.*, 9th July, 1842, Duncan, from 30th July issue on, used the paper to state his view of the case.  
 22. *Ibid.*, 25th August, 1842.  
 23. *Ibid.*, 27th October, 1842  
 24. E.G. *ibid.*, 1st February, 1842  
 25. *Ibid.*, 4th August, 1842  
 26. *Ibid.*, 24th May, 1842. Cf. his Appeal, p.7.

immigration, if they could effect it, will not  
 arrest the progress of Catholicism".<sup>27</sup> This belief  
 in the power of abstract argument was never to leave  
 him.

During his last two months in the chair, January-  
 February, 1843, Duncan did not actually oppose Roger  
 Therry's candidacy for one of the representative seats  
 in the Council, but he did treat with extreme sus-  
 picion Therry's "inglorious ... unprincipled"<sup>28</sup>  
 alliance with James Macarthur for the occasion.  
 Duncan knew that some of the senior clergy agreed  
 with him, but to Therry himself the Chronicle was  
 "no longer the organ of the Catholics", and Therry  
 was close with the Vicar-General;<sup>29</sup> both, indeed,  
 shared a concern about non-Catholic opinion which  
 Duncan, who enjoyed smiting the Philistines hip and  
 thigh, considered excessive - his insistence, in  
 Polding's support, that there had been persecution  
 of conscience in convict times,<sup>30</sup> offended them.

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27. Australasian Chronicle, 11th October, 1842.  
 28. Appeal, p.9  
 29. Cf. R.A.H.S., the volume cited, p.360, p.371.  
 For Brady's agreement with Duncan on the  
 politics see Australasian Chronicle, 14th March,  
 1843.  
 30. Appeal, p.4. See Australasian Chronicle, 1841.  
 14th, 16th, 18th, 21st, 23rd October, 1841. Except  
 for Brady, the clergy refused to supply Duncan  
 with material on this point. Murphy (Appeal, p.5)  
 thought Polding off his head for raising such  
 a question.



The blow fell on 22nd February, 1843, hurried through to forestall the Archbishop's arrival: Duncan's "expulsion, by hired ruffians, from the Chronicle office". At Murphy's official instance, McEncroe, in what Duncan considered one more unprincipled alliance, assumed control as from 23rd February. The reason was given out that Duncan had committed the paper too much to politics; Murphy claiming that the clergy were unanimous on this. On the Archbishop's return a fortnight later, Duncan printed (for private circulation only) an Appeal. This, the work of a man too deeply involved emotionally, and full of personalities, should not be taken as the last word. Duncan was left without a living in bad times. Murphy's partiality, McEncroe's want of candour, had power to hurt this hard-shelled Scot. And there was, besides, hubris in his fall: he was quite convinced he had put to shame the Church's enemies.

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31. Appeal, p.16. The sad fact seems to be that Duncan received an official warning from Murphy to mend his politics only after he was turned out. Cf. S.M.H. 24th February, 1843.
32. Polding considered the Chronicle now "indifferently conducted", Birt ii, p.61 - Duncan's attempts to get up a True Chronicle got him but cold comfort from his erstwhile foes of the Herald and the Observer. See S.M.Herald 20th June, 1843 (advert.), Observer 25th February, 1843, onwards. Duncan's reply, S.M.H. 25th May, 1843.

The Archbishop begged him to withdraw his Appeal, and he acceded. But in the immediate sequel, able pamphlets on Broughton's Protest, and on Allwood's connate lectures denying "the Bishop of Rome's supremacy", while they left the Archbishop and the Catholic community in his debt, and won him Allwood's friendship, prejudiced his new publishing venture, a non-sectarian paper, liberal in program, the Register.<sup>33</sup> The Archbishop, though well-disposed, would not purchase the Chronicle, which passed to McEncroe; Duncan declined to visit a once "firm friend" who now dared do nothing for him. There was more than a trace of anti-clericalism in Duncan's attitudes in this period. His paper gave a fine cover of the education controversy, June-September 1844; but more than once he hit at the clergy as a clerarchy, having a class-interest in education.<sup>34</sup> And a biographical sketch of Polding commented adversely on the state of ecclesiastical affairs when he returned, 1843.<sup>35</sup> The Register put <sup>Duncan</sup> ~~him~~ £1,500 in

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33. Allwood's lectures, subsequently a pamphlet, S.M.H. 5th May, 1843, onwards. Duncan's reply, S.M.H. 25th May, 1843.  
 34. E.G. Weekly Register, 20th July, 1844  
 35. Ibid., 30th March, 1844.

debt, as he gave all his "very great ability and  
 assiduity"<sup>36</sup> - Gipps' words - to the defence of the  
 Governor's land legislation against the Council; his  
 adamant refusal, despite threats and bribes, to play  
 the squatter's game gave Lowe his opportunity, the  
 founding of the Atlas.<sup>37</sup> Opening his columns to  
 Parkes, then a tide waiter with the port authorities,  
 he gave the Father of Federation an opportunity to  
 criticise his superiors and lose his job,<sup>38</sup> yet con-  
 trived to keep his respect, as he did everyone's.  
 Honour, though, is a barren wife; and to complete  
 the tale of his trials he lost his only son - the  
 fourth of his children to die - just as he was fold-  
 ing up the Register. Gipps, fortunately, who appreci-  
 ated his disinterestedness, proved a true friend,  
 found him a snug berth as sub-collector of customs  
 in Brisbane,<sup>39</sup> and there he went to lick his wounds.

McEncroe's editorship began dully enough, on  
 questions like the burial of the poor, and Maconochie's  
 experiments ( McEncroe was fresh from the scene of

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36. Duncan's Autobiography quotes in full Gipps-  
 Gladstone 28th May, 1846. This is in the  
 Mitchell Library ( A668, pp.163-4; see also  
 1240, p.674, and A668, p.164, which bear out  
 Duncan's accuracy).
37. Ibid.
38. Freeman's Journal 20th November, 1851.
39. Port Phillip Patriot 23rd May, 1846.



them). But on March 9th, the Leader was devoted to Repeal, by late October, there was more often than not a whole page of Irish intelligence. So much for the plea that Duncan was too political. His kind of politics, as he had seen earlier, though he forgot it when he wrote his Appeal, was the real casus belli. Years later, Duncan found his tongue again and drew the moral:

If our Celtic race has much to boast of, I believe it has much to deplore ... its love of country when transported into other countries and fostered there becomes a real disease, preventing it from amalgamating and identifying itself with the general stock of the country it inhabits ... Our religion is neither English nor Irish, but Catholic; and our patriotism, if we would hold our proper place here, must be neither the one nor the other but Australian. 40

He and Polding were at one here, without being at one on many other points, notably education; and their influence, their idea of Australian Catholicism, had in the event to yield to that of McEncroe and Murphy; this is one of the two principal themes of the years that followed 1843. In the development of the other theme Duncan also played a notable part; adjustment of the Church to life in a parliamentary democracy religiously indifferent.

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40. Freeman's Journal 16th May, 1857, quoted by R. Daly, The Founding of Saint John's College, A.C.R. 1958, p.301.

iii. Therry and Willson in Tasmania.

Prior to 1840, the Tasmanian population was less than a tenth Catholic; but from that date, till the cessation of transportation in the early 'fifties, the Catholic proportion rose to one in five. J.J. Therry, accordingly (eventually, after much muddle on Polding's part, empowered as Vicar-General over the island), was confronted in 1838 with a situation remarkably similar to that on the mainland, when he arrived there twenty years before: a people "very, very poor",<sup>1</sup> as a fellow priest insisted to him, and, as Therry insisted to the Colonial Secretary, "the privation of religious rights...<sup>2</sup> superadded to that of personal liberty". Therry set out to see what he could do about it, losing his temper with officials,<sup>3</sup> making his own home available as an orphan school, arguing with hauteur with both the local government and Lord John Russell,<sup>4</sup> publicly challenging the Anglican Bishop, Nixon, on the use of the scriptures, and the terms Roman, Romish etc.<sup>5</sup> The muddle, too, was

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1. J. Cullen, Father Therry in Tasmania, in Austral Light, 1917, p.283 et seq. Cotham to Therry, 14th December, 1843.
  2. Ibid., p.73 et seq. Therry to Col. Sec. 19th April 1839.
  3. Ibid., p.76
  4. Ibid., p.160 et seq.
  5. Morning Chronicle, 23rd December, 1843.

as of old; we find him writing the Colonial Secretary on 21st February, 1840, that

Amongst my papers, which for along time have, owing to my oppressive duties, ... been in a most confused state, I have just discovered your letter of the 18th of last July. 6

As a decade earlier with Saint Mary's, Therry's complete lack of the business nous he so prided himself on, meant trouble with Church-lands. He erected, or rather began to erect, a church in Hobart, named for Saint Joseph, on land purchased solely in his own name, with money raised by public subscription plus the government £ for £; 7 and moreover - without the consent of the subscribers - borrowed heavily on this 8 land as security in order to complete the Church. And then - having given Polding his word in writing 9 that the diocese-to-be was free of debt - proceeded to accumulate a debt he could not name by initiating 10 a series of other undertakings on the same property. The incoming bishop arrived on 11th May, 1844; though Therry had known of his coming since March the previous 11 year, there was no official welcome. Warned by Ullathorne, the Bishop had insisted on Polding meeting

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6. Cullen, op.cit., p.160
  7. H.T. Courier 21st July, 1849
  8. Willson Pastoral on the State of St. Joseph's Church, Hobart Town, Hobart Town, 1845, p.7.
  9. Ibid., p.4.
  10. Ibid., p.6.
  11. Ibid., p.5. The fact that Morgan and Insley organised a testimonial to Therry (Chron. 24th July, 1844) was an aggravation of this discourtesy.



two conditions before he would accept consecration: that Therry be removed from Tasmania; that the diocese be debt-free.<sup>12</sup> He came, then, to Therry, to a debt which neither Therry nor anyone else could calculate from the confusion of the accounts; on the credit side, if credit it might be called, two unfinished schools, an unfinished presbytery, an unfinished house for a school master,<sup>13</sup> materials for a second church.

The first Bishop of Hobart was a man not easy to plumb. The face that spoke of benevolence spoke also of will-power; the firmness about the mouth was in marked contrast with Polding's almost feminine softness in the mouth when young. Willson's career bears this out. He was born in 1794 of a mixed marriage. He was himself planning marriage, and life as a farmer, when a sudden conviction on his part led both to undertake the religious life. Incharge of Nottingham parish, where on the eve of Catholic emancipation he completed a large and conspicuous chapel, he enjoyed high standing, including the freedom of the city, in the general community, where he showed a particular interest in prison and lunacy reform. It was these interests which led to his appointment, much against his wishes, to Hobart in 1842. His consecration taking place in the first post-Reformation cathedral built by Catholics in

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12. Ullathorne, Cabin Boy, p.211

13. Willson, Pastoral p.6

England, at the hands of a fellow Englishman, Polding, to take possession of a territorial See, was a very different ceremony from Polding's own consecration in a drawing-room only eight years before.<sup>14</sup>

And Willson's apostolate, up to the early 'fifties, at a time when Tasmania and Norfolk Island were the only penal settlements under the British flag, was a very different affair from that of the mainland clergy. His style remained what it had always been. He was above all a good citizen, who found great satisfaction in co-operating with non-Catholics and enjoying their trust. On his third return from overseas at the beginning of 1855, Champ, the Colonial Secretary, for the third time presented an address from the community at large to one whose exertions had won "the esteem, the affection, and the respect of every class"; Willson, "now an old man", in his own estimate, remarked in reply how, from boyhood, he had found it "inexplicable", "that men believing in the existence of an Omnipotent God - in the redemption of every human being by the death of our blessed Redeemer, and in the truths of revelation, should still despise and look upon one another as enemies."<sup>15</sup> He treated secular liberalism, and the modernist dilution of traditional Christian doctrine, as an occasion for common cause between Catholic and Protestant.<sup>16</sup> What

14. Moran, pp.261 et seq.

15. H.T. Courier 7th February, 1855

16. F.J. 13th February 1864: a Pastoral quoting the Church of England Convocation at length with approval.

brought Catholic and Protestant together in this fashion, despite the usual clamour about State-aid, the authorised version, tractarianism, in the background, was Willson's energy, perseverance and insight in regard to prison and lunacy reform; Not supported by any Governor as enlightened on the convict question as Burke had been, but favoured by the mood of the day, he adopted a more modern and sociological approach than Polding had done, in his strong representations, for the a melioration of the discipline at Norfolk Island,<sup>17</sup> and finally for the settlement's abolition; while the governments of both Victoria and New South Wales consulted him on the treatment of lunacy - he recommended pleasant and spacious surroundings, easy contact with the sane, and occupational therapy.<sup>18</sup> So that when he finally retired, his fellow-citizens put great stress on this aspect of his work and he considered their warm address on the occasion the highest "earthly title"<sup>19</sup> he could wish. Meanwhile, he had been able to provide a very generous staffing for the convict-stations ( prior to 1852), and subsequently to convert to a normal diocesan structure: seventeen priests,

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- Bishop Willson  
of Tasmania, A.C.R.
17. Chron. 17th July, 1847. Cf. Cullen, 1950, p.224, et seq. p.317 et seq.
18. Cf. F.J. 19th August, 1863 ( Willson-Cowper on lunacy in New South Wales).
19. F.J. 15th March, 1865.



All Hallows men prominent among them, by the end of 1855.<sup>20</sup> The Charity Sisters, who had fled to Willson for protection from Gregory, helped him build up his educational system; but while those left in Sydney flourished, those in Tasmania did not; two early postulants died; the only other nun professed before 1871, by which year two of the original trio were in their graves, was Sister M. Joseph O'Carroll, who had been sent over for training by Goold with a view to a Charity foundation in Victoria, but who in the event stayed on in Tasmania.<sup>21</sup> No more need be said here of the constructive achievements of a man whom Thomas Arnold, whom he received into the Church,<sup>22</sup> found it "impossible to know and not to love".<sup>23</sup>

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20. Cullen, A.C.R., 1951, p.111 et seq; 1953 p.33 et seq; Cf A.H. Annual 1953-4, p.167
21. Cullen, The Australian Daughters of Mary Aikenhead, Sydney, 1938, p.83 et seq.
22. F.J. 7th June, 1856.
23. Arnold, Passages in a Wandering Life, London, 1900, page 155. Arnold and Willson kept in touch when the former returned to England - Cf Argus (Melb.) 14th June, 1858. Thomas, Matthew's brother, was then teaching under Newman at Dublin. Subsequently pyrrhonism settled like a cloud on his spiritual insight, a misfortune resembling his brother's, though he returned to the Church in old age.



iv. Therry versus Willson.

The dispute which took place between Willson and Therry, however, over the Saint Joseph's Church site, dragged on for fourteen years, disturbing the peace of the Catholic community not only in Tasmania, but on the mainland, and overseas. Willson, it is true, did no more than insist on his rights, particularly in Canon Law; if a man in authority does enough when he governs with strict justice, then Willson must be exonerated from all blame in the matter; particularly as, always on the move, he left the detail of administration in the hands of his austere-minded and very English Vicar-General, Hall.<sup>1</sup> Willson refused to shoulder an unknown liability;<sup>2</sup> when a rough estimate was finally made, he refused to bind himself, legally or morally, either in his private or official capacity, to dissolve the debt; but he was quite willing to take strenuous measures, in an informal fashion, to meet Therry's creditors, his co-"trustees" as they were consistently misnamed.<sup>3</sup> Therry, on the other hand, was at his wild worst; not only would he not surrender the accounts, he

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1. Cullen, Bishop Willson of Tasmania in A.C.R. 1953, p.34
  2. Willson, Pastoral. p.7
  3. Ibid., p.8

would not submit to arbitration ( unless he agreed with it!),<sup>4</sup> nor - when the Archbishop wheedled and threatened the accounts from him,<sup>5</sup> " a chaotic mass of vouchers, containing multitudinous errors, deficiencies, and discrepancies"<sup>6</sup> - accept any auditor but his own crony, Of<sup>7</sup>for. Suspended, he appealed to the civil authorities.<sup>8</sup> Twice he went back on his signed word: having,<sup>8</sup> 28th September, 1844, thus undertaken full liability for the debts, he publicly announced that he had done so "merely to please the Archbishop";<sup>9</sup> again 15th August, 1845, having, through Gregory, agreed to take responsibility for £1,000, while the Bishop found the other £2,300 Therry claimed ( quite unjustifiably), he shortly interpreted this as meaning only that he would not press his full claim "<sup>10</sup> at present"!

Willson, was, in fact, conciliatory; he was, for a start, willing somehow to meet Therry's whole<sup>11</sup> exorbitant claim for the sake of peace; only when

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4. Ibid., p.9
  5. Ibid., p.14
  6. Cullen in A.C.R., 1951, p.322
  7. Willson, Pastoral, p.14
  8. Of the legal details of the dispute, Cullen gives a very full account in A.C.R., October, 1951 - October, 1952 inclusive. Information not documented elsewhere will all be found there in chronological sequence, supplied from the Hobart Archdiocesan archives.
  9. Willson, Pastoral, p.12
  10. Ibid., p.20
  11. Cf. full page advertisement in H.T. Courier 21st July, 1849.



Therry persisted with his evasions, and depression pinched the Bishop's finances, did he withdraw this offer - and even then he was willing to sustain it if the Holy See, as advised by Gregory, insisted.<sup>12</sup> It may seem, than, that Willson was in no wise to blame; that Therry, and the Sydney clergy, led by Polding and Gregory, who by their kindly demeanour towards the pioneer fortified him in his stubbornness, must bear all the responsibility. Polding, however, thought otherwise; it pertains to the ruler not only to be just, but to tolerate, to indulge, to forbear, on occasions. He himself, faced with a similar difficulty and equally forewarned by Ullathorne, in 1835, had obtained the documents Therry held by a simple ruse, and disarmed him (as he was very readily disarmed) by affability and <sup>13</sup>praise. Willson, who had little sense of humour, as far as I know, could not bend to this extent; and his inflexibility condemned him to fourteen years' litigation. Once committed poor Therry did not know how to give in; a confused sense of loyalty to his co-"trustees", Insley and Regan (others died pendente lite) made him demand a guarantee in

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12. Cullen's articles recount how the Cardinal Prefect made this proposal in 1854.  
 13. Ullathorne, Cabin Boy, p.92

civil law, first, that the Church debt was transferred to the Bishop; later to be "legally ... secured against the present debt".<sup>14</sup> Finally, he signed a third agreement on 2nd July, 1846, grossly in his favour ( for the sake of peace, as we noted): the Bishop and clergy undertook to pay £3,300 in instalments plus 8% interest, provided the property was at once surrendered to the Church's appointed trustees. But Therry's party made public a garbled version, omitting the all-essential condition, and the priest thenceforth took his stand on that.<sup>15</sup> The real danger, however, lay in the fact that Therry had a party - against the Bishop. And Australia no sooner had a hierarchy than it had a split in it.

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14. Cullen in A.C.R., 1952, p.22

15. H.T. Courier 21st July, 1849. The passage published, as though to imply it was the whole agreement, was a memo touching the alteration of one clause. For Therry's stand, Ibid., 15th August, 1849 ( a letter counter to the preceding).

CHAPTER 2: OLD COLONIAL SYDNEY

Lights are moving  
 On domed hills  
 Where little monks  
 Get up in the dark.

Though wild volcanoes  
 Growl in their sleep  
 At a green world,  
 Inside their cloisters.

They sit translating  
 A vision into  
 The vulgar lingo  
 Of armed cities,

Where brides arrive  
 Through great doors,  
 And robbers' bones  
 Dangle from gallows.

W.H. Auden.

- i:    Conspectus of the 'Forties.
- ii:   Gregory.
- iii:  The Case for Benedictinisation.
- iv:   The Case against Benedictinisation.
- v:     The Charity Nuns.
- vi:    The Irish Background.
- vii:  McEncroe.
- viii: Rome's View in 1851
- ix:    The Frontier Priests.
- x:     The Mind of the People.



i. Conspectus of the 'Forties.

Polding's episcopal jurisdiction, when he left in 1840, had included 200,000 whites, 56,000 of them convicts; over a quarter of the whole population were baptised Catholics, with about the same proportion of convicts. He returned, as Metropolitan, to an ecclesiastical Province whose population had been swollen by heavy bounty immigration to 270,000, the Catholic population swollen out of proportion; so that though Van Diemen's Land, with 60,000 souls, and South Australia, with 17,000, but the Catholics in either place not one in twelve, were removed from his direct care, his effective responsibilities were nothing lessened - particularly since his duties as Metropolitan continued to carry him far afield. The rate of natural increase quickened with the cessation of transportation and the stepping up of female immigration, and the expansion of settlement kept pace; the establishment, therefore, of Sees at Perth (1845) and Melbourne (1847) did nothing to relieve the Archbishop, except so far as the aboriginal people were concerned. Then at the close of the decade, heavy immigration resumed. There was no rest for Polding at any stage. He had not long returned from Europe in 1843 when he was off to Moreton Bay to set up the Passionist Mission<sup>1</sup>; the

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1. Moran, p.407 et seq.

early part of the following year he spent combing the huge sparsely-settled area to the south and west of Sydney.<sup>2</sup> At a Synod in September of that year, he managed to collect most of the clergy of the continent, a considerable feat of organisation, the only such coming together of the pioneer clergy.<sup>3</sup> The Synod brought the Australian Church into line with the Tridentine discipline; and provided an impressive setting for Murphy's consecration, attended also by a large crowd including many Protestants, the first time the Apostolic succession was conferred for Australia, in Australia. Immediately afterwards, the Therry-Willson dispute took the Archbishop to Hobart (in vain of course); on the way back he spent October-November in the Port Phillip district, his only

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2. Morning Chronicle, 17th February, 1844.
  3. Moran, p.438, et seq. Acta et decreta concilii primi provinciae Australiensis a revevendissimo archiepiscopo Sydneiensi una cum praesulibus provinciae sual suffraganeis anno domini 1869 (probably 1869 - 1869 bound with it), passim. Note the emphasis (pp.21-3) on the preaching of the Eucharist, its sublimity, its utility; on making use in preaching of the Catechism of the Council of Trent in preference to other source-books; and the importance (p.9) of persevering in the study of theology. On the Protestants at Murphy's consecration, S.M.H. 9th September, 1844, 12th September, 1844.



visit there.<sup>4</sup> ~~In~~ 1845, therefore, a year otherwise unremarkable, unless to ease the Lent for Australians was to do something remarkable,<sup>5</sup> was the first Polding spent on his personal charge in and round Sydney; with occasional shorter trips up-country (for instance, to bury Father Mahony.)<sup>6</sup>

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4. Despite a bewildering succession of short-term pastors, Geoghegan, whom the Archbishop trusted completely, provided Melbourne Catholicism with a mainstay, despite occasional illness. F. Mackle, In the Footprints of the Catholic Pioneers, Melbourne n.d. (1924, it would seem), is a well-informed short account as far as 1850, on the purely ecclesiastical side. The feature to note is the growth of a free colonial Irish Catholic community without much cross-strain. I have attempted a short summary ( Melbourne Catholicism Before Bishop Goold, A.C.R., 1959, p.24 et seq.)
5. Port Phillip Patriot 21st February, 1845. I am inclined to think it was remarkable; not in itself, but as part of a long term process, the comprehensive adaptation of Canon law to Australian conditions. The Australian Catholic Directory for 1890 lists fifty-five such documents, each a small technical clarification or privilege, but the cumulative effect great. For instance, in our period, the use of the Roman calendar of feasts, 13th May, 1837; adult baptism according to the Baltimore ritual, 31st January, 1847; a priest saying two masses at two distinct churches, on a holy day of obligation, permitted to omit Matins and Lauds of the Divine Office; a plenary indulgence for holy communion, 25th April, 1847, made applicable ( i.e. to the souls in purgatory) 24th May, 1847; encouragement for the Society of S. Vincent de Paul, and a plenary indulgence for holy communion followed by a prayer for the propagation of the gospel in Australia on certain major feasts of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, and Sts. Patrick, Benedict and Scholastica. Saint Patrick's feast was not, I believe a double of the first class ( the highest dignity) till 12th July, 1888; nor till that year was the present procedure for converts stabilised: profession of faith, absolution from censures, conditional baptism.
6. Morning Chronicle, 10th May, 1845.



But another journey abroad became imperative.

He felt his authority was weakened by the establishment of both the Passionist Prefecture and the Perth diocese without consulting him; and his good name was being assailed by the Passionists' reports<sup>7</sup> - was, indeed, to be seriously affected by accumulating tittle-tattle, from non-Benedictine religious who considered that he discriminated against other orders, and from secular priests<sup>8</sup> whom he sent back home as unsuitable. He wanted a Coadjutor, preferably Benedictine, preferably<sup>9</sup> Ullathorne. The Therry-Willson dispute, no

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7. Thorpe. The First Mission to the Australian Aborigines, p.196 ( Polding to Franconi, quoting Brady). (Sydney, 1950.)
8. For dismissals, see Moran p.311 ( three by 1843) Birt ii, p.150. Yet not only priests dismissed (cf. Birt ii, pp.150-1) but some who remained (Birt ii, p.149, gives Willson-Heptonstall concerning Ryan, then on Norfolk Island; and it is significant of the power of rumour that Ryan, the detractor, had never served under Polding at this stage, as the All Hallows Annual for 1953-4, p.161-3, shows).
9. Ullathorne, Autobiography, pp.242-3 (London, 1891). And thereby hangs a tale, which begins with Broughton's fears to Gipps, 10th January, 1846, (in Mitchell Library, Despatches and Enclosures 1846, pp3368-9), that foreign R.C. prelates might have an unfortunate influence. So Polding agreed to serve the cause of race by finding an English coadjutor for P Pompallier, in order to ease the great French missionary off home - cf. H.R.A., i, 24, p.748

longer a mere matter of accounts, demanded Rome's intervention. Gregory could not obtain the Colonial Office's consent to his going.<sup>10</sup> So Polding<sup>11</sup> was away for two more years, till February 1848. For half the decade, consequently, there was a Vicar-General in sole charge in Sydney; Murphy 1840-'43, Gregory 1846-1848. His local knowledge was inevitably much greater than the Archbishop's and the latter's supervision therefore light. At the same time, it is rarely that such a vice-gerent can command a moral authority commensurate with his responsibility; it is too easy to make an appeal over his head. So Murphy struck trouble with Brady and Duncan. The Archbishop seems to have given some credit to the complaints. But whatever their justice, Murphy was soon removed upstairs to Adelaide, and succeeded in his unlucky eminence by Gregory. And here the inherent difficulties of the position were quite certainly aggravated by the personality of the incumbent.

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10. H .R.A. i, 26, p.668. Date of application 30th December, 1845.

11. Departure, Sydney Chronicle 18th February, 1846. Birt ii, p.69, notes how the pattern of Polding's life during the 'forties necessarily left us with scanty records.

ii. Gregory.

The earliest accounts of Gregory could hardly be more to his praise. His forceful arrest of two runaway soldiers near Wollongong at the beginning of 1838, when he was not long ordained; <sup>1</sup> his bold ~~stroke~~ <sup>action</sup> on Norfolk Island when, facing incipient mutiny, "Gregory stepped forward and seized the first man's musket and was the chief means of restoring order;"<sup>2</sup> Ullathorne's report of him as "the same simple-hearted, affectionate laughing soul he ever was, and a most valuable missioner";<sup>3</sup> his bringing a sceptical ship's doctor back to the practice of his religion by making as if to throw him overboard.<sup>4</sup> Certainly, this was a man; and an extremely handsome, powerful one to boot, judging from his portrait.<sup>5</sup> Chaplain ( and so presumably confessor) to the Archbishop on tour, he won his confidence completely, and was never to lose it to the end of the old man's life, his own death following within months. This lifetime of intimacy, unbroken when Gregory was eventually in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes, is inconceivable had he been notably out of tune with

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1. Birt 1, p.318.
  2. Birt 1, P.439
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ullathorne, Cabin Boy p.190
  5. Birt 11, opp. p.314.



the Archbishop's purity and elevation of mind, or his energy and compassion as pastor.

While, however, his native integrity is unquestioned, he had to face hazards of temperament and circumstance which left him in a peculiar manner at the mercy of any defect of character he might have. He was highly strung; and was a strong man, a good horseman and lover of the outdoors, without being physically tough. "A good young man, very zealous," Polding had written earlier, "capable of great fatigue, but he requires a good sleeping morning after his day's work".<sup>6</sup> In fact, the Archbishop had taken him to Europe in 1840 because he was run down;<sup>7</sup> and again at the end of the 'forties we find him exhausted by a short tour of duty south of the Murrumbidgee;<sup>8</sup> and there were frequent references to his health in letters the Archbishop wrote to friends they had in common.<sup>9</sup> Men of this type can be very exacting superiors. But Gregory was also a convert, though this was not mentioned, we presume not known, in the colony.<sup>10</sup> And even beyond

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6. Birt i, pp.303-4
  7. Birt i, p.497 ( Polding to Brady).
  8. "John O'Brien" (P. Hartigan), In Diebus Illis, in A.C.R., 1943, p.170.
  9. Cf. Birt ii, p.105.
  10. A letter by Polding to a correspondent unknown (a bishop), at a date unknown, remarks of the death of Gregory's brother that "he is the only one of the family not converted to the true faith." (It is possibly written to Goold; it gives the prelate in question leave to repair to Europe on the occasion of his father's death, and I suppose this to have been a motive for Goold's going home exactly when he did, 1851). Sydney Arch. Archives. (S.A.A.)

that, Gregory, like the Archbishop himself, had had little experience, in his mature manhood, of serving under another; yet was promoted to a high prelacy over seasoned and very individualistic missionaries, after very little actual missionary experience; and on top of it all, with little enough experience even of the regular, monastic life, he attempted, once a monastery was formed with strict cloister, to combine the demanding offices of Prior ( or Abbott) and Vicar-General. Thus put upon a pedestal untried, he ran not only the risk of having, like Cassius, all his faults observed,

Set in a note-book, learned, and conn'd by rote,  
To cast into my teeth

(exactly what happened to Gregory in the hands of hostile critics, in his own day and since); but the risk also that his faults might grow rank because he never had been "check'd like a bondman."

What was Gregory's particular fault? I mean the mainspring of his personality, the virtue deep in the man that could show as vice at times. "An intolerant <sup>11</sup> man", said Hartigan, voicing a view common enough among the Irish secular clergy. It can, of course, be hard for a second-in-command to seem anything else - he must, up to a point, be more loyal to official policy than to his common sense. But apart from that we must be clear what it was he would not tolerate.

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11. "O'Brien" In Diebus A .C.R. 1944, p.136



Perhaps we have a fair indication in words that slipped from his pen when composing his Report to Propaganda in 1851. I pause to remark that second thoughts recalled them, the man had more charity and prudence than many of his detractors. I shall give the context at some length as this, the most substantial of the few documents we have from him, serves to illustrate several facets of his personality:

In the matter of church building also, the devotion of Catholics, their humble but unwearied offerings, have favourably excited the attention and admiration of sectaries. As regards the style of building also, we may without boasting congratulate ourselves. The Archbishop has extended considerable pains and anxiety on this point; not only because churches built with propriety and good taste, formed upon, though with no servile adherence to models of acknowledged authority, are eventually the cheapest, but because in a new community unhappily but too much engrossed in material pursuits, it is of no inconsiderable importance, in its due place, to present even to men's senses, the forms and suggestions of other beauties and more lasting interests. Besides this, it is a common and most unaccountable slander of Protestantism in British dominions, to say that the Catholic faith and clergy are inimical to the progress of art and science. In charity to them, the Archbishop has not been unwilling to show, where the opportunity might offer itself, that all which is fair as well as good, has its true home and nurture in the fold of the one true Church. Every advantage of such kind, that can be secured without damage to more sacred interests, is of great importance in a country like this, where so large a proportion of the population are Protestants, -

and now the words deleted, -

and of a class possessing a tolerable share of intellectual cultivation, enough at least to quicken their more critical powers, and to obscure to their carnal judgment, the genuine worth of Catholic faith and morality, where they happen to be accompanied by the somewhat lesser mental and



social habits of the laity and clergy of Irish extraction. <sup>12</sup>

It is undue simplification to say he was anti-Irish; he despised the second-rate, the barbarous, and considered his Irish confreres, on the whole, precisely such. And the texture of his prose, measured, sententious, wanting reportage, fills in for us his concept of excellence. The plain fact is, I think, that he saw life through a stained-glass window. If it did not proceed with the dignity and precision of an ecclesiastical ceremony, liturgically, strictly according to the rubrics, - then so much the worse for life, he would not change the rubrics.

There is a pungent comment by Willson on a letter he had received from Gregory: "Coarse, weak and laboured. That man ( pious enough I grant) has by his overbearing manner done mischief for years." <sup>13</sup> Gregory had mortally offended Willson by his mediation in the <sup>r</sup>Theory disput, <sup>14</sup> but Willson's reaction was more than mere spleen; the Abbott lacked diplomatic

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12. Birt ii, p.172 and footnote.  
 13. Undated fragment signed R.W.W. in Sydney Archives. Mgr. Cullen informs me of a letter to the same effect in Hobart Archives.  
 14. Gregory suggested in his offhand manner, that Willson might have to resign his mitre over it. Cullen, Willson A.C.R., 1952, p.22

finesse just as he did speculative. Magganotto<sup>15</sup> would complain of his "accustomed despotic air".

We shall meet corroboration enough in due course. But does the coarseness of expression ( there is no implication of indecency) to which Willson refers, - there is a disconcerting example in one personal letter of Gregory's that survives in Sydney<sup>16</sup> - does this square with the hypothesis I have put forward, of devotion to high standards run to seed in fastidiousness? It rounds out the picture, surely, of a man, simple-hearted, cheerful, familiar and affectionate with those he thinks of as his equals,

benigno a' suoi ed a' nemici crudo,

and drawing his circle, defining suoi, too narrowly altogether. He not only set a high price on the cultivation of mind and sensibility ( in a religious mode and context), but had the misfortune, in Sydney, 1850,

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15. Thorpe, First Mission, p.234. et seq, devotes an entire appendix to Magganotto.
16. See Part II, Chapter 3, Section 3. There are plenty of samples of his slanginess in Birt. The monks petitioning for his removal in 1853, having (through certain lay brothers) access to his private letters, took very self-righteous exception to phrases like "the slimy serpents that are crawling about the Archbishop" of some of the clergy or, of the Archbishop, that he had not "half enough devil in him".

to believe that there was an upper class which stood for some such cultivation. J.D. Lang leaves us with a vivid picture of him on a fine horse, liveried groom in train, going from great house to great house soliciting for a testimonial to Gips<sup>17</sup> on his departure.

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17. J.D. Lang, Popery in Australia and in the Southern Hemisphers and how to check it effectually. page.30 (Edinburgh, 1847)



iii. The Case for Benedictinisation.

It meant, as far as policy was concerned, that Gregory conceived the best service of the Archdiocese to be the promotion of the Benedictine foundation. This was the Archbishop's settled determination when he returned in 1843: "the Seminary, which I propose to make Benedictine."<sup>1</sup> On his arrival he had a Rescript read authorising the monastery, and constituting the cathedral a monastic cathedral;<sup>2</sup> and in October wrote the Archbishop of Dublin of his plan and its progress, and how All Hallows fitted in ( Mr. Hand's sturdy young Irishmen were to come to Polding to "receive their Orders and to take the religious habit"<sup>3</sup>) This plan was still in force when, in England in 1847, Polding circularised potential friends of the mission:

The Holy Council of Trent enjoins, as a solemn obligation, the duty of providing Seminary in each Metropolitan See, and even directed Church Revenues to be used for such a purpose, in preference to every other .... We have, in consequence, commenced the erection of our Seminary .... And it would appear to be in the sweet designs of Providence .. that we should endeavour to transplant that same Holy Order in which we have been nurtured, to the far distant climes of Australia.<sup>4</sup> For our Seminary partakes of a monastic character.

He gives two reasons for having a monastic seminary.

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1. Birt ii, p.36
  2. Ibid., p.60
  3. Ibid., p.66
  4. Ibid., p.125 sqq

One was prudent: "they are brought up in simplicity and obedience, in habits of retiredness and self-restraint, which We know from experience to be the best preparation for the future Apostolic Missionary"<sup>5</sup> and, as he argued on another occasion, the only way of imbuing the wild colonial boys with Christian habits of mind.<sup>6</sup> But his other reason was sentimental: "compensation for the use to which the venerable ruins of Canterbury are to be perverted" ( the Anglicans planned a College to supply the colonies with ministers on the very site of Augustine's original foundation).<sup>7</sup> Hence it was he sought a Coadjutor of his own Order; Ullathorne, however, was now Vicar-Apoltolic of the west of England; the choice fell on another man who had trained under Polding, Charles Henry Davis, of Downside, who was consecrated by Ullathorne at the beginning of 1848, and reached Sydney at the end of that year.<sup>8</sup> He found Polding confirmed in his plan; the Archbishop had travelled Europe, going from one Benedictine house to another,<sup>9</sup> looking for support both moral and financial; since returning he had strength-

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5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p.104

7. Ibid., pp.125 sqq.

8. <sup>4</sup>bid., p.135. Cf. Sydney Chron. 20th April, 1848, 12th August, 1848.

9. Sydney Chron. 5th October, 1847. Needless to state he had scoured Ireland for priests first - cf. Sydney Chron. 30th December 1846 - but was, understandably, not too keen on many of the famine "vocations" ( see his letter to Willson, reproduced by Cullen in A.C.R. 1953, p.125)



ened his teaching staff by the accession of Sconce  
<sup>10</sup>  
 and Makinson; had ordained Daniel O'Connell, "a  
 very valuable subject, native born" ( the first such  
<sup>11</sup>  
 to become a priest); and had picked up the "Vineyard"  
<sup>12</sup>  
 cheap (£5000) from the bankrupt estate of H.H.Macarthur.  
 Polding again wrote the Archbishop of Dublin, mid-  
 year 1848:

My community fulfil the duty of canons in the  
 Metropolitan Church. The entire Office is publicly  
 recited each day. All included, it had (sic)  
 reached the number of 32; about twenty are intend-  
 ed for the sacred ministry, and the greater part  
 native born. Many however, are very young. God  
 be praised for His goodness, there reigns through-  
 out a spirit of religious simplicity and fervour  
 which consoles much. <sup>13</sup>

He had arranged to bring Benedictine nuns out to the  
<sup>14</sup>  
 Vineyard the following year. With Davis, diplo-  
 matic and methodical, to share the administration, and  
 leave Polding much more free for the boundary-riding  
 missionary work he was so happy in, the Benedictine  
<sup>15</sup>  
 regime seemed solidly established.

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10. See Chapter 3, Section iii, below.  
 11. Birt ii, P.140.  
 12. Ibid., pp.141-2. Cf Sydney Chron. 9th  
 September, 1848.  
 13. Birt ii, p.140  
 14. Ibid., p. 57 sqq. The School had a waiting list  
 by 1853. (ibid., p.199)  
 15. The first Sydney notice of Davis' appointment,  
Sydney Chronicle 22nd April, 1848, clearly de-  
 signated him as Coadjutor despite his territor-  
 ial appointment to Maitland. Letters in Birt  
 vol.ii, p.155 and p.163, early and late 1849,  
 make it clear that Davis was "everything" in  
 Sydney that year, while Polding and Gregory  
 combed the outback.



iv. The Case Against Benedictinisation.

Polding's approach, sanctioned by Gregory XVI, was sound enough on paper. Above all, it conformed with the Church's general experience. In South and North America, in India and the Far East, as back in the Benedictine centuries, it had been the orders that spear-headed the Church's advances, whilst a secular clergy grew up only as time passed, recruited in the main locally ( a process readily observed in contemporary China, where there were now two hundred native priests.)<sup>1</sup> The specific difference of the Australian mission was that the people it was intended for were immigrants already baptised. It was an immense difference; but even so perhaps not enough to change the case, had it not been for the institution of All Hallows College. All Hallows was not launched when Polding conceived his plan, and he was slow to realise how it altered the situation, by providing a secular clergy trained for precisely the kind of mission Australia was. At the same time he continued to think of the English Benedictine Congregation, on whom his whole experiment must lean, in terms of his own quite peculiarly cloistered life in it; whereas, in truth, "at that time, as also for the two previous

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1. S.M.H. 25th February, 1847.

centuries, the English Benedictines were principally<sup>2</sup> occupied in parish work all over England." It was to prove the same out here. The effective choice was not between secular and regular. It was between two bodies of secular clergy; only one of them not so in name.

Nor was this "name" happily chosen. The Irish clung to memories of home just as the English did - Australia was all in prospect, and hope is more abstract than memory, less apt to engage the affections. Harpur was at this time writing in the Chronicle of a Hunter River that looked suspiciously like Wordsworth's Wye -

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The banks are green, the stream is bright.

It should not surprise us to find a Saint Patrick's day speaker in 1843 assuring his audience that even if " they had never beheld the green fields their fathers trod, nor heard the music of Ireland's silvery streams", still, " in each of their bosoms ...<sup>4</sup> an Irish heart" was beating. Polding knew what Ireland meant to them:

"Ireland, notwithstanding her sufferings, had clung to the faith as the anchor of her hope. Those sufferings had been to her as the press in the vineyard, and the streams of life had been diffused among their children throughout

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2. W.D. Knowles, Cardinal Gasquet as Historian, London, 1957, p.3

3. Australasian Chronicle, 31st January, 1843.

4. Ibid, 19th March, 1843.



the habitable world. The Feast of Saint Patrick filled the universe with joy. On this day, Christianity came to the nation who had maintained her virginal fidelity to her heavenly spouse undefiled, and, with gratitude, he acknowledged the Apostle of Ireland to be the Apostle of the world.<sup>5</sup>

But the Benedictine plan, even when the subjects were of Irish extraction ( as the majority were), could hardly be accepted as an Irish undertaking. The Order had of old been a symbol of English usurpation in Ireland, and had in recent centuries been the soul of the remnant Catholicism of England, something very English and an affair of the gentry. It was all the more unbending in the person of Gregory, punctilious,<sup>6</sup> and reputedly unapproachable.<sup>7</sup> Polding himself, man of prayer and lover of poverty, was seldom resident in the community. The younger religious, therefore, fell under the influence of Farrelly, a believing liberal; and then of Magganotto, querying the Archbishop's " kindly manner which he can use when he

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5. Moran, p.210.

6. Cf F.J. 18th April, 1857: the liturgy at Saint Mary's.

7. The monks petitioning for secularisation in 1853 had, they claimed, "an absolute fear to make any of our doubts and difficulties known to him." As, however, these young men had seen almost nothing of the Abbot for two years and a half, at this point, their testimony was most likely influenced by Magganotto and Farrelly and Gourbeillon. For the document in question, Birt ii, pp.216-222



wants to", the way "they made use of me", the way Gregory forbade "the other religious here who are in the know to tell me anything about the matter." <sup>8</sup> Such mentors were more continuously on the spot than the Abbot.

Hence it was, that just when numbers were at their highest - forty-five in January, 1851, - the morale of the community began to wilt. The unnamed diarist of Saint Mary's during that year - a deacon, he tells us - had a dismal tale to unfold. <sup>9</sup> Few in choir, he noted on 27th March, due as much to negligence as sickness. 9th June " on the whole ... was a very dull day, and the cause thereof is known to those who were members of the picnic party." Likewise, 11th July was-" on the whole" - a day " of melancholy recollections for more than one of the community," for "there was such a decided alteration of the state of the monastery, from what it was." Certainly, it is melancholy for the historian even a century later to contrast an account like that of late November 1849, when the community repaired to the Vineyard for the

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8. For Farrelly on liberty of the press. Australasian Chronicle 19th March, 1842 - For Magganotto O. Thorpe, First Mission, p.234 et seq.
9. This paragraph is collated from the diary of the Benedictine community according to date. S.A.A.

first mass there, "and the rest of the day passed in sport - some rambling through the Bush, others fishing upon the creek among whom was His Grace the Archbishop who seemed again to have become a child in the company of his young postulants," despite bad weather; - to contrast this with October two years later when "the Brethren remained at home moping about the garden" or the "moody silence" at the recreation on the 23rd. One condition of the decline was the absence of Polding ( at the diggings) and Gregory (abroad) at one and the same time, while Davis, in dubious health, had not only the cares of the Diocesan administration but, more particularly, the launching of the Lyndhurst Academy - this venture, too, a serious distraction for the community. But the root cause was a state of mind, hinted at by the diarist in a reference to the moody silence of October 23: "difficulties in the minds of the Regulars, as to the present state of the Order in the Colony - long suppressed, now out". This assumed the legalistic shape of doubts as to the validity of the vows taken at Saint Mary's, on the grounds that the cloister did not enjoy the guarantee of the State, as Canon Law required. It was a factitious claim, since the Holy See was empowered both to dispense the law, and, if it had initially failed to do so, to declare a sanatio in radice in retrospect; but it fed on the restless-

ness that came on men bound to a strict rule in rather thrilling times. The moody silence of October 23 was occasioned by the dispensation of a number of (simple) vows but lately made; others presented a reclamation against their vows at the same time; early in November a certain Bowler left religion; at the end of the year Farrelly left for Rome, with his reclamation, and he was in the event secularised. The decline of one Finn into insanity at this time can have done nothing to settle frayed nerves. It is true that Polding and Davis are said to have restored "unanimity and good feeling". But the garment was possibly already beyond patching. The trouble was set in dramatic relief by the liturgical juxtaposition in March of the feasts of Saint Patrick (17th) and Saint Benedict (21st); for the latter -

Splendid singing in the choir, but very few persons in the church to listen to it. It is very evident from the difference in the attendance of the people even at the earlier Masses of today that Saint Patrick holds a place in their affections pre-eminently above that of Saint Benedict; and it may even be gathered that the Benedictines in general do not possess much of their good wishes.

These young men had lost their sense of destiny. Goold traced the trouble to the Continental clergy of Sydney; but others were profoundly unsettled, not only Farrelly and Sheridan Moore, but less flamboyant souls like Sheehy, Curtis, Corish.



Gregory, moreover, during his period in sole charge 1846-1848, had offended many. This was not all Irishry: A Marist Father set up house in Woolloomooloo, with a lay-brother, but was not accorded the normal privileges of a religious house, was treated, in fact, as another diocesan priest.<sup>10</sup> In this case, however, Polding, while abroad, came to a happier arrangement with the Marists' General in Lyons. Much more feeling was aroused over the Irish communities, the Christian Brothers and the Charity Sisters. The former in the process of resisting a request that they educate Benedictine aspirants, <sup>as if the measure were</sup> ~~as a measure~~ intended to sub-ordinate them to the Benedictines, put themselves in the false position of setting up a novitiate of their own order, without authorisation from their own superiors, and so were recalled - without the Archbishop's knowledge.<sup>11</sup> Whatever the abstract rights of the case, Willson believed the Brothers, not the Abbot; and his version, which represented the Brothers as innocent victims of heavy-handed and irregular authority, prevailed with Irish-Australian public opinion, then and since. Gregory was probably guilty on three counts here - a too

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10. Rev.W. Jefficott, S.M. The Coming of the Marist Fathers to Australia and the History of Villa Maria, Catholic Historical Society Archives.

11. "O'Brien" In Diebus, A.C.R. 1944, p.135 et seq. I have Willson's views by correspondence with Mgr. Cullen. See also Polding's Pieces Justificatives of 1858-9, in S.A.A.

determined pursuit of the abbey-diocese ideal; no notion of suaviter in modo - expecting, indeed, others to share his own high-spirited detachment; - and failure to defend himself at the bar of public opinion. And these defects were even more evident in his relations with the Charity Congregation.

v. The Charity Nuns.

As soon as his appointment was determined on (early 1834), even before his consecration, Polding had been in close touch with the foundress of the Irish Sisters of Charity, Mary Aikenhead, with a view to a foundation in Australia - their first outside Ireland. The initiative came from a Tipperary girl named de Lacy, "who, hearing of Bishop Polding's mission to New Holland, enquired if he meant to establish the Sisters of Charity in his immense diocese"<sup>1</sup>; and having made his way to Tipperary and satisfied himself of her prima facie suitability, he arranged with M. Aikenhead to pay for Miss de Lacy's training "to become a Sister of Charity for my district."<sup>2</sup> M. Aikenhead considered it "not likely that we shall be called on to send our present postulant, and those who may join her, for four years",<sup>3</sup> and it was not till

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1. J. Cullen, The Australian Daughters of Mary Aikenhead, Sydney, 1938, p.18 (letters by Mother A.) For the most part I do no more than summarise Cullen's well-documented account here, and in his Bishop Willson A.C.R. 1953, p.204 et seq. Having had access, however, to Polding's relevant correspondence, I consider it puts certain old facts in a new light. Mgr. Cullen maintains his original verdict, hostile to Gregory.
  2. Ibid., p.19
  3. Ibid.



Ullathorne's Australian voyage of 1838 that the expedition sailed, 17th August, five Sisters: One of the young institute's senior members in charge, M. John Cahill; deLacy (professed as M. Baptist), and a nun with some slender qualifications as a nurse (F. de Sales O'Brien); Lawrence Cator, permitted by M. Aikenhead to go on the stringent condition that she never hold office, a precaution which her<sup>4</sup> conduct on the way out did everything to justify; and a novice, Xavier Williams, a woman already of thirty-eight. Their departure was a sharp wrench for the infant congregation; the ailing Foundress's mood was sombre, but she packed them off with austere Christian advice and first-rate equipment - books, mass-charts and vessels survive to this day. On Polding's testimony they arrived "happy and cheerful", "excited to commence".<sup>5</sup> But it was twenty years before the Sydney foundation was stable and flourishing, and by then all the original party were scattered.

There were various reasons for this anti-climax. Houses suitable for convent life were rare in Sydney-Parramatta at the time. The initial *raison d'être*

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4. Ullathorne, Cabin Bay, p.138. Cf. Cullen, Australian Daughters, p.22

5. Ibid., p.30

of their Institute, work among the "wretched females" at the Parramatta Factory, petered out as the transportation era receded into the past. Their income was uncertain, for they had refused Government assistance.<sup>6</sup> Willaim Davis, however, purchased a suitable house in Parramatta; and also endowed the community they formed in Sydney (late 1839) with £100 p.a., while Plunkett paid its rent.<sup>7</sup> In Parramatta, twice-daily visitation of the Factory brought about a "moral miracle"<sup>8</sup> - hundreds confirmed, and up to fifty receiving communion weekly in an institution previously remarkable for every form of sexual license and bad temper; in between they ran a school for infants and girls, visited the sick and the old, and instructed converts. In Sydney, their centre of reference was the Catholic orphanage at Waverley; but they had also the superintendance and religious instruction of six primary schools. "Their whole time and energies are devoted to their vocation", wrote Judge Burton apprehensively.<sup>9</sup> Williams took her vows,

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6. Ibid., p.59

7. Ibid., p.33, p.35 Cf. Sister M. Dunstan, Sisters of Charity in Australia, Catholic Historical Society Archives.

8. Moran, p.832. The phrase is Poldings. Cf. Kenny, Progress of Catholicity, p.163

9. W. Burton, The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales, London, 1840, Append. xvi.



the first virgin consecrated to Christian <sup>on</sup> ~~land~~ Australian soil; Ullathorne made her a present of the manuscript of his address for the occasion. <sup>10</sup> Several postulants were received, <sup>Father</sup> Marum's sister was professed <sup>as the sisters</sup> in 1841 ( she had come out on the same ship); and in 1843 Sister M. Ignatius Gibbons, M. Joseph O'Brien; also M. Teresa Fisher who, with a second Marum girl, died the following year. These untimely deaths were probably hastened by overwork and undernourishment: "every day means Lent to us", Mother Cahill told <sup>11</sup> Dublin. And Cator, besides, returned to Ireland, under Mrs. Chisholm's wing, in 1846, where she was <sup>12</sup> released from her vows.

But other trials, though closely related, and attributable to human frailty, came in fact to be attributed to Benedictinisation. Polding did not get around to building the convent he proposed, and proposed to set aside money, for, from the time of their arrival; he proposed, changed, and proposed again. Benedictine direction, not in harmony with the modern, Jesuit, spirit of the rule, led to the

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10. Still in the nuns' possession.  
 11. Cullen, Australian Daughters p.46. In A Century of Charity. Australian Catholic Truth Society pamphlet by M. Egan, SJ, which tells what I am afraid I must call the old old story - how the privations were due to the mismanagement of Polding and Gregory etc. - the author asserts (p.12) that the deaths of the early 'forties were due to privation. My copy from S.A.A.  
 12. S.M. Dunstan, Sisters of Charity in Australia Cf. Gregory to Murray, April 1846, in Cullen Australian Daughters pp.71-2



resignation of Cahill as Head Superior in 1840. At an election itself difficult to reconcile with the rule (because only one of the nuns was, by the mere operation of the rule, qualified to vote), F. de Sales O'Brien was chosen - "for my sins", as she told Polding<sup>13</sup> - to fill the difficult job. It was, it would seem, to be essentially one of buffer between Gregory and the nuns. In Rome, 1842, Polding in accordance with an earlier understanding he had with M. Aikenhead - and which Mm. Cahill and O'Brien knew of - had the Australian nuns formed into a distinct congregation under his own jurisdiction, "as from distance and other causes, the greatest inconvenience might arise if they were to remain under the jurisdiction of the Superiors in Ireland."<sup>14</sup> But for some reason<sup>15</sup> the Rescript was not published in Australia for four years; the Sisters proceeded on the assumption

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13. Cullen, Australian Daughters, p.68

14. Ibid., p.69. Polding's jurisdiction, under this Brief, was strictly within the Rule and Constitutions of the Sisterhood: these limits, the sisters held, were transgressed.

15. Polding seems to have given his reasons in a letter to M. Aikenhead regarding L. Cator's return to Ireland, which, of course, presupposed her affiliated still to the Irish province. This has not been published, but there is a reference to it by Cullen op.cit. on pp.70-1.

that they still had their co-founders, Archbishop Murray and M. Aikenhead, as a court of appeal. Tension mounted between them and their Benedictine superiors. When Teresa Walsh - McEncroe's step-sister, of all people for Gregory to choose - sought, during Polding's second European absence, to be professed, Gregory would have insisted on a vote of acceptance by the community; but this custom of the older orders has no place in the Charity constitutions, and M. O'Brien ( as superior) refused to consent to such an innovation. At the same time he light-heartedly brushed aside the letter of the law in his relations with the novices - too much chit-chat and taking meals to the sick, improprieties (in the pioneer nuns' eyes) soon magnified into unconstitutional acts. And one last step calculated to offend even less touchy subjects: without further explanation, he posted the Rescript on the chapel door; and then used his powers as ecclesiastical superior to appoint Williams in charge. When Cahill proceeded to back O'Brien in defiance of this stern decree, he insisted on their leaving not only the convent (which may well have been necessary) but the diocese; Williams herself took their side and ( with Gregory's consent) eventually went with them. "The separating", Willson adjudged, " at the antipodes of their native land, from their Sisters in Religion, and from the



property that had been legally secured them in perpetuity towards their comfort and support in old age, was, to say the least, a strong measure". Gregory,

16. I draw my narrative here from Cullen, Australian Daughters, pp.73-4, and from various documents in the Hobart archives, communicated to me by Mgr. Cullen, but mostly published in his article in A.C.R. loc. cit. This quotation is from a Willson letter to Gregory, 1859.

My scepticism as to the account of the affair adopted by Willson, under Sr. Williams' influence, is engendered by several arguments. For instance, the venom and irresponsibility of the gossip which pursued Gregory at a later date is a verified fact. We can perhaps then argue backwards from it. Again, those who thus white-wash the nuns have never either considered or met Polding's views of the case; perhaps they have not been in a position to. When we discover (see Chapter 7) how groundlessly M. de Lacy in 1859 alleged Gregory's arbitrariness to excuse her own prevarication, we begin to suspect that those whose cause she espoused in 1847 may have been tarred with the same brush. Further, Willson's argument about property secured for old age, though very pathetic, no doubt, brushes aside the elementary canon law of the case: religious vowed to poverty can have no such security. Their institute, of course, can. The expelled nuns themselves, by using the legal accident of their trusteeship to prevent transfer of the former Davis property to Polding himself, were in fact injuring the Sydney community, the majority who stayed behind. They were well-advised to do as they did, in their petition to Rome, 1850, for canonical erection in Hobart, declaring: "No claim is made on the property of the Sisters of Charity in New South Wales." Their objection to transferring to Polding was that the property was left them (by William Davis) and Polding sought to have it, not as trustee. Propaganda eventually insisted on its transfer to the Sydney Sisters - 8th September, 1856. (S.A.A.) Finally, Willson's charges against Gregory ignored the evidence I give below, particularly as to divisions in the community. Two facts stand out; the majority submitted to Gregory, and (though slowly) flourished, whereas Willson's community (though purely sociological factors were against it) did not.



who could do strange things in moments of excitement, may have thought this too to be necessary for the peace of the remaining Sisters. But where should they go? Gregory suggested New Zealand; there was a ship then in port; it is no more incredible than his insisting they leave the diocese (which meant, of course, the Eastern Australian mainland) Willson, however, provided a better refuge. Much attracted by the central concept of the Charity apostolate, to serve Christ in the poor, he was at this very time abroad trying, among other things, to coax another Australian contingent from M. Aikenhead.<sup>17</sup> Hall, his Vicar-General, knowing the Bishop's general views about the relative merits of Benedictines and Charity nuns, had no compunction in welcoming the refugees to Hobart, 20th June, 1847.<sup>18</sup>

If Gregory had precipitated a split, it was a very lucky one. Three of the pioneer Irishwomen were in Hobart under congenial direction, under their original superioress, at the work they were experienced in - the Factory for convict women; the religious

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Second, the Sydney community had peace precisely as soon as the last of the pioneer women had left (1859). I might add, in the light of all this, that I suspect the abruptness of Gregory's posting of the Rescript has been exaggerated - i.e. I suspect that the nuns had refused to take a hint.

17. Cullen's article in A.C.R. loc.cit.

18. Sydney Chronicle, 12th May, 1847, 7th July, 1847.

instruction of convict men; the visitation of a school, an orphanage, and an infirmary for old women. While in Sydney, the initiator of the whole venture, de Lacy, had with her seven companions who, while Irish-born, had all become religious in the colony. There was a profession in July, 1847, to ease the hurt of schism. Did the Chronicle know what was afoot when it took occasion to emphasise the Church's care in weeding out those unfit for the religious life?<sup>19</sup> The Parramatta house~~s~~ was abandoned with the closing of the Factory the following year. Concentrated in Sydney - M. Ignatius Gibbons (not de Lacy, note),<sup>20</sup> the daughter of an Irish gentleman, in charge, appointed by Polding - they ran six day schools and a night school, instructed converts, and helped in the nearby Darlinghurst jail.<sup>21</sup> Here was a fair beginning for an Australian congregation of religious women,<sup>22</sup> could it but find a spiritual director.

But Gregory took no measures to defend himself and his authority before an accusing Willson, and an accusing public opinion in Sydney and among the Irish everywhere. He did say a word privately to Geoghegan,

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19. Sydney Chronicle, 17th July, 1847.

20. F.J. 1st March 1865. (obit.)

21. Sr. M. Dunstan, Sisters of Charity in Australia

22. Eventually found in the person of Ambrosoli, who directed the nuns for many years after 1858: Moran, pp.992-4.



much later, on Willson's attitude:

I cannot think the Bishop has seen one half of the correspondence between me and the nuns ... What I did, I was called upon to do by the Sisters themselves, and that too in writing.<sup>23</sup>

Here was the essential Willson ignored: tensions within the community. Polding, too, wrote down his verdict, for Goold's benefit, in 1859. It is a striking contrast with Willson's praise, when he wrote M. Aikenhead, "sensible, prudent, humble, fervent and cheerful":<sup>24</sup>

These Ss. almost from the beginning have been more or less a cause of trouble to us. Distrust of superiors - bad temper making too much of little things - arbitrariness in the governing over-sensitiveness in the governed - these are the bane of good discipline and of domestic happiness in the cloister as elsewhere.<sup>25</sup>

We can, I believe, reconcile the two accounts; these would not be the first ministering angels to prove trying superiors or restless subjects, nor the first strenuous souls to quieten down once they thought they had made their point. Little as our certitude is<sup>26</sup> concerning the detailed rights and wrongs of this friction, we can say this: these nuns

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23. Gregory to Geoghegan, S.A.A. 20th September, 1859.  
 24. Willson to Aikenhead, 1849, quoted by Mgr. Cullen to me.  
 25. Polding to Goold, S.A.A. 20th June, 1859.  
 26. "Much information letters etc.", Mgr. Cullen tells me, in the Annals of the Sisters at Dublin and Sydney. I have not had access to these; but the vindication of the pioneer nuns can rest there only - it is not to be found in the Sydney Archdiocesan archives.





suffered from lack of wise direction just as the monks did; and they learned, consequently, from similar sources - excited lay opinion, nationalistic in bias - to accuse Gregory. But whether he, too, was an arbitrary superior remains, despite Willson, an open question; the weight of opinion is so far against him, but it is precisely the kind of opinion that damned Willson so hastily in the ~~Theory~~ case.

vi. The Irish Background.

It was, however, not such details, but an international development on the broadest scale that doomed the Benedictinising conception of the Sydney mission.

"By the Articles of Limerick", wrote Sidney Smith, "the Irish were promised the free exercise of their religion, but from that period to the year 1778, every year produced some fresh penalty against that religion."<sup>1</sup> A little of his brilliant summary of the penal laws may bring their enormity home to us:

By acts in King William's reign, they were prevented from being solicitors. No Catholic was allowed to marry a Protestant; and any Catholic who sent a son to Catholic countries for education was to forfeit all his lands. In the reign of Queen Anne, any son of a Catholic who chose to turn Protestant got possession of the father's estate. No Papist was allowed to purchase freehold property, or to take a lease for more than thirty years. If a Protestant dies intestate, the estate is to go to the next Protestant heir, though all to the tenth generation should be Catholic. In the same manner, if a Catholic dies intestate, his estate is to go to the next Protestant. No Papist is to dwell in Limerick or Galway. No Papist is to take an annuity for life ... Every Papist teaching schools to be presented as a regular Popish convict. Prices of catching Catholic priests, from 50s. to £10, according to rank. Papists are to answer all questions respecting other Papists, or to be committed to jail for twelve months. No trust to be undertaken for Papists...

And lest we be lulled into thinking that this kind

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1. Rev. S. Smith, Essays Social and Political, London, c.1846, pp.448-9.

of ingenuity must soon exhaust itself, he prolongs the catalogue, till its latest inspirations:

Persons robbed by privateers during a war with a Catholic State are to be indemnified by a levy on the Catholic inhabitants of the neighbourhood. All marriages between Catholics and Protestants are annulled. All Popish priests celebrating them are to be hanged.

In this dark night, the Irish Catholics perforce became a peasant mass. The 'old Irish' aristocracy either abdicated or was "converted" or was trodden into that mass; its culture survived mainly as a mood of lament and defiance in the popular balladry. The pastoral economy gave way to an agricultural one; that agriculture concentrated on the potato; Irish peasant life was not a time-hallowed institution like the French, but a modern adaptation which in a literate age assimilated liturgy and even faery to the rhythm of agricultural life.<sup>2</sup> National and religious loyalties were more closely fused in this class than, perhaps, in any historical instance outside Israel. The clergy emerged as the social and

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2. C.M. Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, New York 1950. passim.



and intellectual leaders of this people, none to challenge them.<sup>3</sup> And this clergy, educated in various foreign countries, under the supervision of Propaganda, and tied by neither interest nor patriotism to the government in Ireland, was the most international-minded and therefore the most Roman-minded of the European clergies. The parochial clergy acquired a peculiar intimacy with the people on whom their half-underground existence depended, a relationship that at once qualified and enhanced their prestige and authority as a class.

The French Revolution, by breaking-up the temporalities and universities of the Church in Europe, and bringing the British Government into friendly relations with Catholic powers, including <sup>the</sup> Papacy, led to the establishment (1795) of a large ecclesiastical training centre at Maynooth, near Dublin, state-endowed, however poorly. The resulting concentration of the flower of Ireland's young men, at their most enthusiastic and impressionable age, and

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3. See the valuable volumes of documents edited by J. Carty, Ireland from the Flight of the Earls to Grattan's Parliament (1607-1782), and Ireland from Grattan's Parliament to the Great Famine (1782-1850), Dublin 1949. The former, p.157, gives Petty (1672) the latter, p.110, gives de Tocqueville's companion, de Beaumont, on the position of the priesthood; and the latter, p.108, has de Beaumont on the fusion of religion and nation. On Maynooth, see Maynooth: its Centenary History, Dublin, 1895, espec. pp.664-5 (Papal Pramacy)

that in the era of nationalism and imperialism, was one of the two chief factors in the making of modern Ireland; the ultra-montane native tradition quickly asserted itself against the Gallican Erastianism which presided over the College's beginnings. "Doctrina veritatis in cathedra unitatis" - the Bishops deliberately made Augustine's words their own. For these young men, to replace the self-effacing chapels and mass-centres of the penal era with the large bold barn-like parish churches of the nineteenth century, was an act in which social, even political, motivation mingled with religious. And the same general characteristics accompanied those other organs of the Irish Catholic resurgence, the newly founded native orders, the Christian Brothers of Rice, the Patrician Brothers, the Presentation, Mercy, Charity and Brigidine nuns.

The other major shaper of modern Ireland was one man, O'Connell, the angliciser of the Irish mind; though we must see him against his background, the population explosion of the early nineteenth century, an increase from five to eight millions in two generations, and the re-entry of the Catholics into commercial and professional life.<sup>4</sup> Once more, I feel,

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4. For a good general account see R.D. Edwards, and T.D. Williams, (eds) The Great Famine, Dublin, 1956, Chapter 1; particularly pp.55-86.

I shall best do justice to his "reign", and more particularly to those features of it which bear on  
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 my analysis, by quotation:

He formed the bold design of combining the Irish Catholic millions, under the superintendance of the native priesthood, into a vast league against the existing order of things, and of wresting the concession of the Catholic claims from every opposing party in the state by an agitation, continually kept up, and embracing almost the whole of the people, but maintained within constitutional limits, though menacing and shaking the frame of society. He gradually succeeded in carrying out his purpose: the Catholic Association, at first small, but slowly assuming larger proportions was formed; attempts of the government and of the local authorities to put its branches down were skilfully baffled by legal devices of many kinds; and at last, after a conflict of years, all Catholic Ireland was arrayed to a man in an organization of enormous power, that demanded its rights with no uncertain voice. O'Connell, having long before attained an undisputed and easy ascendancy, stood at the head of this great national movement; but it will be observed that, having been controlled from first to last by himself and the priesthood, it had little in common with the mob rule and violence which he had never ceased to regard with aversion. His election for Clare in 1828 proved the forerunner of the inevitable change, and the Catholic claims were granted the next year to the intense regret of the Protestant Irish, by a government avowedly hostile to the last, but unable to withstand the overwhelming pressure of a people united to insist on justice.

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5. Here follows the summary by W.O. Morris in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition art. O'Connell. Leaning heavily on Lecky's essay on O'Connell in his Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland, it is, in my judgment, remarkable for its balance.



"It must be added", this able summation concludes, that O'Connell's triumph, which showed what agitation could effect in Ireland, was far from doing his country unmixed good.

Now the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been remarkable, among many other things, for history's greatest movement of people, more than sixty million Europeans transplanted to other parts of the globe. The British Isles not only dominated this process, as accounting for perhaps a third of the total emigration; they led it, and set the pattern for it. This was particularly true of the Catholic Irish, to whom the expansion of the two great English-speaking powers - the United States westward across the continent, Great Britain along the sea-lanes, and the unoccupied continental trade-routes - was an invitation to seek abroad the freedom and prosperity denied them at home. Bishop England reckoned that more than a million souls had been lost to the Church in the United States by 1836.<sup>6</sup> His reckoning is some index of the priority of the Irish in the great European exodus, so far as the Church was concerned; they established the diocesan and parish framework into which later Poles, Germans, Italians, Czechs and others, poured; where they did not, as in South America ( where we must, perhaps,

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6. J.T. Ellis, American Catholicism, Chicago, 1956, page 123. ( and cf. p.164). For England's approach to the problem see F.J. 1st May, 1851 and 2nd April 1853.

except the Argentine), the framework was far less tough, less elastic. But the scale of the early defections indicates also the nature of the problem; and to Bishop England, it indicated the solution. A tree, to transplant, must carry some of its first soil with it, and so, too, with colonisation. The stability of the emigre Irishman's faith depended on his finding in a new land at least some reproduction of his native pattern of society, culture, and religion; above all, it required the familiar priestly patriarchy, and the ideological impulse associated with O'Connell.<sup>7</sup> Fortunately, the clergy, as the ablest and not the least ambitious section of the nation, felt the pull of opportunity perhaps more strongly, and home ties perhaps less strongly, than any other section; the avenues of preferment were crowded at home - there is a surprising parallel between this class and the graduates of the English universities, with their intense secular missionary zeal. Maynooth, first in the field, was, by its early occupation of thinly-peopled missionary areas, to give a great many bishops to the Church, and contribute powerfully, out of all proportion, to the tone of the Vatican Council.<sup>8</sup> But it rapidly became the keystone of a great arch,

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7. For a Papal warning against priestly politics, see Morning Chronicle, 7th June, 1845; for a more trustful Rome, P.M., 24th February, 1855.
8. Folding, <sup>to</sup> Gregory XVI on the role of Maynooth, Australasian Chronicle, 7th January, 1843. For



as an impoverished but generous people found means to erect other colleges; Cork (Carlow College), by virtue of its size, and its sea-going traditions, the chief rival centre.

The circumstances, however, were so peculiar, and the scale of operations such, that a separate college was called for, one specifically designed to train missionaries. The wishes of Propaganda, the policy of the Irish bishops, the mayoralty of O'Connell, and the inspiration of Father Hand, exactly coincided in the foundation of All Hollows.<sup>9</sup> And the Australian bishops at once began to earmark student-volunteers for their own dioceses, by paying the extremely low fees<sup>10</sup> demanded by their training. "I shall rely

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the tone and regime of the college Sydney Chronicle, 22nd October, 1845. For Irish prelates at the Vatican, see Advocate 28th February, 1870.

9. For the circumstances, see All Hallows Annual 1947, pp.139-141; Sydney Chronicle, 13th January, 1847. Nonprobat modo, sed plurimum etiam laudat atque commendat - not more approval, but the highest praise and commendation, was the tenor of the Brief of Institution. Of A.H. Annual 1953-4, which also gives this quotation.
10. £10 p.a. for many years - cf. McEncroe's appeal to the Catholics of N.S.W., reprod. in A.H. Annual 1953-4, opp.p.160. He then (1859) persuaded the Australians to lift the fee to £15 p.a. He and J.J. Therry financed no fewer than six places simultaneously at this rate.



upon your sympathy in our wants", Polding wrote in December 1844, " to procure us priests such as God loves and man respects, loving labour and rejoicing to suffer if such be the will of their divine Master." By 1865, the College had given this country no fewer than eighty men. By 1880, half the clergy on the continent came from this one seminary.<sup>11</sup>

The future of Australian Catholicism depended, therefore, in very great degree on the intellectual and moral quality of All Hallows. It differed from Maynooth most notably by its extreme poverty, which was an earnest of zeal, and at the same time an opening of the door to young men of poorer families. Though its staff included men of considerable distinction, all content to teach for nothing more than bed and board in return, it was less like an ecclesiastical university than Maynooth, even Maynooth at its nadir; there was a pragmatic tone, and ( naturally) no post-graduate studies. Three hours a day in class, four hours of study, three of spiritual exercises: this, for five years, and the total expenditure of no more than £100,<sup>12</sup> was the making of a priest. Relations between the staff and the students were less formal than at Maynooth.<sup>13</sup> But atmosphere is not to be determined by fiat, nor was it<sup>by</sup> the example of the short-lived founder.

11. Cf. A.H. Annual, 1953-4, p.155 et seq., p.171.

12. Cf. F.J. 13th March, 1851.

13. Cf. A.H. Annual 1947-8, p.35

No individual, not the Council of the bishops, counted for as much as the terrible famine background of the first years. And perhaps the statue of Mary in the grounds today, dressed in the macroom hood of the Munster bride,<sup>14</sup> is a good symbol of what All Hallows stands for.

In McGinty, who arrived in Gregory's Sydney in March 1847, the first to come to an Australian mission and among the very first graduates of the college, we have indices of the All Hallows mind. Unaffected zeal at departure; good-natured contempt for a divided Protestantism; studies persevered with ~~ex~~route; no grief at leaving home, probably forever, but a prayer for Ireland's loyalty to the faith of Patrick, and for generosity in its propagation, especially at All Hallows.<sup>15</sup> The mixture of religion and patriotism is unashamed. One still finds the staff praised as "loveable, learned, pious, broad-minded men", and then the clinching phrase, "Irish of the Irish";<sup>16</sup> and a hundred years ago McGinty wrote no differently: "Poor Ireland, faithful old land, how have you cherished in your heart, and spread all over the earth the faith of

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14. A.H. Annual, 1950-1, p.54

15. McGinty's mariner's log transcribed in A.H. Annual 1950-1, p.186 et seq. His name is misconstrued as McGinley - some of his letters "home" were given in *ibid.*, 1953-4, p.156 et seq. I say "home" because he wrote to the college, not (*ibid.*, p.157) to his still-living parents, who perhaps (it sobers us to remember) could not read.

16. A.H. Annual, 1947-8, p.34

Patrick".<sup>17</sup> At Thurles, indeed, in 1850, the bishops themselves spoke no differently; "the most solemn and important assembly", as the Freeman described it, "That has been held by the Irish Church since the days of her glorious Apostle", dwelt on divine faith as a human heritage in Ireland, whose "memorials are to be found on the mountain top, and in the depth of your valleys, not the less dear because inseparably linked with the holiest affections and the most touching traditions of a persecuted people."<sup>18</sup> Yet loyalty to this inheritance was compatible with complete contentment in the colonial mission; for McGinty, "only the obedience which brought me here would bring me back home permanently."<sup>19</sup> But how incompatible it was with Polding's ideas was sharply clarified by McGinty's reply when approached about taking the Benedictine habit: "I told them plainly that I prefer the Order of Saint Peter."<sup>20</sup> The joke, still in circulation, is in bad taste, if it denies the intrinsic superiority of the religious life,<sup>21</sup> but it shows how

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17. Ibid., 1950-1, p.194

18. F.J. 16th January, 1851.

19. A.H. Annual, 1950-1, p.193

20. Ibid.

21. This was also a prominent theme of the Americanist controversy, recounted as The Great Crisis in American Catholic History, by T.T. McAvoy, C.S.C., Chicago, 1957. See eg. p.131



these raw young men<sup>22</sup> were fired with a conviction of their calling.

Of how much Australia was a mission, for the clergy, not an emigration, we are reminded by the numbers who, whether by design or chance, died in Ireland; of the very first men, for instance, Brady, O'Reilly, Geoghegan, McCarthy, Walsh, McGrath; not to mention the many ship-in-the-night missionaries, of all nations, and not all of spotless reputation, like Watkins, Benson, Bourgeois, Kulm, McColl, Vaccari. The economic and political centre of gravity of the colonies was for a long time London; so, too the ecclesiastical centre of gravity was, for a long time, Europe, more particularly Ireland. "The sea-divided  
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gaels are one", as Cardinal Moran put it. As a pre-  
sage, and as if to remind us how often the makers of history are a circle of friends and acquaintances, McEncroe's letter to Murray in 1832 brings together with theirs, the names of J.J. Therry and R. Therry,

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22. Cf. Willson, in Birt ii, P.148. In fairness to All Hallows, Willson was losing his temper over one of the other colleges in this instance.
23. Priests and People in Ireland - a significant theme for the first pamphlet of the Australian Catholic Truth Society, founded after the turn of this century. I have the quotation from the rabidly hostile work by R.J.C. Ferguson, Cardinal Moran's Church in New South Wales. Sydney, 1909, p.85. My copy from S.A.A.

Daniel O'Connell and Plunkett, Bishop England and the future Cardinal Cullen, and E.I. Rice.<sup>24</sup> The key man among all these had, it would seem, already in the 'forties cast his plans. As Rector of the Irish College in Rome, and for a short time of Propaganda, <sup>Cullen</sup> had with him his kinsmen the Quinns and Murray (the first bishops of Brisbane, Bathurst and Maitland); his ward, Moran, still a child; Dunne, the first Archbishop of Brisbane; Forrest the first Rector of St. John's College in Sydney University, whose mitre never materialised; O'Mahony, Armidale's first bishop; and Croke<sup>25</sup> who succeeded Pompallier in Auckland. Meanwhile the future Primate of Ireland was building up a network of correspondents in the various British colonies.<sup>26</sup> But his empire was to establish its dominion more thoroughly in Australia

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24. Moran, pp.142-3 - a document of great moment.  
 25. Cf. Moran, p378,p399; O'Neill, G. Life of Mother Mary of the Cross (McKillop) 1842-1909 (Sydney, 1931) p.52; Catholic Weekly(Sydney) 7th May, 1942.  
 26. Cf. Australasian Catholic Record. 1895, pp.234-6 (Newfoundland) pp.408-9, 412-3, 419 (South Africa). I have little doubt the range was even wider; there is no good study of Cullen, an aching void in nineteenth century historiography.

than anywhere else.<sup>27</sup> He represented the strength of the Irish Church because he knew its weakness:

To the period of prosecution the Irish ecclesiastical student must ever turn to learn lessons of sacrifice .. but in all that regards the decorum of religion and the external relations of our Holy Church, his lessons must be taken from the brighter era of peace.<sup>28</sup>

And Ireland's empire in Australia would be seriously compromised for twenty years by men who had not grasped this lesson, from J.J. Therry on through Coyle, Bishop Brady and Urquhardt, P. Dunne and Bermingham and McGinty.

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27. Cardinal Moran began the emancipation by founding Manly College. It was not till after the First World War that there was a substantial body of native clergy in Australia, nor till after the Second that they came to dominate the hierarchy.

28. Maynooth: its Centenary History, p.459.



vii. McEncroe.

McEncroe was the thin end of the wedge; during the 'forties, the whole cause rested on his broad shoulders. His star rose as J. J. Therry's set. The pioneer priest might well have remained the cynosure of Irish eyes: he was extravagantly feted on his periodic visits to Sydney from Tasmania,<sup>1</sup> was a Saint Patrick's day toast ("his name, piety, and virtues, were too deeply engraven on the hearts of the people of this colony ever to be erased"),<sup>2</sup> and was even spoken of as episcopabilis.<sup>3</sup> The dispute with Willson, however, greatly diminished his effectiveness and stature;<sup>4</sup> by the time (1853) he returned to permanent residence in Sydney, there was a large body of recent immigrants, and a whole generation of young people, to whom he was a mere piece of history. Deus inde ego. McEncroe too had been posted out of

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1. W.A. Duncan Appeal, p.4
  2. Australasian Chronicle, 18th March, 1843. Cf the previous St. Patrick's day addresses, in 19th March, 1842.
  3. Morning Chronicle, 24th July, 1844.
  4. Ibid., 22nd February, 1845. Cf McEncroe to Therry, in A.C.R., 1955, p.117 (art. by R.Wynne, Archdeacon McEncroe), a letter to Therry about 1850 on the latest manoeuvres in the Willson affray; "Your friends now consider that any evil or loss that may arise ... is attributable to your following your own opinion in preference to ... a considered and disinterested judgment."

the way, at Norfolk Island, when Therry was sent to Tasmania; there may have been policy in it, but more likely the Bishop could trust them to do their job, however difficult. McEncroe, however, not only did a good job, but enhanced his reputation by writing The Wanderings of the Human Mind in 'Searching the Scriptures',<sup>5</sup> the first theological work of any pretensions to come from the colonial clergy. At Murphy's instance, he was exconced in a key position, editing the Chronicle, when the Archbishop returned; and though a combination of financial difficulties, and the duties of the priesthood, were to force him to relinquish the post, the failure of the Chronicle in 1848 opened the door afresh. In 1850, therefore, he established the Freeman's Journal, from the first his paper ( which in fact he kept going despite heavy losses) and never the Archbishop's.

McEncroe's personality and experience stood him in good stead as a leader of public opinion. He was born late in 1795, of poor but determined parents; Maynooth( where he knew Murphy); ordination 1819; a professorship in the diocesan seminary; mastery, inter alia, of his native tongue.<sup>6</sup> The 'twenties he spent with Bishop England in the United States, serving and helping administer as vast a territory, as scattered and demoralised a people, as his friend

5. My copy from S.A.A., second edition, Dublin, 1859.

6. Cf. Wynne, op. cit., A.C.R., 1954, p34 et seq.

Therry was doing at the same time in New South Wales. Here it was that McEncroe came to see how easily exile and apostasy could go together for the Irish, to consider it all-important that there should be a bishop on the spot; John England was to him the pattern Irish-exile bishop, and he was out to reproduce the pattern in New South Wales, the use of the press, the close touch with Ireland, the patriarchal tone, the alert interest in the secular affairs of the people.<sup>7</sup> American democracy, too, made an impression on him - he was to give it plenty of air during Australia's constitution - writing decade, even down to an indiscreet hint about tea-parties<sup>8</sup> when the convict ships were in the harbour in 1849; but his was the art of the possible, and he explicitly disowned Lang's republicanism.<sup>9</sup> In Australia as early as 1832, before Ullathorne, he was to show tenacity in pursuing his aims. He wrote soon after his arrival to the Archbishop of Dublin on the need for a bishop; the letter as I observed ~~at the time~~, was a

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7. On England, see Section vi, f.n. 6, above; also Australasian Chronicle 27th May, 1843 (death-bed); Freeman's Journal, 28th August, 1851.
8. S.M.H. 10th March, 1849. For McEncroe reminiscing more casually of the U.S. in his day, F.J., 20th November, 1861.
9. F.J., 17th September, 1853.



first hint of the coming ecclesiastical empire of  
 Ireland.<sup>10</sup> In 1837, he contacted J.J. Therry in an  
 attempt to take over the Australian newspaper.<sup>11</sup> On  
 both points, others stole the honours, Ullathorne  
 and Duncan, namely; but McEncroe knew how to wait,  
 and had not long to do so, for 1843 saw him in a  
 position of influence virtually unassailable. He  
 was never afraid of the public platform. He used a  
 quick earthy wit which bespoke his origins, and  
 helped him to popular acclaim. For instance, his re-  
 marks in the Domain on the convict ships: "let them  
 remember the provisions of the scab Act which pre-  
 vented scabby sheep from passing through a neighbour-  
 ing run."<sup>12</sup> And he was prepared to be facetious in  
 causes more solemn than Anti-transportation - instance  
 his riposte of much the same date to a Protestant  
 controversialist against Rome who urged the text,  
 "Call no man father upon earth": what had he to say  
 to the text, "Let your garments be always white, and  
 your head lack no ointment"?<sup>13</sup> No man could have

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10. Moran, pp.142-3. For more on McEncroe and  
 O'Connell, *ibid.*, pp.137-8; and Wynne in A.C.R.  
 1955, p.118; and again F.J. 7th July, 1855,  
 for O'Connell's interest in New South Wales. For  
 Bishop England and O'Connell, cf. Wynne *op.cit.*  
A.C.R. 1954, p.36 (f.n.). For New South Wales  
 interest in O'Connell, see issue after issue of  
 the Chronicle from mid 1843; e.g. 13th July 1843,  
 18th January, 1845, 19th April, 1845.
11. Wynne, *op. cit.*, A.C.R., 1955, p.120
12. *Ibid.*, p.212
13. F.J. 13th February, 1851.

been more opposed to Gregory in personality and policy, given agreement on faith and morals; between these twin poles Sydney Catholicism would revolve for the next generation. In 1843 McEncroe loomed far larger in the popular eye than the almost unknown Gregory, and when he stood in as the third prelate at Murphy's consecration,<sup>14</sup> he must have seemed to have the official standing too; there must inevitably have been an edge of feeling to it when the youthful Benedictine, his former assistance at Norfolk Island, took over as Vicar General. McEncroe's subsequent titles as Archdeacon and Chancellor of the Diocese meant very little real authority.

It would never do to underestimate McEncroe's ability and judgment. The Wanderings provides a fair measure of his strengths and weaknesses in intellect. The book covers, curiously enough, more or less the ground Newman was to cover so much more searchingly in his Essay on Development; the generation that fell heir to Chateaubriand and Scott was well fortified in its conviction that to be deep in history is to cease to be a Protestant; Vincent of Lerins' formula "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus", featured here too in the argument against Anglicanism. There is no great subtlety, no great yearning about this book; the argument he always comes back to is the very existence of the Church, and its style; it

is always there and always sure of itself. For the rest, he is down (elsewhere) in cold print against the idea of development of doctrine;<sup>15</sup> in assigning the cause of heresy, he is the blunt moralist every time, looking for no factor aside from such vices as pride, lust, envy; and "mystic" is his word of abuse for Erigena, as though mysticism were an abnormality, a gate seldom opening on anything but error. Quotation is the real excellence of the book, like cherries in a somewhat doughy cake; one especially, from Augustine addressing the Donatists, was obviously given with English Protestantism in mind, and suggests that McEncroe, whatever his shortcomings, was not a complete stranger to that angst, which Kierkegaard was shortly to analyse so powerfully:

Let them treat you with rigour who know not how difficult it is to find out the truth and avoid error; let them treat you with rigour who know not how rare and painful a work it is calmly to dissipate the carnal phantoms that disturb even a pious mind ... let those treat you with rigour who have never felt the sighs and groans that a soul must have before it can have any knowledge of the Divine Being.<sup>16</sup>

It is important to remember the grave, tactful,

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15. Morning Chronicle, 6th January, 1844 - though the Chronicle later pronounced Newman as one "who understood the principles of their religion" (Sydney Chron. 8th October, 1845.)
16. Wanderings, pp.xxi-xxii.



McEncroe that coinhabited with the Hudibras-toned public controversialist. But it is well to remark again how his principle, medium and conclusion of demonstration is the visible, visible Church.

Now, McEncroe's churchmanship had two points of reference, Rome and Ireland. He leaves the beaten track of the history of theology to discourse in vindication of the learning of Dark Age Ireland, and of the soundness of tone - "intellectual and social - a perfect representative of the genuine Irish character"<sup>17</sup> - of the near-heterodox Erigena, Ireland's one distinguished systematic thinker. It was his life-work, as he conceived it, to see that Australia fell heir to the Irish tradition. None could have been more emphatically ultra-montane; he petitioned the Holy See "prostrate in spirit at the threshold of the Apostles ... your most humble and obedient servant and son in Jesus Christ". Perhaps a petitioner would scarcely do otherwise, but his whole apostolate was in keeping with his concluding profession:

It rests now with your Holiness, whom the Prince of Pastors has placed to feed the lambs and the sheep of His entire flock, to adopt such measures as the Holy Spirit may direct you to take.<sup>18</sup>

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17. Ibid., p.110.

18. Birt ii, pp.181-2.

Likewise, his stubborn true-to-type independence as a priest, for which Polding and Propaganda found occasion to rebuke him sharply, never involved him in anything like formal Haroldism or Hoganism.<sup>19</sup>

But he did sail rather close to the wind.

Though McEncroe, like Ullathorne, may have seen enough of the episcopal life never to covet the mitre, it is not likely he had a choice in the matter. Polding in 1859 told Rome in decided terms that no bishop in the Province would consent to consecrate him except under the strictest obedience.<sup>20</sup>

"My best informant, and my one counsellor .. a grave, calm man", Ullathorne records, was subject from time to time to

terrible melancholy, accompanied by great internal heat and a peculiar twitching of the corners of the mouth; and then came on an intense longing for drink on this otherwise very sober man. If then I took his shoes and his hat and locked his door to save him from sallying forth,

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19. There is an undated letter in S.A.A., belonging, I presume, to the early 'sixties, in which McEncroe is rebuked for publishing parish accounts without the Ordinary's consent. This was a point at issue with the Hoganists - of Ellis, American Catholicism pp.44-5.
20. Polding-Propaganda, 12th April, 1859. S.A.A. The bishops in question were Polding, Willson, Goold, Serra, Salvado.

he so far lost his senses as to get out of the window as he was and **cross** the park to some Catholic house, where he would implore the people for the love of God to put the light wine of the country down his throat -

till Ullathorne came in his gig to take him home -

21.  
"like a log". McEncroe, by an effort which must have been superhuman, pulled himself together;

Polding, on the same occasion, 1859, spoke of him

as not having disgraced himself<sup>22</sup> for many years.

He kept control by avoiding all stimulants - even tea; - and became a missionary in the cause of

temperance, probably the most prominent and effective, by reason of his standing, and what was widely known -

his own escape from the abyss.<sup>23</sup>

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21. Ullathorne, Cabin Boy, p.123

22. "Outrage le caractère", Polding to Propaganda loc. cit.

23. McEncroe began his advocacy three years before Matthew's crusade. For Mathew-McEncroe relations, Sydney Chronicle 5th August, 1848. For gossip on McEncroe's lapse, Birt i, pp.139-140. Birt, quite wrongly, dismisses this evidence. Note (loc.cit.) that drink was almost certainly the reason for McEncroe's departure from the U.S.



viii. Rome's View in 1851.

The conflict of policies within the Archdiocese must have become clear to Rome during 1851. Gregory's official report, which he presented in person, argued for the apostolate of the sanctuary: "the sanctuary of our St. Mary's we shall venture to say, from the number of assisting ecclesiastics, the good taste and moderate richness of its appointments, and the devout carefulness with which the rubrical directions for ceremonies are observed, is most successful in offering to the senses and the hearts of the worshippers the awful warnings and the living invitations, the much-needed consolations<sup>1</sup> and the attractive glories of the Catholic Church". Proof of this, he maintained, - McEncroe would have taken it as proof of the lively faith of Irish Catholics, - was the regularity of the people's church-going, and the frequentation of the sacraments (40,000 communions the previous year). Later in the report, he stated in more detail how he thought the monastery met the needs of colonial society:

... Amongst the indirect means by which the Divine Blessing may render it possible to elevate and refine both the intellectual and religious perceptions of this people, may be reckoned as not the least influential, the presence of the Benedictine Community in Sydney. The people of this city and their friends who visit them from

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1. Birt ii, p.171

the interior, that is to say, nearly the whole population of the Colony, have before them constantly the spectacle of the religious life, the unceasing daily round of Divine Office, and the instructive and striking ceremonials which take place in the progress of the monastic institute. The people, both the Catholic and Protestant, are compelled and attracted to recognise and contemplate the existence and the nature of a higher life ...<sup>2</sup>

It is rather poignant, if one has any feeling for Gregory, to put this beside what the youthful diarist was saying on the same subject at this very time.<sup>3</sup>

And it is not a little piquant to compare what McEncroe wrote the Holy See in March of this year, 1851:

I thought once, with the Archbishop, that he could supply the Diocese with priests from the Benedictine Monastery ... It may do so in 20 or 30 years, but not before then; and in the meantime the faith will be nearly extinguished in the numerous Irish Catholics.<sup>4</sup>

The best source of supply was Ireland, because the people were Irish; but "while Irish ecclesiastics will come willingly to the dioceses of Adelaide and Melbourne, because they are governed by Irish bishops—hardly anyone can be found at present to come to the Archdiocese of Sydney"<sup>5</sup> He suggested therefore, large vicariates cut off from Sydney, to be centred

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2. Ibid., p.173

3. See above, section iv (f.n. 9 particularly)

4. Birt ii, p.178 et seq.

5. loc. cit.

round Goulburn, Brisbane, and Bathurst, entrusted to Irish bishops, who could soon find Irish priests to work in them. Not that he went behind the Archbishop's back in the matter; to Goold, then setting off for Rome, he "begged to refer to your Lordship, and to Dr. Gregory, if either should go to Rome, as to the necessity of these measures."<sup>6</sup> For the need to multiply dioceses was not really at issue; the Holy See had given the infant Church eight bishops already, and New Zealand two. But of the ten, two were French, two Spanish, three English: it was reasonable to ask why Irishmen should not be bishops away from home, like other men. So put, the case was unanswerable; and the Holy See, which had consciously crossed the British government's wishes in its appointments in Ireland itself,<sup>7</sup> was not likely to be swayed by them in Australia. Of four appointments at Polding's recommendation, moreover, two were Irishmen; and one of the English bishops, Willson, was as opposed as the Irishman Murphy was, to Benedictinisation.<sup>8</sup>

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6. Moran, p.143

7. MacCaffrey, J. History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century (1789-1908), Dublin, 1910, pp.190-1: Gregory XVI's appointment of McHale to Tuam. (This work has the professional touch, not found in those studies of nineteenth century Catholicism which put Lamennais, the Roman question, Dollinger and Rerum Novarum at the centre of the stage).

8. Birt ii, p.279



McEncroe, however, backed up his wise saws with some very questionable modern instances. Polding had sought to finance his clerical aspirants by tithing the State-aid allowances of his clergy: though the money would thus help the monastery, he considered it was fair to ask his missionaries to make some provision for their succession. But McEncroe, wealthy though he was, and ready cheerfully to tithe himself - "what none of his forefathers ever did" - on behalf of the Charity nuns, or pay for places at the Irish colleges, led an opposition to the proposal among the clergy, while Magganotto abetted it from within the monastery.<sup>9</sup> Yet to Pius, he argued as if from the workings of some sociological law, that "the attempt made by the Archbishop to take a percentage... for the support of his mission and monastery, created a very strong feeling amongst the Irish clergy and laity against the Archbishop and the Benedictines", and "produced an unfavourable impression in Ireland."<sup>10</sup> His advocacy threatened to reduce a good cause to a careerist faction; and this was precisely the great hazard the Cullen imperialism ran.

Propaganda probably had little trouble picking its way between the two reports; both were true,

9. So we learn from Polding's draft rebuttals of 1858-59, not dated, in S.A.A. For the Charity tithe, F.J.10 February, 1855.
10. Birt ii, p.178 et seq (Petition).

in their way, and presumably Goold gave a verdict along the lines of his diary entry:

My stay in the Archdiocese was short - but long enough to afford me opportunity for observation of the state of the Church. Everything connected with its spiritual administration and temporal management is an eulogium - high and flattering - on the zeal, piety and talent of the Archbishop. 11

An arduous decade, indeed, had produced an archdiocese with 30 churches, 46 priests, and 80,000 communions a year.<sup>12</sup> The Benedictine community numbered 45.<sup>13</sup> All Hallows men were trickling in at the rate of about one a year:<sup>14</sup> and these were various random accruals, like Bourgeois, Chaplain to the French Canadian "exiles",<sup>15</sup> Backhaus,<sup>16</sup> Magganotto, the Scotsman McColl,<sup>17</sup> and (soon) the Woolfreys.<sup>18</sup> Some of the credit was due to Davis for this heavenly alchemy, the

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11. Moran, pp.735-6
  12. Birt ii, p.169 et seq. (Gregory's report). Compare Broughton's progress, S.M.H. Supplement, 8 January, 1847, from 8 churches in 1831 to 74 in 1846, with 16 building.
  13. Diary of the Benedictine Community, transcribed by McGovern, S.A.A.
  14. A.H. Annual, 1953-4, p.156
  15. Port Phillip Patriot, 1 September 1845. Cf. Australasian Chronicle, 17 January 1843: no fewer than seven nationalities were represented among the priests officiating during Holy Week that year - cf. Chron. April 15. When the surviving Canadians were pardoned, Bourgeois went to Melbourne, Syd. Chron. 17 January 1846.
  16. Syd. Chron. 14 December 1846
  17. Aust. Chron. 1842 - with a kind word for "his countryman, Saint Patrick." He had not long to live - HRA I, 23, p.44.
  18. O'Donovan, J.J. A History of the Catholic in the Brisbane Water District 1842-1942 (no bibliog. information, but obviously Sydney, 1942) p.14 et seq. S.A.A.

morning sunshine of the Australian Church. Despite wretched health, - which had already brought him within an inch of death a few months after his arrival in the colony,<sup>19</sup> - he was conscientious in balancing a budget far from balance when he came;<sup>20</sup> he was easy to approach;<sup>21</sup> and his musicianship more than compensated for the loss of Backhaus in 1847.<sup>22</sup> Goold, however, saw the ugly wrack of cloud forming:

I had painful evidence given me of a growing dissatisfaction amongst the ecclesiastics; but from all I could learn it appeared to arise from no fault of the Archbishop in the administration of the Diocese. It was my opinion then and is now - when I recall to recollection the information I could at that time obtain - that the cause of this discontent was attributable to the priests and not to the Archbishop ... the foreign missionaries appeared to me to foment it if they werenot its originators. 23

The "foreign missionaries" were Magganotto, Gourbeillon and perhaps Backhaus.<sup>24</sup> But the Marist Fathers, too, now at Hunter's Hill, were also a source of dissidence.<sup>25</sup>

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19. Birt ii, p.164-5, p.202 (a second bout in 1852)  
 20. Ibid., p.154, p.198-9  
 21. Ibid., pp.208-9  
 22. Ibid., pp.207-8. Backhaus, see Syd. Chron. 14 December, 1846.  
 23. Moran. p.736  
 24. Syd. Chron. 25 November, 1847. Backhaus hasty departure, no time for a testimonial, suggests disciplinary action.  
 25. Rev. Jefficott, S.M., Coming of the Marist Fathers to Australia, in Cath. Hist. Soc. Archives.



ix. The Frontier Priests

Throughout the countryside of New South Wales, the building activity of the early 'forties was succeeded by comparative quiescence - due, partly, to economic factors. There was relatively more afoot in the newly opened areas - Moreton Bay and Port Phillip, for instance - and in the city itself, where Saint Patrick's (opened before it was ready, in 1844),<sup>1</sup> Saint Benedicts (started 1845),<sup>2</sup> the Sacred Heart, Darlinghurst (opened 1850),<sup>3</sup> Saint Augustine's, Balmain (opened 1851)<sup>4</sup> and Saint Thomas's, Canterbury (opened 1851),<sup>5</sup> were added to Saint Mary's. The pioneer bush priests had to settle down to a ceaseless patrol of their extensive, more or less trackless territories. Lovat twice penetrated across the Murray;<sup>6</sup> Kavanagh once rode 150 miles through the night on a sick-call;<sup>7</sup> Dunphy's drowning took place near the western fringe of settlement;<sup>8</sup> but these were fireside tales, whereas other feats and

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1. Morning Chron., 20 March 1844. A concession to Murphy, due to leave for Adelaide.
  2. Sydney Chron., 30 July 1845
  3. Benedictine Diary, 3 May 1850, S.A.A.
  4. Pamphlet published by St. Vincent's Boys Home, Westmead, 1948, The First Hundred Years, p.32
  5. Benedictine Diary, 19 May 1851
  6. Advocate, 20 April 1947
  7. F.J., 7 November 1850.
  8. Sydney Chron., 26 July 1845

hazards of horsemanship scarcely less exacting were the order of the day. Byrne, who had worked under similar conditions in South Australia, though at a slightly later date, reminds us of some of the hazards we might overlook:

When he reaches the place and puts up for the night he very likely meets with the most miserable accommodation, he has to eat coarse and badly prepared food, and to sleep upon some sort of shakedown in the corner of the hut. No matter how fatigued he may be, he is expected to be fresh and cheerful, and to talk for hours on subjects in which he has not the smallest interest. He may have for many reasons spent a sleepless night, and watches the dawn to get up and go for a walk, during which he reads his office for the day. He returns to the house to fulfil the object of his visit, 9

namely, mass, the sacraments, catechising. And in W.H. Archer's account to the Victorian Registrar-General of a long ride in Bleasdale's company in 1854, there is lively corroboration. Bleasdale, though he included bushmanship among the many arts and sciences he prosecuted with effect, on this occasion got lost, and, says Archer,

Ye unusual fatigue, ye great heat, ye hard sleeping in ye hut, ye heavy damper and unpalatable tea with morsels of salt junk which had been our fare for two days, gave me a slight bilious attack. 10

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9. F. Byrne, History of the Catholic Church in South Australia, Melbourne, 1896, p.29
  10. Archer papers, Australian National Library, 71/16.

Even the city priest had experiences of this kind. In 1849, when there was no church at Canterbury, Farrelly and Corish conducted a mission there simply by pitching their tent (originally they made camp at night, only to find with the light that they had made it alongside a hotel), and letting their presence be known.<sup>11</sup> Even before gold, came the bushranger. The priest, however, was usually immune from this danger, one of the few actually held up being the least freighted of men, the Archbishop himself: "I was not known, otherwise I should never have been attacked." It rounds out the picture of this mild and courtly man to read his account of how he forced one bushranger to retreat by "a severe blow on the head", and how a second then emerged from the bush only to be "treated in like manner."<sup>12</sup>

More to be feared than any physical trial was the spiritual destitution and isolation of the bush priest, not least, I imagine, given the warm, casual physical huddle of the old bark hut to tease his imagination; as Twomey, an All Hallows man, wrote home, "the poor soul is exposed to very

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11. Benedictine Diary, 12 February 1849, S.A.A.

12. Birt ii, p.185



great danger here from the occasions of sin, the evil example of the world, the very features of some countries, such as this, and, perhaps, the great distance from a brother priest".<sup>13</sup> One part-solution was to station the priests in pairs, or within good striking distance of each other. Another - Goold's especially - was to shuffle them round continually, to keep them on their mettle. But some were left, and best left, married as it were to a particular mission, and little bishops in their own domain. Goold's own apprenticeship was of this sort; Lynch went early to Maitland, and stayed for a quarter of a century. Geoghegan had a long spell in Melbourne, Hanly at Moreton Bay, Walsh in Goulburn, Grant in Bathurst, McCarthy in Armidale, before bishops were appointed to these centres. The Bush was a fruitful nurse of indifference and indifferentism, teste Broughton;<sup>14</sup> it is a striking tribute on his part to the Catholic bush priests that he thought their influence so greatly to be feared.<sup>15</sup> Some few, priests and aspirants, had to be dismissed; Polding was almost ruthless in demanding self-devotion and unsullied life.

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13. A.H. Annual, 1953-4, p.160

14. S.M.H., 27 March 1847. Broughton still used the A.V. term - "wilderness".

15. Ibid. And of correspondence in S.M.H., 1 July 1848.

If any defected not even the Church's many and virulent enemies have given the fact publicity.<sup>16</sup> One perhaps unfortunate departure was that of O'Reilly, a mature, energetic man, and Dean of Bathurst, whom Gregory reprimanded for keeping a racehorse and so becoming involved in some rather unpriestly contretemps.<sup>17</sup> He left the country, one suspects, one more Irish tongue to wag against the Anglo-Benedictine Administration, and even the Archbishop himself. He may have been guiltless, but from the Archbishop's letters it is clear that there were such murmurers: thus one "informant" against him in Ireland was "a priest whom I have requested to retire from the mission."<sup>18</sup>

Polding knew the rigours of the bush-priests' life intimately at first hand - "a tiresome wearisome journey it was, through bogs and marshes, miles and miles, amidst snow and sleet and rain

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16. Judge Burton having made this insinuation in The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales (London, 1840), Ullathorne took it up in his Reply to Judge Burton on the State of Religion in the Colony (Sydney 1840) pp.77-8. But Burton may have had the Deacon Spencer (cf. Moran, p.203) in mind - the unnamed nuisance of Cabin Boy, p.91
17. "O'Brien", In Diebus, ACR., 1944, pp.205 sqq.
18. Birt ii, p.140



and wind"<sup>19</sup> - with no less wearisome missionary work at the end of it:

During my late missionary visitation I proceeded more than 300 miles to the south of Sydney; held in the ten weeks of my absence seventeen stations, attended by many who came, it may be, thirty or forty miles. At each station I remained three or four days, less or more according to the wants of the people. 20.

The wants of the people could make a visit stretch over several weeks, as at Burrowa in 1853, when "he found that it had an exceedingly bad name for the irreligious life of its people", so "the Archbishop and the Vicar-General remained there for some weeks, and did not leave till the whole district was renewed in piety".<sup>21</sup> But the actual techniques do not appear to have varied greatly from place to place. Polding laid great stress on catechising - the religious orders had not yet taken over in the schoolroom. And he was a careful confessor. He and Willson have left severe criticisms in writing of the Irish clergy on these points.<sup>22</sup> But as to the former, anyway, at

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19. Ibid., p.105.

20. Ibid., p.186.

21. Ibid., p.197.

22. Ibid., p.148-9, p.282. The occasion Polding chooses hardly strengthens his case - disappointed in an attempt to contact some bushrangers, he consoled himself by catechising their children. One could, however, adduce Wiseman as witness: S.M.H., 10 January 1848



least one Irishman, McGinty, laid equal stress on its importance when writing back to All Hallows in 1849:

There can be no greater or more pernicious error than to think that little learning is required for the foreign mission. There are more critics in a congregation of one hundred in this country than would be found in one of a thousand in any country-part of Ireland. 23.

The daily timetable of the 1851 expedition was no doubt fairly typical:

We assembled each morning at nine for instruction, Mass, and Confessions. Instructions were given thrice each day, the intervals taken up with the Confessions. Sometimes we continued till ten or eleven at night. 24

His companion was, of course, Gregory - as far as possible. On the tour in question it was Kavanagh.<sup>25</sup> About 800 came to the sacraments, 400 were confirmed, 14 received into the Church.<sup>26</sup> Having thus spent his winter on the southern tablelands and south-western slopes - let him who reads understand! - this ageing prelate set off on an early summer tour of the goldfields, apprehensive that "this gold mania will be productive of many moral and physical evils."<sup>27</sup> He relished this sort of work into his eightieth year. We presume

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23. A.H. Annual, 1953-4, p.157

24. Birt ii, p.186

25. F.J. 3 July 1851

26. Birt ii, loc. cit.

27. Moran, p.314. Cf. F.J. 27 November 1851

the satisfaction which he, and the often ailing Gregory, found in it, was less recondite than that of the reporter who described their visit with Lynch to Wollombi in 1850; while Gregory performed the Sacrifice,

the cooling breeze of an early summer's morn swept mildly through the open windows, and through which at the same time might be seen at no great distance the gilded summits of the tree-clad mountains, from whence the deep twittering matins of the feathered tribe 28. ,-

sic labitur et labetur omne Volubilis aevum, but the clumsy scribe would have to write much worse, not to raise a sweet nostalgia in most Australian souls, including Polding's and Gregory's.

By the early 'fifties, missionary visitation was losing its extempore look. Goold generally made a point of running a retreat - conferences, confessions, crowned with a general communion - whenever he visited a district to open a church.<sup>29</sup> A mission at Geelong in 1850, conducted by Powell, Dunne, and Bourgeois, had most of the features which, since Alphonsus of Liguori, have made the parish mission such a powerful shaper of the popular conscience in modern times. The daily horarium was:

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28. F.J., 19 December 1850

29. Goold set this pattern early - cf. Mackle, Footprints, p.82.

rise at six, meditation at seven, mass at eight in the morning; confessions during the day, prayer and instruction at seven in the evening. The topics day by day were precisely those familiar to most Catholic Australians, including back-sliders: Sunday, the sacrament of Penance (and so its requirements, sorrow for sin and determination to amend); Monday, the particular judgment each must face at death, and the rigour of the law by which we shall be judged; Tuesday, the qualities of the Judge; Wednesday, the fearful consequences of mortal sin; Thursday, the "subject-matter" of judgment; Friday, the means of perseverance. Saturday was devoted to general recollection and repentance; High Mass at eleven on Sunday morning, with a general communion, brought the week to a close on a note of celebration.<sup>30</sup> It is important to see this form of evangelism coming into the country just when universal secular education was to open the door to an irresponsible press, bent on profit, with equally irresponsible advertising; the mission is designed to make the average Catholic respond with an abrupt no in the face of religiously "neutral" education, the class-war, chauvinism, the supreme authority of the state, the ubiquitous sexuality of popular culture, with (as time went on) cremation, euthanasia, contraception.

30. F.J. 31 October 1850.



x. The Mind of the People.

Popular Catholicism at this time, therefore, was what Catholicism has always been, unmistakably a religious system whatever its political commitments, unmistakably Roman and universal however emotionally involved in events in the old green land, and not greatly affected by the strain in the administrative structure over the Irish-secular-versus-English-Benedictine issue. It spoke as ever, often and easily, of a Devil and a Beatific Vision, of man's redemption, of a Queen in Heaven, and angels and saints, present day miracles and ecstasies and visions.<sup>1</sup> It was vigilant and sensitive about what was going on in Rome; the death of Gregory XVI, who had given him so many tokens of his special favour, elicited one Pastoral from Polding,<sup>2</sup> then the election of Pius IX

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1. e.g. Morning and Sydney Chron., 16 September, 1843, 11 April, 1843, 15 July 1858. When Polding came back from Italy in 1843 with marvelous tales to tell, S.M.H. took exception to such things - "which all experience has proved to be impossible" (ibid., 11 April 1843; cf. 1 May 1843, 4 May, 1843).
  2. Syd. Chron. 19 December 1846. "He" - Gregory XVI - "would use in our regard" - i.e., to Polding personally - "terms of kindness and of endearment it would not become us to repeat." There is little doubt that Polding's standing in Rome suffered as a result of the inevitable palace revolution, with the Passionist affair to aggravate things.

another,<sup>3</sup> both from abroad; when Pius was exiled from the City in 1848, Sydney contributed money to his needs;<sup>4</sup> the special inquiry into the definability of the Immaculate Conception was watched with interest years in advance.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes the dumb witness of the Catholic body was so clear that its adversaries carried truer report of its belief than its chosen - or self-appointed - champions. A rather striking instance was a sermon by the Anglican parson, Stack, at Maitland in 1839, on the Pope as the Man of Sin:

The Pope is a kind of monarch in the Papal Church; whatever he delivers, ex cathedra, is held by Catholics to be infallibly true... He is believed to hold the very place which Christ held while on earth. 6

Duncan replied, using a Gallicanising catechism ('The Faith of Catholics') which made too much of the fact that this doctrine had not been defined in terms impossible to evade; on this ground he

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3. Ibid., 23 December 1846. The Chronicle had already, 14 November 1846, greeted the election with the prophetic hope that the new Pontiff's reign would be longer than Peter's.
  4. F.J.; 19 December 1850
  5. F.J.; 14 November 1850.
  6. W.A. Duncan, Reply to the Reverend W. Stack's attempted defence of his lecture on the man of sin, Sydney, 1839. For other samples of Duncan's Gallican leanings, cf. his Letter to the Bishop of Australia, Sydney, 1843, p.13 (quoting Dollinger) and his Second Letter to the Bishop of Australia, p.44 (quoting Bossuet). By this time, in Ireland, the teaching of Dr. Murray on the Roman Primacy had superseded that of Delahogue (this last author it was who had just a little Gallicanised Maynooth): cf. Maynooth Centenary History, Dublin, 1895, pp.279-280.



denied that it was Catholic teaching, even though it was certainly the accepted view by this time. We must speak the same way of another lay controversialist, O'Farrell, declaring that "no Catholic believes that the Blessed Virgin alone destroys heresies".<sup>7</sup> The Saint Patrick's Society, which might have been a focal point of morbid patriotism, met, in fact, in conjunction with the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.<sup>8</sup> The talks given were often on the Australian aboriginal missions, like Vaccari's and Confalonieri's<sup>9</sup> but Pompallier addressed them with unction on the inevitability of trial;<sup>10</sup> equal cover was given to the current martyrdoms in Indo-China,<sup>11</sup> and to the South-West Pacific area in general - the death of Saint Peter Chanel and the subsequent conversion of the island,<sup>12</sup> and Bishop Epalle, who sailed direct from Sydney to his death.<sup>13</sup>

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7. O'Farrell, P.A.C. Reply to the pamphlet of Rev. William Trollope, entitled, "Are the Catholics of Port Phillip Tridentine Romanists?" Melb., 1850. The quotation occurs on page 10. The Freeman review, 27 June 1850, disowned O'Farrell.
  8. Cf. Aust. Chron., 3 January 1843
  9. Morning Chron., 4 June 1845. (Vaccari); Syd. Chron., 6 January 1847, 7 March 1848 (Confalonieri).
  10. Syd. Chron. 10 January 1846
  11. Morning Chron. 5 June 1844
  12. Aust. Chron., 5 July 1842. F.J., 10 June, 1852 Chanel is the first canonised saint of the South-west Pacific area.
  13. Syd. Chron., 25 October 1845, 25 April 1846. The Chronicle of 10 December 1845 in particular



Despite early misgiving,<sup>14</sup> there was a lively interest in the unexpected boost given to English-speaking Catholicism by the Tractarian movement, at least if column-inches are an index - even in the Freeman McEncroe thought it important enough to warrant omitting Irish news in its favour.<sup>15</sup> The hapless Father Connolly's first ~~name~~<sup>mass</sup> was reported in 1846, and his giving his saintly wife communion on the occasion; then, later, his suit against her for restitution of marital rights, when she had become the foundress and head of a religious order<sup>17</sup> - the first of a series of ecclesiastical actions at law, two of them set in Australia, which were to test the civil standing of Canon Law, and the impartiality of the English judicature, with the most consoling results on the whole. There was obviously a good deal of thinking being done about "the proprieties of a mixed religious society"<sup>18</sup> (the phrase itself a

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13. Cont'd.

illustrates the scope of the Society's interests - aborigine and maori, India, China the South Seas.

14. Morning Chron., 14 February, 1844

15. F.J. 23 January 1851

16. Syd. Chron., 22nd July 1846

17. F.J. 20th November 1851.

18. Aust. Chron., 20 September 1843

revealing one). The most painful practical question was that of communicatio in sacris for Catholic servants, who were often required to do what is forbidden - take part, like Henry Esmond, in Protestant family prayers, with the very danger that Esmond succumbed to, apostasy. The Chronicle would on occasion exhort the servant to be firm, the master to be lenient.<sup>19</sup> The Australasian Holy Catholic Guild of Saint Mary and Saint Joseph, mainly a benefit society, was formed as the result of a similar pressure; before then, "many Catholics in this City belong to Freemasons' and Odd Fellows' Lodges, as well as to Rechabite Tents".<sup>20</sup> The events that take the eye, therefore must be set off in the mind against this neutral, routine background as their foil - down to the human-all-too-human things, the people who took their dogs into Saint Mary's, the young men who lounged about outside, eyeing the girls, and striking their matches on the doors.<sup>21</sup> Old Saint Mary's

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19. The Chronicle touched the question, e.g., 6 January 1844, 3 February 1847; the Freeman's Journal 12 November 1853.
20. S.M.H., 9 June 1843. Polding's plans for a Guild (Morning Chron.) 26 March 1845) had, by the end of 1845 (Port Phillip Patriot, 3 December 1845), come to fruition; and within two years to prosperity (S.M.H., 8 January 1848).
21. Morning Chron. 3 April, 1844

itself, with its excellent site, its huge capacity, its intricate round window, and the florid gothic altar given by J.J. Therry, with its fleurons and cornices and turrets, and niches figuring Old Testament history - this was after all a less impressive monument to the Catholic Church than the orderly reverent citizens in their colorful Sunday best, or - perhaps even more - those at daily mass, the children and others about town "popping in for a visit" all day every day of the week.<sup>22</sup>

The pressures - whatever the proprieties - of "mixed religious society" frequently forced this work-a-day Catholicism to make itself more explicit. Religious controversy was still thought proper matter for the still more or less proper daily press; alongside the discussions on Halley's comet and the daguerrotype, chloroform, the telegraph and steam navigation, and even aeronautics, were pages

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22. Ibid., 27 July 1843. R.J. Sconce, Reasons for submitting to the Catholic Church, Sydney. 1848, p.16 has the following striking testimony:

In the week just past (Holy week, 1848) had a Protestant looked in at Saint Mary's at six in the morning, he would have seen, day after day, some 1500 souls gathered round their Bishop ... and every day in the year, he would see ... at early prayer, about four hundred worshippers.



and pages of meetings and book reviews which sought to keep alive the debate between Rome and Protest, the fag-ends of the old society jostling the harbingers of the new. Just occasionally both the Herald and the Chronicle expressed doubts about the expediency or fittingness of this.<sup>23</sup> There was, in addition, an extensive pamphlet literature; Polding thought it incumbent to finance the publications of Ullathorne and Dunca, for which there was little sale, for not to have done so must have strengthened the Protestant allegation that the Church was the enemy of the intellect.<sup>24</sup> The Catholic controversialist had to think of his own people, as well as their opponents, for the Catholics as a body had little schooling or solid reading - there was, it was said, a scarcity of Catholic books until 1850,<sup>25</sup> not just of Catholic readers. Polding himself, though he took turns with McEncroe and Gregory giving public talks on the Catholic religion,<sup>26</sup> seems after the early years to have been glad to avoid public controv-

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23. S.M.H., 18 November 1847; Morning Chronicle, 1 March 1845.

24. Cf. Birt i, p.401 (Hawksley).

25. Aust. Chron., 10 February 1842, F.J., 31 October 1850.

26. e.g. Morning Chron., 2 March 1844.

ersy;<sup>27</sup> Goold and Willson also.<sup>28</sup> The Archbishop, however, set out rules he thought should govern such exchanges: to distinguish between divine truths and those put forward on human authority, not to impute to one's adversary an opinion he disowns, not to advance an argument that does not convince oneself, to use only the best evidence, and to see one has an accurate idea of both positions, the Church's and her critic's.<sup>29</sup> An austere ideal, rather hard to keep to when under cross-fire (as the Australian Church was in the 1840's) from four sources: rationalism, Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, and evangelical non-conformism. Doubtless in the perspective of history, or the prescience of a Newman, rationalism was the gravest threat, with its thesis that belief is irrational, and the supernatural order - usually

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27. Ullathorne, Cabin Boy, p.157-8 has words not entirely admiring for Polding's belief in the importance of his popularity and his letting others do the unpopular things. I wish to add my opinion that Ullathorne's views of Polding were not emancipated from the emotions of thirty years before; the impression having been reinforced by his continued contact with Willson. The present narrative contains instances enough of Polding both taking a strong, unpopular line, and conducting hard-hitting controversy.
28. W. Ebsworth, in Advocate (Melbourne) 2 October 1946 (one of a series of articles on the Church in Victoria) for Goold; for Willson chapter 1, section iii above.
29. Morning Chron., 16 March 1844

even the supersensible order - a figment of the imagination. But it was the mood of the day - and owed something also to the personality of Broughton - that the argument with Anglicanism on the nature of the Church founded by Christ, should have been more subtly and profoundly pursued than the prolegomena, the defence of Christian belief against the charge of irrationality.

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CHAPTER 3 : FRICTION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS GROUPS.

Whereas the Sadducees denied hope in the resurrection of the dead, while the Pharisees believed in it in accordance with the teaching of Holy Writ, their unity in persecuting him was ruptured, and Paul went unhurt from the divided crowd, which had previously, when united, savagely assailed him.

Gregory the Great, Regula Pastoralis.

- i: The Anglican Ascendancy.
- ii: The Anglican Ecclesiology.
- iii: Puseyism Finally Developed Into Popery.
- iv: The Evangelical Alliance.
- v: J.D. Lang: the Port Phillip Election, 1843.
- vi: J.D. Lang: Mrs. Chisholm, 1846-1866.
- vii: Murphy and South Australian Public Opinion, 1844 - 1850.
- viii: Religious Controversy in the 'Fifties: Diminuendo.

1. The Anglican Ascendancy.

In pre-gold Australia, William Grant Broughton, who stayed on and on while governors and systems of government came and went, more than any other one man represented the Old Order. Equally to J.D. Lang, to Lowe, to Polding, to the Irish, to the Chartists, he represented the Establishment, the social, political and religious Ascendancy they were all pitted against. His manner of address was consistently prelatival, but with an edge of personal conviction, of the candour of the gentleman; behind the weighty phrases, a well-balanced, discerning mind was at work, by no means entirely unoriginal; behind a cold public presence which "repelled confidence" in many, a fond, almost an ardent, husband.<sup>1</sup> So imposing a figure did he cut, being such a man on such an eminence, that no history of Catholicism of the period but must attempt to size him up. He seemed to stand four-square in the path against Catholicism, the most Anglican of Anglicans. For though he assimilated a good deal of Tractarianism in the years after 1838,<sup>2</sup>

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1. E.C. Rowland, A Century of the English Church in New South Wales, Sydney, 1948, p.68. For the phrase "repelled confidence", Atlas (Sydney) March, 4, 1848
2. S.M.H. 1 March, 1848.



he continued to appeal to the Bible, as the rule of faith; to regard nation and Church as convertible terms<sup>3</sup>; to execrate the Bishop of Rome as a foreign prelate who had no business where the Crown of England (as representing the two estates of the English Church, clergy and laity)<sup>4</sup> held sway, to asperse his communion as idolatrous, to "advance explicitly a claim to be considered a representative of the early British Church."<sup>5</sup> Late in life, in a passage - at - arms with Wiseman, he found some chinks in the scholarship of the Cardinal; it is significant that he took it his adversary's candour was at fault, rather than his learning,<sup>6</sup> Rome's ways were twisted ways; though in English-speaking areas that salt of the earth, the Protestant Episcopal Church, preserved it in some measure, corruption was its normal state. Even Mrs. Chisholm was suspect.<sup>7</sup> Nor could the meek head of Polding escape his wrath - when, for instance (1844), two-thirds of the women at the Parramatta Factory went to the Sacraments after a retreat from the Archbishop: - "unwonted proceedings", proselytism, "re-baptising"<sup>8</sup>.

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3. W.G. Broughton, A Letter to the Right Reverend Nicholas Wiseman D.D. p.7 (London, 1852).
  4. Ibid, p.6.
  5. S.M.H. 27 March, 1843.
  6. W.G. Broughton's Letter, passim.
  7. M. Kiddle, Caroline Chisholm, p.24-5 (Melb., 1950)
  8. Morning Chron., 19 June, 1844. The Sermon, entitled, Take Heed, was published by Kemp and Fairfax in 1844, (M L).



Much Catholic hostility towards Broughton, of course, was directed against a rival interest rather than a rival doctrine. Thus the departure of Judge Burton, one of the Bishop's circle, was described in the Chronicle as "a fresh nail stuck in the coffin of the old, plundering, jobbing, cheating, lying, canting, hypocritical clique".<sup>9</sup> More often this ruling class's ability to make the best of both worlds left the Irish Catholic somewhat puzzled, somewhere between laughter and indignation. Thus, one correspondent's sarcasm on the same occasion of Burton's retirement, a propos his expressions of regret: his deep sorrow, did he mean, at having to abandon "the war which he had been carrying on against anti-Christ, on £1,500 a year at Botany Bay"? - "cheered, however, in the painful ordeal of having his salary quadrupled" by the thought that he was doing his duty.<sup>10</sup> The same sort of exclusive clique was later seen operating with Perry and Latrobe in Melbourne.<sup>11</sup> Hence behind R. Therry's candidacy in 1843 was the conviction that a Catholic representative must be returned on principle,<sup>12</sup> lest the Ascendancy continue

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9. Ibid, 6 July, 1844. Lowe, too, held there was an Anglican Ascendancy - Cf. Atlas, 1844-5, p.14 (7 December, 1844)

10. Ibid, 13 July, 1844.

11. F.J., 19 August, 1852.

12. Cf. R. Therry in S.M.H., 8 February, 1843.

to take it for granted that the Catholics' role in society was passive. The younger Cowper stood against him - son, be it remembered, of the now ageing Archdeacon who had prophesied that "the battering rams of reason and religion" would destroy the edifice, when Macquarie laid the foundation stone of Saint Mary's in 1821<sup>13</sup>. Cowper confirmed Catholic suspicions when he avowed that he stood precisely "on the ground of Mr. Therry being a member of the Church of Rome".<sup>14</sup> At this time, even Allwood's controversial publications against the Roman primacy were suspected of bearing on the elections.<sup>15</sup> The Anglican body still trailed a cloudy suggestion of Establishment, and appealed, as it still does, to a tender memory of England, "kind, generous - religious England",<sup>16</sup> as the dear old Archdeacon phrased it. To the Irishman, though he had a like tie with Ireland, this sentiment was incomprehensible, or else axe-grinding: he thought primarily of the doctrinaire

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13. F.J., 6 September, 1856.

14. Aust.Chron., 30 May, 1843. Cowper's status as a champion of colonial Anglicanism was never in much doubt. Cf. Lowe's Atlas, 1844-5, p.422; and S.M.H. 6 January, 1847 ("the member for the Church of England").

15. Aust. Chron. 10 June, 1843.

16. S.M.H., 2 May, 1849. For phrase "Established Church" challenged and withdrawn in debate in the Legislative Council, Cf. P.P.Patriot 12 May, 1846. For a practical application by Allwood, Chron., 14 January, 1842.- Cf. on this theme, North Australian, 8 January, 1861.

mismanagement (to say the least) of the Famine crisis; of the ignorance, unbelief and crime of the industrial cities, the women of Stafford working naked to the waist at the furnaces.<sup>17</sup> So it was, too, with the rhetorical congeries of Protestant, Britain, free and justice; as Charles Gavan Duffy, the hero of the hour in Ireland - like most such highly articulate - was to put it later, "when you talk to an Irish Catholic of his creed being a symbol of persecution and Protestantism a symbol of liberty, he may well think you mad".<sup>18</sup>

Whether or not Therry's alliance with Macarthur was unprincipled, it was effective in winning him the Camden seat against Cowper (who was eventually successful elsewhere); but his tennure was brief, as at the end of 1844 he was promoted to the Bench of Port Phillip; though he had initially to navigate a storm of abuse from the Atlas, the rest of his career

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17. Cf. Morning Chron. 17 July, 1844, 2 September, 1843; and the view of England in Canon Sheehan's famous, and very modern - Irish novel, Luke Delmege. On Stafford women, Advocate 15 January, 1876, quoting Freeman's Journal (Dublin).
18. F.J., 30 August, 1856. Cf. 20 January, 1855, 21 July, 1855. During this period, the Freeman was extreme and violent on England and Protestantism and Prince Albert. On English intolerance, c.f. McEncroe's summary of the Penal Laws, Morning Chron., 17 January, 1844.



had something of the almost too cool serenity of his personality.<sup>19</sup> For the rest of this exciting decade the Irish Catholic, vigorously committed to a variety of political causes - for Gipps against the squatters, for Mrs.Chisholm against Lang, for Denominational education against national, for extension of the franchise, anti-transportation, anti-Coolie - were hard put to it to find a representative in the Council they could squarely call their own. The ultima Romanorum, Curr, was a squatter, and anyway was tied up by his private affairs, and sat but a very short time.<sup>20</sup> O'Connell, kinsman of the Liberator, whom

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19. It was Plunkett's inability to decide that gave Therry this promotion. Gipps to Latrobe: "Mrs. Plunkett has again changed his mind ... I am getting almost weary of this indecision," ( 28 November, 1845; H 7334 in P.L.V.) This does not lend much colour to the contemporary supposition that there was anti-Catholic prejudice at the executive level. Gipps, in fact, was free of it; and as Fitzroy was to suggest, Therry's unpopularity with Lowe and the squatters - meaning, the majority of the elected members of the Council - was probably due to his championing Gipps's land policy (H.R.A. 1, xxvi, p.113). Lowe followed him to the Bench with a scurrilous campaign; but Therry, a cool, fair-minded man, was quickly able to live down the reputation Lowe tried to give him. (Contrast P.P.Patriot, 1 January, 1845, 7 February 1845 with later issues 17 October, 1845, 6 December, 1845).
20. S.M.H., 3 June, 1846 and 6 June 1846.

he had the honour to vindicate against the Sydney Morning Herald's rather hostile obituary,<sup>21</sup> was also the grandson of Governor Bligh and a squatter; was several times defeated by better demagogues, whether despite or because of the backing of the Chronicle and Duncan;<sup>22</sup> and at last - by this time a sitting member - showed his loyalty to his class by following Boyd in a "persecution through the forms of law", a libel suit against the Chronicle.<sup>23</sup> He was not a Catholic. Plunkett, though he succeeded to Broughton's seat on the Council, was tied by his official commitments. The only member in this period before responsible government who could have been described as a consistent defender of the Irish Catholic interest was Plunkett's friend, W.H. Suttor - as Suttor himself and the Freeman's Journal very trenchantly reminded the Irish when a switch in their vote unseated him in 1856.<sup>24</sup> Though a large - scale squatter and

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21. The Herald ( 27 September, 1847, 7th October, 1847, 14th October, 1847) simply reproduced the hostility of the Times. For M. O'Connell's defence, S.M.H., 1 October, 1847.
22. Cf., Callaghan in R.A.H.S., 1948, p.374 (Callaghan's opinion that Duncan's support damaged O'Connell's chances).
23. Cf. Sydney Chron. 16 January 1847, 20 January, 1847. Hawkesley was jailed, unable to pay £138 costs.
24. F.J. 26 April, 1856. There was a short sketch of **Suttor** in the Daily Mirror (Sydney) for May 24, 1956 eulogistic, but not inaccurate



landowner, he was generous with his many Irish employees, was an ardent supporter of Mrs. Chisholm, pro-Gipps and anti-transportation; no orator, but a son of the soil, recommended by a sterling John-Bullishness.<sup>25</sup> But not a Catholic, and representing a thinly-peopled outback constituency, he favoured the National System in education;<sup>26</sup> as, for that matter, did Plunkett. To sum up, then: as a minority, a relatively depressed class, the Catholics had few advocates, and those not the most powerful; they had to lean heavily on the fairness of Gipps and Fitzroy.

But in fact they had their best ally in what one must call the spirit of the age. This was providentially embodied, where religious equality was in question, in the Secretary of State for Colonies after 1846, Earl Grey. Grey, often at loggerheads with the colonists, Catholic as well as the rest, on constitutional matters, issued the directives which gave colonial Catholic prelates on civil occasions the title and ceremony (second only to Anglican prelates of the same nominal rank) due to their ecclesiastical ranking: Polding became officially "Your Grace".<sup>27</sup> Here was religious equality -

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25. Ibid. and S.M.H., 10 July, 1848.

26. S.M.H., 17 July, 1848.

27. Cf. S.M.H., 18 April 1848, Sydney Chronicle, 18 May 1848. S.M.H., 8 December, 1848. There is a suggestion that Polding, given Grey's attitude at home and Fitzroy's in the colony, cheerfully tried to get as much advantage as he could from the liberality of the Secretary of State - H.R.A., 1, ~~xxx~~<sup>45</sup>, p.281, ~~xxvi~~<sup>16</sup>, p.773. He had no success, of course.



or near enough to it. So the Anglican agitation over the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England in 1851, and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill imposing penalties on Catholic bishops who took their titles from English cities, made no great stir in the colonies. Fear of an Anglican ascendancy, no longer a dominant motif of the Catholics' politics, was succeeded by a dilemma. Which was the lesser evil: the combination of religion and "have" politics, or of irreligion and "have-not" politics? In 1848, for instance, Hawkesley found himself torn in two, whether to support Lowe and James Macarthur against the oligarchs, or the oligarchs Wentworth and Bland who had kind words for the Catholics.<sup>28</sup> The bias was on the whole towards the liberal side. At the 1850 election, there was a last attempt at getting a Catholic elected specifically to represent the interests of the Church. The candidate, Longmore, whose qualities won even the sceptical Sconce to the plan, was the Catholic member on the Denominational Board.<sup>29</sup> He was defeated; nominated to a seat by Fitzroy; but soon died.<sup>30</sup> It was clear that his defeat owed much

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28. Sydney Chron., 15 July, 1848.

29. A.C.R. 1955, pp. 214-8. Cf. F.J. 1851, 22 May, 29 May, 31 July, 4 September, 11 September. For a hostile survey of Longmore's record on the D.S. Board, Empire, 18 August, 1851.

30. F.J. 25 September, 16 October, 30 October, 1851.

to the extreme popular party, Parkes and Lang, notably. Here was the spirit of the age. The old ascendancy, whether this meant Broughton or Wentworth, must yield to it. From Longmore's defeat on, the great political question for the Australian Catholics was: how can a religious minority work in with a secular Left?

11. The Anglican Ecclesiology.

Catholicism, however, is an ideology rather than an interest. And Broughton did everything to remind his fellow-colonists of this. Having, to his dismay, come out here under the shadow (as he saw it) of the Act of 1829, Broughton long resisted the political concessions to Catholicism, and the recognition given its prelates. The climax of this phase of his activity was his protest against Polding's public use of his Metropolitan title in 1843, which he stigmatised as an "attempted invasion of the See of Rome", an "act of direct and purposed hostility", implying "that we have no canonical bishop, no Catholic Church."<sup>1</sup>

And we do here publicly, and explicitly, and deliberately protest against, dissent from, and contradict any and every act of Episcopal or Metropolitan authority done or to be done, at any time or by any person whatever, by virtue of any right or title derived from any assumed jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence or authority of the said Bishop of Rome, enabling him to institute any Episcopal See or Sees, within the Diocese and Province hereinbefore named.<sup>2</sup>

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1. S.M.H. 27 March, 1843.
  2. Birt, ii, p.55.



This "farcical legal verbiage",<sup>3</sup> as Birt very justly calls it, was witnessed and sealed by several of his clergy, in the presence of a notary public; and Broughton followed it up with a denial even of the validity of Roman Catholic Orders within the jurisdiction assigned him in the Letters Patent from the Crown.<sup>4</sup> Again, note, a radical departure from Pusey, as well as the Pope, but in harmony with his peculiar theory of the origin of power in the Church; for while Tory in his lay politics, enough to out - Eldon Lord Eldon, in ecclesiastical polity he seems to have held, or to have come to hold, that sovereignty resides primarily in the Christian multitude - a theory perhaps better than any other able to justify the ecumenical spread of the Anglican Church which it was his function to pioneer. Broughton, after all, really grappled with the basic difficulty of the High Anglican position. He denied Rome's jurisdiction and affirmed the Queen's. ~~that point.~~ Polding's own comment is penetrating; he presented the Anglican claim to jurisdiction with a dilemma:

Do they claim it by an extraordinary authority -  
or by an ordinary authority? If they claim it  
by an extraordinary authority let them work miracles

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3. The Observer's description, 19 April 1843, was harsher: "folly and inanity".
4. Birt, ii, p.56.

in confirmation of their claim. If they claim it by the ordinary authority as successors of the Apostles, they derived their authority from us, and when they left us we took it away from them.<sup>5</sup>

But from his chosen base Broughton, or rather Allwood for him,<sup>6</sup> attacked the Papal claim to universal episcopacy. His Catholic critics, consequently, while repeating the traditional distinction between a bishop's power of Orders and his power of jurisdiction,<sup>7</sup> and leaving no doubt of their belief that Anglican bishops had neither,<sup>8</sup> were also shrewd enough to point out that if it came to free elections, Broughton would have had small chance of an episcopacy.<sup>9</sup> His own clergy, indeed, had little enough confidence in him, and seem to have thought his doctrinaire stand, taken together with his capricious memory, something of a joke.<sup>10</sup>

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5. S.A. Register, 27 December, 1848.
  6. S.M.H. May, 1843, serially.
  7. e.g. F.J. 9 January, 1851, 14 May, 1853.
  8. Sydney Chron. 2 March, 1848. F.J. 9 September, 1854.
  9. F.J. 9 January, 1851, a cheeky piece of controversy.
  10. Cf. Sconce, R.K. a Letter to the Lord Bishop of Sydney, p.10 (Sydney, 1848): "we were all sometimes not a little amused" by Broughton's textual emendations, historical theories, etc.; and his Second Letter, published the same year, p.10. And Duncan (Aust. Chron. 5 February, 1842), claimed that "we have never been able to find a single copy of the 'Tracts' in any Anglican family of our acquaintance". He can hardly have been acquainted with the Sconces and Makinsons, however.

And as Anglican Metropolitan he had suffragans who differed from him on fundamental points - Perry on baptismal regeneration, Short on Romanising tendencies from which Broughton was hardly free.<sup>11</sup>

But that was after 1850, when Broughton's sting was drawn. During the 'forties he had remained powerful to focus hostility against Catholicism time and again. His protest, though it came to nothing but a pamphlet war between Allwood and Duncan on the Papal primacy, set a precedent for Nixon in Tasmania,<sup>12</sup> and later Perry in Victoria,<sup>13</sup> and Short in Adelaide,<sup>14</sup> to deny the titles of the Catholic Bishops of Hobart, Melbourne and Adelaide. Willson met Nixon with a sober reflection:

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11. F.J., 2 January, 1851, 27 February, 1851,  
 12. Morning Chron, 23 April 1845.  
 13. Mackle, Footprints, p.64.  
 14. F. Byrne, A History of the Catholic Church, in South Australia, Melb., 1896., p.67. We should add to all this that the published pamphlet containing Broughton's Farewell Address assures us that the "noble protest" was "well known" (Ford, Sydney, 1853. See Appendix to it).



My Lord, enforce the doctrines of your own church with all the energy you please ... but pause before you indulge in violent innective against any class of Christians, lest you should err in your judgment.<sup>15</sup>.

In Melbourne, Geoghegan took the brunt of Perry's repudiation. On the Protestant Bishop's arrival, Geoghegan left his card, to be informed that "I cannot but regard every clergyman of the Church of Rome as guilty of perverting the Gospel of Christ", with the hope that "you will not be offended at this plain statement of my feelings". Geoghegan returned Perry's letter; and when he sent back a second unopened, Perry had it printed, a reiteration of the distinction he had drawn in the first, between his utter repudiation of Catholicism, and his (rather icy) charity towards Geoghegan as an individual. This, thought Geoghegan, may be all very well, but the point at issue, surely, was "the unjustifiable advantage which he took from a conventional act of courtesy on my part to intrude on me the offensive expression of his prejudices"; so he published the entire correspondence in the Chronicle.<sup>16</sup> This incident was

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15. Morning Chron. 23 April, 1845 (letter dated 14 October 1844, now made public, along with the rest of this correspondence).

16. Mackle, Footprints, p.57 et seq., reproduces it all. There was a full account in the South Australian 21 March, 1848. and comment Ibid, 24 March 1848, 4 April, 1848, 14th April, 1848.

138  
reported all over the colonies, with comments according to party line. - In Adelaide, Short made explicit reference to Broughton's Protest when attacking the collection of Peter's Pence, "whereas it hath been brought to our notice 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"<sup>17</sup>. Murphy declined the contest. Stephens, of the Register, voiced the more general attitude of the colonists: "we must accept the Romish hierarchy, as we do the Protestant, for as much as it is worth in these revolutionary times"<sup>18</sup>.

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17. Byrne, History of the Catholic Church in South Australia, pp. 65-8

18. S.A. Register, 14 July, 1849.

iii. Puseyism Finally Developed into Popery.

During the 'forties some six hundred from among the English clergy and the universities entered the Church under the influence of the Tractarian movement (many of them making their submission to Ullathorne, we may note). Two were clergymen under Broughton, Sconce (Oxford) and Makinson (Cambridge); and there were about eighty other Australian converts that year in New South Wales, some in their wake.<sup>1</sup> This was by no means exceptional. Polding records confirming over 350 adult converts on one occasion.<sup>2</sup> Mahony had reaped a fair harvest from his efforts in Maitland, cut short by his early death (1845): twenty-five adults in 1843.<sup>3</sup> The reasons assigned by a non-Catholic correspondent of the Chronicle, rebutting the assertion of an Anglican minister that there was something insidious about it, are very interesting: the distinctive clerical dress of the Catholic priest,<sup>4</sup> making him easy to find, and exercising a moderating influence on public morals; the completion of fine churches open for worship at all hours; the laborious but unobtrusive ministry of Mahony; and the unashamed fervour of the

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1. Birt 11, p.172. The title I have given this section was that of the Atlas's editorial on the "secession to Romanism" of Sconce and Makinson. This editorial, 26 February, 1848, it considered worth reproduction in full the following week.
  2. Birt, iip.140.
  3. Morning Chronicle, 8 November, 1843.
  4. This was made law by the Provincial Council of 1844 (Acta p.9).



Catholic congregation. Reasons assigned for a similar current in Tasmania, which eventually took up Thomas Arnold, at that time supervising the state education system there,<sup>6</sup> were a rather more acid reflection on the Anglican clergy, and hence could account also for a trend towards the evangelical sects at the same time; the Anglicans' wealth, namely, and their neglect of their duties.<sup>7</sup> Most of these converts made little splash, if we except Arnold, Sconce and Makinson. One of them, however, produced some Serious Considerations on the divinity of the Catholic religion which were commonly, but mistakenly, thought to be the work of one of the convert ministers.<sup>8</sup> And the girl Nagel, who eventually became a Benedictine, forced Gregory into a public controversy with her father and his rather morbid notions on "Jesuitical artifices" and "abduction".<sup>9</sup>

Another, death-bed, conversion at Maitland Hospital, enjoyed considerably publicity because of the character of the priest involved and of the Local Anglican minister, Stack, who had earlier crossed swords with Duncan;

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5. Morning Chronicle, 11 November 1843

6. Freeman's Journal (FJ), 7 June, 1856.

7. Sydney Chronicle, 1 August, 1846

8. The author protested against this mistaken impression in Sydney Chronicle 11 April 1848, following the Atlas editorial critique of April 1.

9. Sydney Morning Herald 31 May, 10 June and 21 June, 1850 for father's view; Gregory, 4 June 1850 the girl, 20 June, 1850.

the incident gives useful evidence of the temper of popular Catholicism at the time. Stack both attempted to obtrude his unwanted ministry, and accused Lunch, the priest, of proselytism.<sup>10</sup> Lynch, in reply, was by no means content merely to point out that so far was he from proselytising that he had just sent two prospective converts away to test their perseverance; very much the father of his people throughout his long and distinguished career, he was out to prove to the Catholics that, united in the justice of their cause, they could be a power in the land. He pointedly frustrated a move to patch up the matter by a vague resolution regretting that "any such proceedings... should have taken place"; he must have an apology from Stack.<sup>11</sup> He followed this up by resisting a second motion of generic approval of the Hospital Committee, on the grounds that Stack was a member.<sup>12</sup> The matter dragged on for two years, one party seeking to have the patient's religion at entry determine what ministrations he should receive,<sup>13</sup> the Catholics taking this as a manifestation of the "unjust and offensive principle of religious ascendancy",<sup>14</sup> directed against the priest. They even moved for a

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10. Morning Chronicle, 19 April and 23 April 1845.

11. Ibid, 24 May, 1845.

12. Sydney Chronicle, 26 May, 1845.

13. Ibid, 18 May, 1846

14. Ibid, 7 March 1846.

separate Catholic institution, to be subsidised by the Government, as the best guarantee of religious freedom.<sup>15</sup> In this they failed; but the eventual victory was theirs, in the removal of certain officials whom they thought bigoted;<sup>16</sup> and Lynch was clearly in the saddle when, at his invitation, Fitzroy consented to be Patron of the Hospital.<sup>17</sup>

All such demonstrations of sectarian feeling bear no comparison with the clamour that "convulsed the public mind"<sup>18</sup> after the conversion of Sconce and Makinson in February, 1848. It marked (not to imply that it alone caused) a transition in the history of Christianity in Sydney. Here, for the last time, the whole community, virtually, was engaged in a crisis specifically theological. The incident, which reverberated in the Sydney press for the rest of the year, was a specimen of what was going on in England at this time on so much larger a scale.

The Sydney Morning Herald, still with no rival daily, had spent January complacently anti-Roman. The Supplement Chronology of 1847 had been well-filled with

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15. Sydney Chronicle, 7 October 1846

16. Ibid., 3 February, 1847

17. Ibid., 10 February, 1847

18. Atlas, 26 February, 1848. Cf. Punch in the same issue: "Popular opinion ... is very rampant on the subject". Cf. Atlas of April 15. For interest much later in the year, ibid. November 11 and December 23.



the planning and opening of Protestant churches;<sup>19</sup>. the year had opened with the announcement that new Anglican dioceses of Melbourne, Adelaide and Newcastle were to form a province under a Metropolitan Bishop in Sydney;<sup>20</sup>. the Jesuits were described as the forlorn hope of Rome, 21. and proof was adduced that Rome exalts Mary at the expense of Jesus.<sup>22</sup> Then Polding returned from Europe on February 7, full of news of the great famine and of Newman, who had travelled to Rome with Murphy the year before,<sup>23</sup>. and while in Rome had made a friend of the Archbishop himself.<sup>24</sup> Then - post, not propter - the Herald for the 21st announced the conversion of Sconce, in charge at Saint Andrew's Cathedral at the time, "an able, zealous man"; and his conversion "doubtless a severe blow to the Church of England", but not unexpected given the "tendency of his views during the last three years". Makinson followed, a surprise, he being a reticent man. Polding made good use of the windfall, strengthening the teaching staff of his seminary, though this cost the Benedictine Community £300 a year. Both were married

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19. Supplement to S.M.H., 8 January 1848

20. S.M.H., 3 January, 1848

21. Ibid., 21 January, 1848

22. Ibid., 31 January, 1848. See also Atlas, 26 February, 1848.

23. Sydney Chronicle, 14 September, 1847

24. Ibid., 15 February, 1848. Here, too, the famine.

(their wives converts with them), and hence could not be ordained.<sup>25</sup> They both ran very convincingly the race that was set before them. Sconce appears in various roles: his house a mass-centre at Balmain before the erection of the church there;<sup>26</sup> supporting Longmore's candidacy for the Council; defending the miracles of Rimini with the reflection that the Church always enjoys such testimony that it is divinely commissioned.<sup>27</sup> But he died suddenly in March, 1852, of a **nervous** fever, induced, it was considered, by "too intense application to the studies of the new profession" - law, by the look of it - "he had proposed to himself". To forestall rumour, he made a formal statement from his death-bed:

For the sake of all my dear Protestant friends ...  
I die a member of the Roman Catholic Church ...  
I firmly believe it to be the only true Church ...  
nothing gives me so much happiness in these,  
my last moments, as the remembrance of the four  
years I have spent in her bosom. 28.

Makinson survived him by more than forty years, as Polding's secretary, and afterwards Vaughan's, one of what many criticised as an English clique in the Palace. Retiring on Vaughan's death, he died, very old and quite blind, in 1893.<sup>29</sup>

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25. B. McGrath, John Henry Newman and Australia, Advocate 15 May, 1946.  
26. Benedictine Diary, 2 December, 1949 (S.A.A.)  
27. Cf. F.J. 28 November, 1850  
28. F.J., 1 April, 1852.  
29. Birt 11, p.377

Sconce resumed the <sup>145</sup>argument behind his decision in a series of articles in the Chronicle from August 5th on. The paper, after four years in Irish hands, had been taken over from D'arcy, McEncroe's nephew and successor, in April 1847, by the Englishman Hawksley; it only just survived to tell this particular tale; losing money, despite a good circulation and the endorsement of the clergy, it had been turned into a weekly in June, 1848; merging into the nondescript and short-lived Daily News on September 30. Its demise, followed so soon by that of the Atlas, while it greatly embarrasses the chronicler of 1849, writes a nice finis to the first age of Catholic opinion in Australia, when the adversary, however much he talked logic and toleration, was still decidedly Scripture-quoting Protestant, with Protestant tradition as the major premise.<sup>30</sup> - Sconce's arguments, as he truly observed, were "the same which have induced so many before me to act as I have done".<sup>31</sup> "It was a Church I wanted most; a Church was at the bottom of my whole theory."<sup>32</sup> "We all remember the time when little or nothing was said by the English clergy about the Holy Catholic Church, its visibility, unity, and

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30. Concerning Chronicle, see issues of March 31 and April 3, 1847 (change of management); 11 July 1847, (clergy endorse). Circulation second only to S.M.H. November, 1847 (Mr. M. Roe tells me it was about 1600). But advertising fell off as time went on, and as custom then permitted, many "subscribers" did not pay (Cf. 23 April 1842, 1 June 1843) - For Atlas see



authority. . .of the evil and danger of schism; of the fallacy and mischief of saying that the Bible, and the Bible alone, was the rule of faith."<sup>33</sup> Then the "new doctrines", and their rapid spread; the ideal of raising up the Church of England till Rome - true, but corrupt - was compelled "to acknowledge our Catholicity".<sup>34</sup> Then the doubts; Rome's adamant rejection of the Anglican claims from first to last; the search through Scripture and the Fathers (had the promises failed?); and the sacramental, supernatural system, a "new world" now opened to his mind, obscured or denied "by the vast majority of (the Anglican) communion in every period", while "enforced as essential" in the Roman.<sup>35</sup> The penultimate hesitation, in "vague fear of the unknown"; then commitment and settled conviction.<sup>36</sup>

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March 11 and 18 March, 1848 (scripture-quoting); 25 March, 1848 (Protestant tradition); 16 December and 30 December (demise).

31. Sydney Chronicle, 5 August, 1848.

32. Ibid., 12 August, 1848.

33. Sydney Chronicle, 5 August, 1848.

34. Ibid.

35. Sydney Chronicle, 19 August and 26 August, 1848.

36. Ibid., 2 September and 9 September, 1848. For his struggle to overcome his feelings, in the Marsfield church, see Chronicle, 10 June, 1848. In point of fact Walsh, by cutting his friendship, made the way a little easier for Sconce - see his Reasons, p.33.

The Anglican clergy at once addressed Broughton on the "secession", moved by "allegiance and affection to the Church of England, as to a true, living and independent branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church", anxious to silence the boasting of Rome, and to comfort their own laity-in whose name agitation at once began against a Bishop "desirous of preserving merely the hollow appearance of unanimity", and a clergy "suspected of a tendency to the principles which the ~~address~~ ought to have condemned", and a College (at Lyndhurst) whose alumni were "the principal bidders for the Tracts of the Times" when Sconce auctioned his library.<sup>37</sup> "The church requires support", replied the Bishop ~~to~~ his clergy's address, "and I need comfort"; "the offence is aggravated by the character of those tenets for the sake of which they have cast off their first faith".<sup>38</sup> While throwing some doubt on the candour of the two, he asked for prayers on their behalf; but followed this up within the week by a "sentence of deprivation and deposition."<sup>39</sup> While there was naturally some exultation among Catholics at this unlooked for turn of events, there could hardly be boasting by the more responsible among them, since they

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37. For the address: S.M.H., 24 February, 1848. For the agitation I refer to, see Atlas of February 26, March 4 and March 11, respectively.

38. Ibid.,

39. S.M.H., 28 February, 1848

knew they had contributed nothing beyond providing a Church for Sconce and Makinson to enter;<sup>40.</sup> but their comment on the logic of Broughton's proceedings was occasionally sharp, their confidence being reinforced when similar comments were made by Broughton's non-Catholic critics. "What a crime, to follow out the right of private judgment!"<sup>41.</sup> They "did not blindly obey a Church not professing infallibility."<sup>42.</sup> "Is, - we ask in fear and trembling, - the Church of Rome a branch?"<sup>43.</sup> And as to the sentence of deprivation and deposition, one wondered "how it is necessary to cut off what is cut off" - "perhaps the ingenuity which discovered a 'living independent branch' will be able to explain this".<sup>44.</sup>

On the human side of the affair as distinct from the logical, Polding remarked how strange it was that ~~man~~ could become a deist without causing so much agitation, how impossible it was ever again to "entertain

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40. Sydney Chronicle, 26 February, 1848. For some Catholics' "inability to conceal or control their extreme exultation", Atlas, 22 April.

41. Ibid., 2 March, 1848

42. Ibid., 11 March, 1848. Some of these comments were made with the Atlas's comments in mind, e.g. Atlas 4 March, 1848 on Sconce's "preferring the infallibility of Pius IX to that of Bishop Broughton". Likewise on the deposition, in comparing his exclusive Anglicanism most unfavourably with Perry's liberalism, Atlas 12 February 1848, when the conversion crisis delivered Broughton into their hands.

43. Ibid., 29 February, 1848

44. Sydney Chronicle, 9 March, 1848

*The same issue. The Atlas, long opposed to Broughton, had just been*



the same respect for those who had ... publicly maligned" the converts (and incidentally adding fuel to the fire by his observation that so much bigotry in evidence must discourage immigration).<sup>45</sup> Some of the Anglican laity saw this side of it. Sconce's former congregation met at Saint Andrew's Cathedral (such as it then was, among the possibles - meet symbol, some wit remarked, of all the catholicity the Church of England could claim). Campbell, Charles Lowe, Finch and others, while abating none of their anti-Romanism, had the good-sense to speak of a "sense of loss", of a "dear friend" who "much as he erred" was "incapable of the treachery imputed to him" (at this last point, Lowe was called to order by the chair).<sup>46</sup> But Broughton, and Walsh, as a prominent Tractarian and friend of the seceders, were too deeply implicated to conduct such courtesies. Walsh, particularly under suspicion, flailed about him in every direction, hitting at Keating, the parish priest of Penrith, for inciting the Catholics to "violence", at Folding for his cant about freedom of conscience, at Rome in general for its skill in directing "every weapon of offence", its determination to secure unchallenged supremacy; in

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45. Ibid., 7 March, 1848

46. S.M.H., 28 February, 1848

particular he asked to be approved on the grounds that he had at once cut his friendship with Sconce, returning books he had borrowed from him, and inducing others to follow his course; and declared his "instinctive aversion" from any system that so quickly warped a man to evil, as Rome did Sconce - and thus at last stung poor Sconce into entering the public controversy, by this stage two months old.<sup>47</sup> Later, Walsh wrote Broughton in public fashion denying his complicity in the secession, and was assured, in reply, that his breaking off relations ought to convince all of his sound Anglican loyalties.<sup>48</sup> While Broughton, on his part, in a letter to Cowper that was virtually a circular, and precluded a keen exchange between Sconce and his former superior, had animadverted on the "young man whose arrogant assumption and overweening self-sufficiency would inevitably lead him astray", on his "credulity, coupled with want of information", his "imbecility ... duplicity", and Newman's "consummate hypocrisy".<sup>49</sup> The fact was, as the Chronicle, obviously

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47. S.M.H., 15 April and 17 April, 1848. The Atlas's Punch column on February 26 had at once put a harsh spotlight on Walsh: "the Reverend incumbent of Christ Church will seek refuge in the bosom of Rome, directly the Pope will relax the law concerning the celibacy of the clergy."

48. Sydney Chronicle, 10 June, 1848

49. Ibid., 3 June, 1848. Sconce's public controversy with Broughton, published in pamphlet form, and also given in Atlas of 10 June and 1 July, dates from here.

privy to Sconce's thoughts, pointed out, that both Walsh and the Bishop had shared Sconce's devotions as well as his library, had gone quite some distance with him in investigating the Breviary, Surin, the Tracts.<sup>50</sup> And now, as Sconce himself publicly complained, used as evidence against him "an almost whispered conversation with the Bishop of Newcastle", "a strictly private and very painful interview with Mr. Allwood", and other such.<sup>51</sup> "Staunch indeed the Protestantism", as he so charitably inferred,<sup>52</sup> that made them now revile him?

The controversy, or commotion rather, spread like a blot, absorbing numberless side-issues: Hampden's appointment to Hereford,<sup>53</sup> for instance, the infamous Achilli's "conversion" from Romanism,<sup>54</sup> Mrs. Chisholm's motives,<sup>55</sup> and the anger of the Penrith Catholics with an Anglican doctor who had taken part in crying down the converts.<sup>56</sup> But the real lesson of the case was

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50. Ibid., 10 June, 1848

51. Sydney Chronicle, 17 June, 1848

52. S.M.H., 17 April, 1848

53. Ibid., 6 April, 1848. Cf. Atlas, 8 April et seq.

54. Ibid., 15 April 1848

55. Sydney Chronicle, 16 March, 1848. Atlas, 6 May, 1848

56. S.M.H., 28 March et seq. Cf. Atlas, 8 April. The point here was clerical denunciation of the doctor from the altar, which the Atlas associated with similar denunciations alleged to be behind rural outrages in Ireland (Atlas, 29 April).



drawn by Murphy when, in the midst of it all, he preached at Goold's consecration on the necessity for a priest to be divinely commissioned, and "the exceeding folly of joining any of the sects".<sup>57</sup> Early in the piece, Anglican correspondents of the Herald took the position that the laity must "sound the trumpet of alarm", to restore "the service of the Church ... to what it was when (Broughton) was Archdeacon".<sup>58</sup> The Church of England Lay Association stood staunchly by the "inheritance of truth which the Reformers thought not too costly to purchase for us at the expense of their lives", without naming their reformers.<sup>59</sup> But on the very occasion of this address Broughton offended the non-conformists by asking, rhetorically, whether he must "consent to merge the glorious privileges annexed to church communion in a combination with the sceptic, the latitudinarian, and the schismatic", "the all but avowed adversaries of the Gospel".<sup>60</sup> Not of the Gospel, retorted Robert Ross, M.D., in the Herald, but of prelacy, spiritual domination, apostolical succession.<sup>61</sup>

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57. Sydney Chronicle, 12 August, 1848

58. S.M.H., 26 February, 1848. The Atlas and its "correspondents" took the need for lay action to be the true moral to be drawn from the affair.

59. S.M.H. 4 March, 1848.

60. Ibid. The dialectic that now follows was analysed by L.M.D. in the Atlas of 11 March.

61. S.M.H. 6 March, 1848.

To which a Presbyterian replied that Ross must not think to infer that his Church (the Scotch) did not enjoy the apostolic succession.<sup>62.</sup> To which another Protestant objected, why then had Broughton re-ordained Gregor and Allen (two Presbyterian ministers who had become Anglicans)?<sup>63.</sup> - So it might have gone on, had not the Herald's editor enforced silence<sup>64.</sup> and summoned all Protestant energies to bear on the real point of unanimity, that Christ ascending left behind no vicar; beginning with a printing of the Creed of Pius IV, a "tissue of absurdities" with "no parallel in the presumption of man",<sup>65.</sup> except, of course, the procedures of Newman, "that apostate",<sup>66.</sup> - and going on to deduce from the Catechism of Trent that Catholics worship the Holy Eucharist, and in fact believe in transsubstantiation;<sup>67.</sup> with much ado, for a long time there after, about Thou Art Peter.<sup>68.</sup> The language expended on the converts and the Church followed the old routine: misguided, deluded, usurpation, idolatry, perversion.<sup>69.</sup>

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62. S.M.H., 7 March 1848

63. S.M.H., 8 March 1848

64. S.M.H., 10 March 1848

65. S.M.H., 11 March 1848

66. Ibid.

67. S.M.H. 16 March 1848

68. S.M.H., 22 March 1848 et seq., particularly 21 April.

Cf. Chronicle, 27 April, 29 April, 1848; while Chronicle 11 April 1848 reproduced a long passage from Newman's Essay on Development.

69. See Sydney Chronicle, 22 July 1848, and the Atlas editorial of 26 February.

iv. The Evangelical Alliance.

Generally speaking the more Protestant wing of Protestantism did a great deal less than Broughton to bring into action the intellectual strength of Catholicism in Australia. Relations between the Catholics and Orange Presbyterianism were on the level of tribal warfare rather than debate, everywhere from Hobart<sup>1</sup> to Maryborough,<sup>2</sup> and Sydney as well as Melbourne had its hurling matches<sup>3</sup> and party processions - the latter till the Party Processions Act forbade.<sup>4</sup> The standard of argument was set by scurrilities like the "Repealers' Creed":

I believe in holy sticks and stones,  
In relics, rags, and blessed bones. 5.

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1. S.M.H., 1 June 1846, 29 July 1847 and 29 December, 1847, 26 August, 1848.
  2. F.J., 14 July, 1855
  3. Sydney Chronicle, 8 July, 1846. And thereby hangs a tale - a libel case against the ultra Protestant Sentinal. Cf. Chron., 20 June 1846, 4 July, 1846.
  4. Sydney Chronicle, 3 April 1847 et seq.
  5. Sydney Chronicle, 20 August, 1845. One issue of the Hobart Town Advertiser, 23 July 1852 (P.L.V.), contained two advertisements; one, the much-travelled 60 Reasons for becoming a Catholic (J.J. Therry may have instigated this one); the other:  
Farewell to your worship of pictures and stones,  
Your rags, and your relics, and rotten old bones,  
Your images winking, your bleeding impostors,  
Your ten Ave Marie, and two Paternosters ...  
Farewell to your worship with muttering tone  
An offering of fools in a jargon unknown;  
Your antics and turnings, your bowing and scraping,  
Your postures and twistings - grimacing and gaping  
...



Immigrant Irish Catholicism had to face a powerful combination of racial, class, and ideological antagonism from this source; with Anglican ministers, too, accepting Lodge chaplaincies,<sup>6</sup> - like the celebrated Anglican Dean of Geelong, McCartney, who "had witnessed the power of the Gospel in the Irish islands, where the state of the natives had appeared even more hopeless than that of the Australian savage"<sup>7</sup>. And when it came to specifically religious controversy Orangeism was able to find a good many allies among those who disowned its excesses on other occasions. Despite several testimonies to the inter-religion friendliness and cooperation general at this period, it is difficult to discover in the printed records examples of Protestant anti-Roman controversy featuring restrained courteous expression, or cautious handling of evidence. One exception that underlined the rule was the prominent Baptist, Saunders;<sup>8</sup> who found himself as a result attending a Saint Patrick's Day Dinner - the first time in his life, he confessed, he had been

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6. E.J.Kelly, The Church in Melbourne - Its Position and Prospects, in A.C.R., 1899, p.156

7. S.M.H., 3 February, 1849

8. Criticising Catholic missions in India. See Sydney Chronicle, 24 January, 1846 and 31 January 1846.

led to celebrate the feast of a saint, as he fortified himself with the consideration that Patrick was a gentleman.<sup>9</sup>.

The evangelical sects were particularly given at this period to the distribution of tracts and bibles; the British and Foreign Bible Society, forbidden by its constitution to distribute versions approved by the Church, set the norms for this activity. The Australian Religious Tract Society claimed to have sold 3262 books and 800 tracts in 1846, and to have distributed another 4000 tracts free.<sup>10</sup> They did not confine their attention to Protestants. "These swaddlers", as one of J.J. Therry's friends called them, were "endeavouring to draw in" the priestless Catholics of Melbourne in 1838.<sup>11</sup> When the churchless Catholics of Geelong gathered for public worship, there too they were active.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile their missionaries were frustrating the "unscrupulous ... proselytism" of Popery in Tahiti.<sup>13</sup> It was their heyday. Though they might be rebuffed by Nixon<sup>14</sup> and Broughton, the reaction against Puseyism after

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9. Sydney Chronicle, 21 March 1846

10. S.M.H. 22 January 1847. On the rule of the British and Foreign Bible Society not to distribute English versions other than the Authorised, cf. Colonial Times, Hobart, 15 June 1853.

11. Mackle, Footprints, p.8

12. Australian Chronicle, 15 November 1842

13. S.M.H., 14 April 1847

14. Atlas, 1844-5, p.411

1845 brought them into close cooperation with many Anglicans. To Perry, a Cambridge man, speaking honied words to the British and Foreign Bible Society, as Bishop - Designate of Melbourne in 1847, the differences between evangelical churchmen and dissenters were "minor".<sup>15</sup> And Dr. Lang, too, "taught them to lay aside the shibboleths of their parties - to sink their minor differences, and to combine their energies, and with one heart, and one soul, and one aim, to oppose the Puseyism and the Roman Catholicism, and the thousand and one other isms, which infect the country".<sup>16</sup> Thus Australia had in effect, before it had in name, an evangelical alliance like the explicit Evangelical Alliance of Exeter Hall back home, based on the same incontrovertible axioms: certain of them Christian truths, indeed, God one and three, Christ redeeming and judging, the individual destined either for everlasting bliss or for everlasting woe; but others of them distinctly Protestant, the authority and sufficiency of the Protestant canon of Scripture, with the right and duty of private interpretation, the utter depravity of human nature, and justification by faith alone.<sup>17</sup>

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15. S.M.H., 6 October 1847. It was in a letter to J.P. Fawcner that Perry disowned the title of address, "My Lord" - Temperance Banner. Hobart, 21 February 1850.

16. S.M.H., 3 March 1849.

17. S.M.H., 21 January, 1847. And compare the Solemn



The Sconce-Makinson secession stimulated an Australian Church Society whose program, announced by the Atlas of 18 March 1848, was very similar, but with a peculiar emphasis on laicism (as against clericalism).

There is no denying the presence in these quarters of authentic religious experience; for instance, under the Bunyan-like terminology and Calvinist illuminism of Samuel Newham, who, once he "began to discover the utter depravity of his nature", then, "strongly, in fervent prayer, pleaded the sprinkled blood" till "his conscience was assured of its full and free acquittal"; his death-bed found him "alarmed at nothing but sin", and resolved that "while power remains I will praise

17. cont'd.

Declaration of the Ministers of the Church of England in Van Dieman's Land, (Hobart, 1851), in protest against Nixon's high churchmanship: "while the Church of Rome is thus described as a Sister Church, a branch of that which is said to be one, holy, and Catholic, all English Protestants who are not of the Communion of the established Church are declared to be schismatics" (p.18). Doctrines insisted on there, as essential to Protestantism, were the all-sufficiency of Scripture as the rule of faith; justification by faith alone; rejection of sacramental efficacy ex opere operato; and Christ the sole mediator, to the exclusion of devotion to saints or angels, the use of the mass or the confessional, or the notion of purgation after death. - Later on of course the Evangelical Alliance in Australia was quite explicit - cf. S.M.H. 11 March, 1859.

my Redeemer".<sup>18</sup> Much of their literature, devotion, and practice, was wholesome enough; evangelicals read Every Day Duties in Letters to a Young Lady, or Spring's Attractions of the Cross,<sup>19</sup> the Life of Wesley or Law's Serious Call,<sup>20</sup> just as Catholics read Butler's Lives of the Saints, Hay's Devout Christian, or Rodriguez.<sup>21</sup> But even this sort of spirituality easily creeps over into morbid anti-popery - say, a volume of Selections from Calvin.<sup>22</sup> So there was always the occasional outburst about the Harlot drunk with the blood of the saints,<sup>23</sup> the solemn letters and articles about Popery Unchangeable,<sup>24</sup> Foreign Allegiance,<sup>25</sup> and Seditious Priests.<sup>26</sup> When it came to this attack on Catholicism, the High Anglicans abandoned the splendid isolation of their middle state, and the evangelicals could usually rely on a salvo from Broughton against "the lurid torch

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18. Anon, Good Shepherd, Hobart 1849. Cf. F.J. 10 August, 1864, for praise of a Presbyterian theological periodical.
19. S.M.H., 21 January 1848
20. S.M.H., 17 January 1843
21. Australian Chronicle, 10 February 1842
22. S.M.H., *ibid.*
23. Morning Chronicle, 3 February 1844
24. S.M.H., 3 August 1847
25. Morning Chronicle, 7 May 1845
26. S.M.H., 8 August 1848

kindled at the Vatican"<sup>27</sup>. (for Broughton's prose degenerated into lurid metaphor on these occasions), or on Nixon to contend bravely "with the errors of that Church" - emphasis his - "which sought so unremittingly to win back"<sup>28</sup>. and so on. The Atlas, whose contributors could sometimes have passed as "profane mockers"<sup>29</sup>. or adherents of "neologian indifference"<sup>30</sup>; swelled this chorus - for instance to report on the typical Jesuit, "spiritless, cowardly, false; a sycophant and an informer; the slave to an abject superstition."<sup>31</sup>. And of such stuff was the Sydney Morning Herald's impartiality. It commented, for instance, on the alleged miracles of Rimini:

A very large proportion of the colonists look on the whole affair as a delusion, and nothing short of demonstration will induce them to hold a contrary opinion.

On the other hand, there are those who consider it an article of faith to believe in such statements as those made by the people of Rimini, and no reasoning will have any effect on them. 32.

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27. S.M.H., 27 March 1847

28. S.M.H., 26 May 1846

29. Ibid, (Nixon)

30. Broughton in S.M.H., 1 March 1848

31. Atlas, 1844-5, p.640. On p.593 of this volume it reproduced the Macaulay article on Puseyism from the Edinburgh review. On Popery cf. ibid., p.363,

32. Cf. F.J., 5 December 1851. p.653.



Something could be done by way of reasoning where Scripture was concerned.<sup>33</sup> Cregin, "as the Catholic bookseller of Melbourne", could emphasise his turnover in Bibles and put the onus on the Bible Society to purchase cheap Catholic editions for circulation.<sup>34</sup> But it was not a matter of school-divinity, it was in

the trumpery annual, or child's story book, in sermons, tracts, histories, novels, essays, reviews, - we are in the daily habit of reading misrepresentations of our creed, caricatures of our practice, libel upon our morality, scoffs, jeers, and cruel mockeries, of all we hold dear.<sup>35</sup>

Bishop ~~Eng~~land taught the Irish abroad that here was the cue for the Catholic press, unwearying exposition and correction. An experienced campaigner like McEncroe might go one step further and show a cheerful contempt for the "old spinsters of Exeter Hall", or

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33. e.g. Morning Chronicle. 1 May 1844 (special supplement on the Bible), and a long controversy in Launceston Examiner July 20, 24, 31, August 7 and 21, September 4, 1850.

34. F.J., 19 December 1850. Cregin was borrowing from the Hobart controversy just mentioned (last note). But an "advocate of the Roman Catholic community" in Tasmania re-borrowed in Colonial Times, 15 June 1853

35. F.J., 19 December 1850. Cf. 27 March 1851.

bishops with wives and children.<sup>36</sup> But this had its dangers, when not accompanied by McEncroe's widely appreciated tact and tolerance.<sup>37</sup> When evangelical aggression came to a head in Perry's description of Catholicism as a "system of Satanic delusion"<sup>38</sup>. **F**ather Madden in Melbourne produced arigmarole about Derby of Clare who refused to vote for Smith O'Brien, and was stripped by the women of the village and rolled in the nettles - and if Dr. Perry went among those ladies to tell them they were labouring under a Satanic delusion, he had better look out for his skin.<sup>39</sup>

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36. Morning Chronicle, 20 January 1844, 20 July 1844.  
 37. Cf. S.M.H. 16 November 1858, for a warm eulogy of McEncroe on this score, in the first leading article.  
 38. Argus 27 November 1852. See M. Clark, Sources of Australian History, p.p. 357-8, (London, 1957).  
 39. F.J. 27 January 1853.

v. J.D. Lang : The Port Phillip election, 1843.

If we may credit a correspondent of the Sydney Morning Herald of April 6, 1855, there were by then "vast numbers of Her Majesty's subjects, among whom we may reckon all but a fraction of the natives of Scotland, to whom Good Friday is ~~even~~ as any other day". Among these natives of Scotland, J.D. Lang not so much represents,<sup>as</sup>/embodies and effects, the transition from extreme fissi~~parous~~ Protestantism, to complete secularism. In the early 'forties, he had both a seat in Council, and an editorial column in the Colonial Observer, from which to press his views. He was of bland demeanour; in his portrait he has an air of refinement. No one on the popular side in politics could match the versatile, well-informed conversation, the vehemence of action and utterance, that exercised such fascination over the still-ripening Parkes, and David Blair.<sup>1</sup> This vehemence took on a religious hue. His split with the Sydney Synod, not one inch wider or narrower than the North Channel (with Lang on the Ulster side), was put forward as a grand gesture of religious conviction!<sup>2</sup>

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1. D. Blair, John Dunmore Lang - A Recollection, in The Centennial Magazine, Melbourne, 1889.
  2. J.D. Lang. Popery in Australia and the Southern Hemisphere and How to Check it Effectually, Edinburgh, 1847, p.41 et seq. S.M.H., 26 July, 1847.



And his criticism of Catholicism, assiduous, bitter, noisy<sup>3</sup>; for half a century, from the time of his opposition to Therry's using the Court House in the 'twenties, till his death, wore the same<sup>air</sup> of religion, or at least irreligion. In 1836 we find ~~him~~ issuing a booklet, "Six Months in a Convent";<sup>4</sup> in 1843 we find ~~him~~ bundling Popery very matter-of-factly in with "Paganism, or Infidelity"<sup>5</sup>; in the 1850's we find him behind the Empire; in 1867 we find Polding calling the Catholics to a day of reparation for his blasphemies.<sup>7</sup> In the controversies between Anglican and Catholic he scored off either side; Catholicism be aspersed with the uncompromising phrases of the Scottish theology, Broughton he derided for conceding Catholic orders when his own were under question.<sup>8</sup> True, he attacked Broughton also for prejudicing the civil liberties of Catholics, which

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3. See Carr in S.M.H. 17 June 1846. The Colonial Observer had plenty to retort on Carr, 14 June, 1843, 17 June 1843, 28 June 1843.
  4. F.J. 28 August 1851.
  5. Col. Obs. 19 April 1843.
  6. Cf. his letter of commendation when it resumed publication 23 May 1859, after Parke's bankruptcy.
  7. Moran, p.483.
  8. See Col Obs. 18 March 1843, 5 April 1843, 20 May 1843, 14 June 1843, all arising out of Broughton's Protest.



he defended, at least in theory, with some pertinacity<sup>9</sup>; his paper, for instance, leaned slightly on Therry's side against Cowper in 1843.<sup>10</sup> Lang's liberty, however, had two sides to it: it meant that he felt free to combat the "justly apprehended and intolerably degrading despotism"<sup>11</sup> of Rome with any weapon that came to hand. He took it upon himself to deliver the southern hemisphere from Popery by bringing in British Protestant immigrants, and Germans, and keeping Irish Catholics out of it;<sup>12</sup> he also took it upon himself on occasion to deliver the colonial legislatures from it. And generally speaking, we may say, the Catholic leaders took his holy war as pure politics. An old observer of men and politics in 1856 put forward the highly probable view that he was a shrewd dealer who knew how to use an element of fanaticism in his own make-up to stir up a following; by no means a believer in his own infallibility, but simply calculating that, in the babel of religious opinions, his was as good as the next man's.<sup>13</sup> And

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9. S.M.H. 28 June 1850.

10. Cf. Col. Obs. 31 May 1843

11. Port Phillip Patriot 2 April 1846

12. This is the central argument, if we could use the word of so vivacious a production, of Popery in Australia. See p.25.

13. Senex in F.J. 29 November 1856. I suspect this was M'Curtaigne.

by being so political himself, he contrived to make Catholicism look political.

His skill and power in this enterprise became apparent with the Port Phillip elections of 1843. Geoghegan had learned religious toleration in a hard school - as orphaned children, he and his sisters had, quite literally, been cast out naked in the street, for refusing to compromise their Catholic beliefs.<sup>14</sup> And he taught the lesson to his flock. "I have acted under the uniform conviction", he told them in 1846 at what was thought to be a final parting, "that my services are most beneficial to the true interests of my Church, when accompanied by the strictest regard for the enlightened principle, that every human being has a right to worship God according to the dictates of an upright conscience"<sup>15</sup>. But in 1843, perhaps rather unexpectedly, Catholicism itself became the election issue. Edmund Curr, a squatter and an Englishman and a Catholic - an old school fellow of Polding - for a time looked as though

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14. Moran, p.541.

15. Syd. Chron. 4 November 1846



he might be elected unopposed as the representative of the <sup>city</sup> ~~district~~.<sup>16.</sup> In Tasmania, he had been a magistrate and a member of the Council; he was not merely conservative in his views, but had the contempt of a Coriolanus<sup>17.</sup> for the plebs. However, if the elected member was to be a local at all, he must needs be rich. Curr, furthermore, was a strong advocate of separation from Sydney;<sup>18.</sup> and though wool and land were his main burthen he had his liberal side:

We were in a state of perfect freedom and equality, we had no room for a Catholic question in this colony, and if any man gave his support because he was a Catholic, he should disavow that support.<sup>19.</sup>

He wrote Polding, remarking that were he elected, he knew of nothing, under so liberal a constitution, the Catholics had to ask.<sup>20.</sup> And he favoured the National System in education.<sup>21.</sup>

He was defeated by the conjunction of J.D. Lang with J.P. Fawker. It was an anxious period for the reverend Doctor. He was discredited in Sydney, where he had been forced into a schismatic position, de-

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16. Aust. Chron. 31 January 1843. On Polding and Curr, S.M.H. 17 June 1846.

17. Port Phillip Patriot 12 June 1843.

18. S.M.H. loc. cit.

19. P.P. Patriot 9 March 1843

20. Ibid., 17 June 1843

21. Ibid., 7 March 1843. There is a good picture of Curr in "Garryowen" (E.Finn), Chronicles of Early Melbourne, Melbourne, 1888, pp. 859-860.

nouncing the Presbyterian Synod as the "grossest tyranny", and with some logic denouncing the "monstrous heresy that all religions are alike, and therefore, all equally deserving of support from the state",<sup>22</sup>. But fortune favoured him, Chalmers' walk-out on the established Church of Scotland came hard on the heels of his own schism, and lent it an air of **ideology** and respectability. He now came forward as the champion of separation of church and state, seeing the Scottish incident as but "the first of a series of revolutions that would ere long subvert every established church in the world;" and as the champion of Protestant unity against Rome, "the differences ... between the various denominations of Protestants" being "of no importance in comparison with the matters on which they all differed from the Church of Rome and the semi-popish system of Puseyism!"<sup>23</sup>. It was probably Puseyism that drove him to seek election for one of the five Port Phillip district seats : to oppose Broughton in the Council,<sup>24</sup> though this must give Gipps

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22. Aust. Chron., 10 February 1842

23. Lang in P.P. Patriot 15 June 1843. Ibid., 20 February 1843, shows Lang supporters using the fact that he received no state aid as a motive for electing him.

24. Ibid., 10 April 1843. And Aust. Chron. 9 February 1843.

a motive for renominating the Puseyite prelate. But as a relatively unpartisan journal observed, "the very first address to the public issued by him after his arrival in Port Phillip" stated that he "thought it ominous" they should call upon Curr to represent them.<sup>25</sup> Fawkner's paper, the Patriot, on February 9, carried a letter signed ~~Fomo~~, in fact, as he scarcely troubled to deny,<sup>26</sup> "by Lang;" it would be strange to see the second town in the colony, -- returning a Roman Catholic to the Colonial Legislature". Again:

" Mr. Curr's election for Melbourne would imply that you have no Protestant to choose". The paper followed with a leader (~~13 Feb~~) deploring Melbourne's "Hobson's choice". When Curr took up his stand (as above) on the principle of absolute religious neutrality, his defence was not easy to pierce; but they found McKillop, his campaign manager, easier game, and the voteless Irish, who cheered him on, easy to asperse - the "usual assemblage of the shirtless and shoeless".<sup>27</sup> McKillop committed himself very completely and publicly to maintaining that Lang was an unscrupulous bigot; Fawkner labelled him as

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25. Melbourne Times, 1 July 1843. The same paper had earlier held that religious liberty was a mere cloak for politically illiberal opposition to Lang - cf. P.P. Patriot 13 April 1843. Curr's liberality, however, was conceded as to his views - c.f. P.P. Patriot 4 April 1843 - not as to his temper - P.P. Patriot 12 June 1843.

26. Cf. P.P. Patriot 29 June 1843

27. Ibid., 5 June 1843



" a tool in the hands of the Jesuits"<sup>28</sup>. Lang made much of the fact that it was a ship sailing under one of Lang's schemes that had brought McKillop out.<sup>29</sup> But the contest hung fire, because Curr managed, surprisingly long for such a proud, sanguine man, to hold his tongue: and no candidate came forward against him, but only a series of ardh hints from the Patriot - "we cannot avoid gently hinting that it is not intended to allow Mr. Curr to walk the course;" in April<sup>30</sup>. - then, a month before the poll, " the time is rapidly approaching when we shall have the pleasing task of enlightening their weak understandings" as to who the opposing candidate was<sup>31</sup>. Curr's people were speculating wildly.<sup>32</sup> And he himself now brought matters to a head by one fatal indiscretion: if Lang were elected for the District, he threatened, he would refuse to sit for the City. Lang leaped on this "monstrous and most impudent assumption" as his cue: " This is Popery with a vengeance, and I thought it would be out at last."<sup>33</sup> And his candidate was announced a week later, Condell, the Mayor of Melbourne; small wonder Curr's party had not tipped him, as he was

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28. Ibid. 5 June 1843.

28. Ibid., 1 May, 1843

29. Ibid. 1 June 1843

30. 27 April

31. P.P.Patriot 11 May 1843

32. Loc,cit.

33. Ibid., 29 May 1843

originally Curr's seconder.<sup>34</sup> It was

Come, all ye Britons, from both sides the Tweed,  
 And stand by the truth of your forefathers' creed,  
 While your brethren of Ireland, your ranks gladly  
 join,  
 With the proud Orange Banner that waved at the  
 Boyne,<sup>35</sup>

with an all-out verbal onslaught on Curr in the pre-  
 election issues of the Patriot.

There was rioting on the day.<sup>36</sup> When the vote went  
 for Condell, 279/242, Lang told the electorate that  
 Curr was "the victim not of a religious or Protestant  
 warfare -- but of his own overbearing disposition."<sup>37</sup>  
 Curr had handled the situation very ineptly at the  
 hustings with a crude attack on Fawkner.

If you send me to Sydney as your representative,  
 I have a commission to leave with you. If the  
 Editor of the Patriot abuse me in my absence, my  
 commission is that you will tar and feather the  
 Alderman.<sup>38</sup>

But as he complained (though not to excuse himself), he  
 had been goaded to extremes, "heartless and relentless  
 savages", he put it, "hoisted the Orange flag." A  
 placard from the Patriot office reads; "Protestant

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34. Aust.Chron. 4 July 1843

35. Ibid., 19 June 1843

36. Chief Secretary's Archives Victoria 43/1102

37. P.P. Patriot 29 June 1843

38. Ibid. 26 June 1843. Cf. Melb.Times 17 June 1843.

electors of Melbourne, remember what your forefathers suffered from Popery. . .you are three to one in number so down with the rabble and no surrender."<sup>39</sup> McKillop (and the Herald on which Finn served) were sent large parcels of the Observer (Lang's paper in Sydney), blank paper and scurrilous messages calling him a "Scotch Papist son of a b-----", "a Scotch Romish bigoted fool", postage to pay on it all.<sup>40</sup>

Coincident with the election, Judge Willis was summarily dismissed; it was a consolation prize for Curr and McKillop, who had been the key men on the committee that brought about this second and final disgrace.<sup>41</sup> Once again his unprofessional conduct was motive enough for Gipps, but again the sectarian overtones were unquestionably there. The Catholics saw him as a dangerous bigot, the Patriot as a champion of "THE TRUTH".<sup>42</sup> The Loyal Orange Lodge was

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39. Curr to Port Phillip Herald, 21 June, 1843. Lang answered in the Patriot, 29 June, 1843.
40. Aust. Chron. 11 July, 1843. Highlands versus lowlands was a secondary motif here.
41. P.P. Patriot, 26 June, 1843. On the committee see *ibid.*, 18 May, 1843, 25 May, 1843. Also Victorian Chief Secretary's Archives, 43/973 and 1037.
42. P.P. Patriot, 25 May 1843. The Melb. Times of 1 July makes it clear that Willis's defenders were a small faction. For Willis and Freemasonry, Finn, Chronicles, p.182.



stimulated

~~formed~~ as the result of this friction, its Boyne-day celebrations somewhat inhibited by the Tipperary-Clare hockey matches arranged, by a "coincidence", for the same day.<sup>43</sup> But to Geoghegan it was no joke; three times, he told Archbishop Murray in 1846, "distinct attempts were lately made upon my life."<sup>44</sup> To this, then, had Lang's initiative come, and his characteristic pun on "Scots wha' hae wi' Willis bled",<sup>45</sup> hardly made the fact more palatable.

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43. "Garryowen" in Advocate 14 July 1894. Cf. Syd. Chron., 20 June 1846, 4 July 1846, and Austral Light, 1899, p.19 et seq. For a circumstantial account of this phase, "Garryowen" (Finn), Chronicles, p.621 and pp.675 et seq.
44. Moran, p.720.
45. P.P. Patriot, 29 May 1843.

A more searching challenge to Lang's anti-popery came from Mrs. Chisholm. He met it with a recklessness wholly in character; there was something daemonic in the man; and his unscrupulous bigotry has obscured the fact the she was, as he said, "a Roman Catholic of no common caste, a perfect devotee of the Papacy"<sup>1</sup>, no less than it obscured the fact that Roman Catholicism is compatible with disinterestedness, so much so that it is not, strictly speaking, compatible with ~~anything~~ <sup>anything</sup> else. "That first of heaven's virtues, charity", in Mrs. Chisholm's view, "ought to envelop such beings in her mantle, and not breathe the question, whether they be Catholics or Protestants...so long as they bear the stamp of humanity!"<sup>2</sup>. So far had she gone, as she pointed out, in keeping her original promise to her Lord to favour "neither country nor creed"<sup>3</sup>, that "a few of the Catholic party withdrew their support, for religious zeal will at all times degenerate into bigotry"<sup>4</sup>. At the same time, she counted it no part of respect for conscience in others,

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1. M. Kiddle, ~~of~~ Caroline Chisholm, Melb. 1950.p.120. Lang claimed to be revealing something little known, but Miss Kiddle contradicts him as to this on p.78.
  2. Caroline Chisholm, A Memoir; Anon, London, 1853.p.18
  3. Ibid. p.5. Murtagh, J.G. Australian- The Catholic Chapter, pp.69-70, gives the passage, but not in its integrity. The original italicised this phrase, Cf. Kiddle, op.cit., App.F. p.248-9 letter to the Baroness Coutts; "I never question any one on religious subjects."
  4. P.P.Patriot 31 March 1846

to conceal her faith. The very decision, the most momentous of her life, which set her on her career was, as she let it be known in her restrained way, timed and coloured by the liturgy of the Church.<sup>5</sup> More than this, the very courage, the creative prudence, and lofty purity, which gave her charm and wit such substance and body, had as their condition the prayerful self-distrust of the ascetic:

To do good is often weary work; to watch our motives, and to endeavour to keep them pure and holy is a struggle - a constant warfare with human nature:- to act on the Samaritan principle requires the grace of God.<sup>6</sup>

Her object in her social work she made quite specific: "to keep these poor girls from being tempted by their need to mortal sin"<sup>7</sup>; later, in England, the discouragement of family emigration, or grounds of expense, ~~as systems~~, in her eyes, of "trials, temptations, and stumbling blocks, thrown in the way of weak human nature",<sup>8</sup> - "this alone, and paramount to all other considerations, determined me to locate families"<sup>9</sup>. "I was not clear of her sin", she said of one case,

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5. See note 3 above.

6. P.P. Patriot 31 March 1846

7. See note 3 above.

8. Mackenzie, Memoirs of Caroline Chrisholm, pp. 139-140.

9. *Ibid.*, p.134.



"for I did not do all I could to prevent it":<sup>10</sup> a precision of moral theology was one side of the spirit of sacrifice, down, as she said, to "the last sacrifice it was God's will to demand"<sup>11</sup>; Yet always the broad humane vision, as well as the mastery of details:

Australia ... her high-spirited sons - her virtuous daughters - her sunny sky - her rich pastures - her ships laden with wool - her cattle wild and countless on her mountains.<sup>12</sup>

"More than ordinarily well-informed"<sup>13</sup> on the questions of the day, she was not unaware that it was the mode of reasoning of the classical economists and utilitarians she had to combat, in Wakefield and others.<sup>14</sup> To it she opposed a direct faith in Providence, which "made me labour in seeking some suitable employment for each." "God had, in a peculiar manner, fitted me for the work"<sup>15</sup> Earth was a prison, unless it lay open to heaven: "while there is hope in heaven, there is hope on earth"<sup>16</sup> This was the context in which she knew for sure that

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10. See note 3 above

11. Mackenzie; Memoirs, p.43

12. Ibid., pp.125-6. See also p.178 on how "every petty detail" was looked after.

13. Anon. A Memory, p.64

14. P.P. Patriot 17 March 1846 quoting Sydney Spectator would have made her aware of it. So would S.Sidney The Three Colonies of Australia, London 1853, pp.134-155. But see also her letter to Earl Grey on Bentham, Mackenzie, Memoirs, pp.105-6

15. See note 3 above. Again we see the importance of this passage, in its original form.- The previous quotation comes from Mackenzie, Memoirs.p.72 et seq.,

God's blessing was on my work. From this time, I never thought of human help ... from the hour I was on the beach with Flora, fear left me. 17.

Yet here, certainly, with the heart of a woman and the understanding of a man, as Shaftsbury said<sup>18</sup>. - here withal was nothing less than popery in Australia and the Southern Hemisphere. Pius IX had already given her son, studying for the priesthood in Rome, special attention on her account,<sup>19</sup> when the boy's broken health brought her to Rome, about 1853.

The ante-room, which was a very small one, was filled with ladies, but she was the third person introduced, she was about to make the usual obeisances on being presented when the Pope rose and took her by the arm and said, Caroline Chisholm eccelentissima! perseveranza! bravo! and clapped his hands to show his approbation of her conduct,

and went on, across the language barrier, to commend what was to both of them an all-important social institution, the small farmer.<sup>20</sup>

It was difficult for even Lang to agree that a hemisphere of Mrs. Chisholms was the end of Christian

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17.

Ibid., p.38

18. Anon, Dickens and Emigration to Australia. Cath. Hist. Soc. archives.

19. F.J. 11 December 1858.

20. F.J. 15 June 1861. Kiddle, Chisholm, opp. p.218 gives an illustration of a bust of herself with which Pius presented her, but does not attempt to account for this rare compliment.

civilisation. It was all the more difficult in the early 'forties because of her commanding prestige, the situation perhaps epitomised in Stanley to Gipps, "You will express to Mrs. Chisholm . . .," Earl Grey to Fitzroy, "Sir, it has been intimated to me by Mrs. Chisholm...<sup>21</sup>. She commanded the confidence of men so far apart politically as Gipps, Lowe, Towns, Plunkett Duncan. Furthermore, Lang's general policy coincided with hers and that not only as to the need for small-capitalist immigrants; a woman who came to believe that "on universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and the payment of members rested the salvation of the monarchy;<sup>22</sup> was no great distance from the soi-disant Republican leveller. He gave her some support; he gave her what he so seldom gave anyone, his admiration;<sup>23</sup> and then, on the eve of their several departures for Europe took what was, I believe, a fatal plunge, not only for Lang, but perhaps for Australian democracy - he identified her with a party. Not all Australians are Catholics; therefore Catholics as such have party-ends.

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21. MacKenzie, Memoirs, pp.132 et seq., for these and comparable instances. Cf. H.R.A. 1, xxvi, p.261 - a glimpse of Earl Grey's warm regard for her.
22. S.M.H. 9 July 1859
23. see Lang, Popery in Australia, pp.11-12; and P.P.Patriot, 2nd April 1846.



And as usual where argument failed him, he took ~~the~~ to buffoonery; he accompanied the letter which queried her motives with a litany "to be said or sung after Mass every Friday":<sup>24</sup>.

Dr. Lang is going to England,  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!  
 To bring out both Swiss and Germans,  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!  
 To cultivate the vine at Port Phillip!!!  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!  
 He's worse than Ronge and Czerski,  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!  
 Those heretical Silesian priests,  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!  
 Who, madly daring to think for themselves  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!  
 Have renounced the Pope and all his works!!!  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!  
 Including thee, Most Holy Coat!!!  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!  
 He will defeat our grand conspiracy  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!  
 In which Bishop Polding and Bishop Murphy  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!  
 With all the French priests in Tahiti  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!  
 Are now engaged with might and main  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!  
 TO ROMANIZE THIS SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE!!!  
 Holy Coat! pray for us!

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24. S.M.H. 14 March 1846. Ronge, a Silesian priest, had excited Protestant hopes, at least in England, by founding a "German Catholic Church", which "the progress of the age called for" (S.M.H. 12 May 1847); with the assurance that "Rome ought to fall, and she will fall" (P.P.Patriot 14 January 1846).

Her large circle of clerical intimates, neveryanyone's secret;<sup>25</sup> her remark <sup>to</sup> ~~of~~ the Lords, "I could manage the Irish best",<sup>26</sup> such natural manifestations of clear conscience and good faith were used to undermine her reputation for disinterestedness. She chose a chapel at Clapham Common, at the height of the Papal aggression excitement in England, to plead an end to religious partisanship.<sup>27</sup> "The moral good of the whole is my object",<sup>28</sup> she protested in Ireland. And back in the colonies (1854), her deeds bore her out; her refusal to lecture in aid of denominational education;<sup>29</sup> and the significant issue on which she differed from her co-religionists, Chinese immigration.<sup>30</sup> ("so long as they bear the stamp of humanity", her rule still). But the imputation of party-interests pursued her during the short remainder of her public life, before poverty and obscurity swallowed her up: "that sectarian who has surcharged this colony with her co-religionists"<sup>32</sup>; Fawcner said of her, having unsuccessfully opposed her testimonial.<sup>33</sup> This, for a welcome back; and her farewell, at the hands of the New

25. Cf. Callaghan's diary, R.A.N.S., 1948. p.360 p.360, p.372: Syd.Chron. 7 April, 1847 4 September 1847.

26. Observer (Melb) 20 July 1848

27. F.J. 20 January 1853

28. F.J. 23 September 1852

29. S.M.H. 9 February 1924, quoted by Wall, K. Caroline Chisholm, Cath.Hist.Soc.Archives.

30. Contrast F.J. 27 May 1852, 10 June 1852, against the Celestial helots, with Caroline Chisholm's attitude, Kiddle, Chisholm, p.233-4. Miss Kiddle's strictures on Mrs. Chisholm here ignore both the "neither

South Wales parliament a decade later, was cut to the same pattern.<sup>34</sup>

"Education is a very good thing", she told the Lords, "but without religion I am afraid it will not do much good."<sup>35</sup> At a time of choice she stood, more compellingly than any other figure in Australia, not for a vague humanitarianism but for the place of explicit, objective religion in public life. And she was traduced, not because the truths of religion were really in doubt - "the higher truths are so clearly proclaimed by the very voice of natural reason", as Leo XIII told the French Catholics, "that they force themselves on every man not blinded by passion"<sup>36</sup> - but because, rather than put Catholicism on a legal parity with Protestantism, the spirit of protest would

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country nor creed" and the positive principles Mrs. Chisholm argued from: the will of Providence and the rights of man - this, to her, made squatter-labour politics irrelevant.

31. See Note 2.

32. Herald (Melb.) 24 July, 1856.

33. Kiddle, Chisholm, p.200.

34. F.J. 7 April, 1866, Parliament withdrew into committee. See also Queensland Times 7 October, 1862: "What has Mrs. Caroline Chisholm done for the colony of New South Wales?" Meanwhile Lang had come to the conclusion that the north of Ireland was the best source of the small independent farmers he and she both wanted - Empire 12 August, 1856.

35. S.A. Register, 11 March, 1848.

36. Encyclical of 16 February, 1892, cited by R. Garrigou-Lagrange, De Revelations, Rome, 1950 (5th edition), p.401, f.n.



opt for the complete elimination of religious sanctions from public life: so one shrewd Catholic observer read the signs of the times.<sup>37</sup> Lang, it is true, denied that the impolicy and injustice of religious establishments premised the equal uncertainty of all religions, the certain truth of none.<sup>38</sup> His powerful reasoning on the matter, first put forward in 1842, polished and brought up to date in 1856 a propos the new constitution, was the nerve and heart of the movement for the abolition of state aid. Yes, the state, ideally, should endow truth, as against error; but in fact it cannot and does not; it endows error, to silence discontent. If so, though, it must endow all creeds - or else, to minimise sectarian animosities, none. To the objection that voluntarism made the clergy the slaves of their congregation, afraid to denounce vice, the answer was, first, a general sustentation scheme by each body (to prevent the particular congregation overawing the minister), and second the consideration that the sort of man who might become the slave of his congregation might equally become the slave of the state.<sup>39</sup> "Voluntarism", Parkes was

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37. F.J. 28 October 1854, "Senex" again - see section v above, f.n. 13. This, I think, was McEncroe's friend M'Curdayne.

38. J.D.Lang. The Impolicy and Injustice of Religious Establishments, Sydney, 1856 (substantially the text of lectures given in 1842)

39. Empire (Syd) August 4, 1856, meeting at Maitland for the abolition of state aid, speech by Ridley, handles these points ably, but Lang must be given the main credit.

to say, was " a test of true religion"<sup>40</sup>. Catholics like McEncroe, trained in the O'Connell school, could not but concede the practical force of this dexterous reasoning. Its sinister side was the insistence that state subsidies to religious education came under the same rule as state aid to religious organisations, and that an educational system the state chose to describe as neutral was in fact so. And Lang and his sequaces (to their credit, be it said) scarcely bothered to soft-peddle the militant ideology their politics premised, with its downright pre-clusion of the possibility that Catholicism was of God. "If we ever succeed in carrying our point, it will be as Protestants", said one of them in 1856; " as Protestants we must denounce these endowments ... because they go to confound truth and error"<sup>41</sup>. To this certitude, which I believe was of will, not evidence, the "emissory of Saint Mary's", as a Langist called Mrs. Chisholm<sup>42</sup> (and perhaps, since not the literal, the words will bear a mystical sense!)<sup>43</sup> was deliberately sacrificed.

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40. Ibid., p 15 July. The Empire of July-early August 1856, as the organ of a campaign, is in my opinion the best source for the arguments of the state aid abolitionists. Parkes' review of Lang's pamphlet on 2 July set it off.
41. Ibid., 5 August.
42. S.M.H., 9 March 1849
43. Kiddle, Chisholm, Acknowledgments, reminds us that no private papers of Mrs. Chisholm are known to survive.

vii. Murphy and South Australian Public Opinion.  
1844 - 1850.

When notified of his appointment to the new See of Adelaide, Murphy described it to Geoghegan as a "most painful" sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> The diocese was so small (1300 Catholics)<sup>2</sup> that Nllathorne considered its erection premature.<sup>3</sup> And to this poor little outpost Murphy came himself poor, with one priest.<sup>4</sup> The people welcomed him with an address, however, assuring him that relations with the Protestant majority were good.<sup>5</sup> Murphy's reply outlined his concept of his episcopate:

Whilst you must always be prepared to offer up to God, if necessary, the sacrifice of your lives, rather than part with the least portion of that faith which the apostles and martyrs have bequeathed to you with their blood, be ever ready to make the greatest allowance for the opinions and prejudices of your separated brethren, the majority of whom I know from experience are only opposed to you because they have never yet had an opportunity of beholding your religion in its spotless purity and beauty,<sup>6</sup> but only through a cloud of erroneous publications.

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1. Byrne. History of the Catholic Church in South Australia, p.21.
  2. See Moran, p.498 et seq., for the policy of discouraging Catholic immigration during the first years. The famine flood, however, did lap its shores soon after this: S.M.H. 6 September 1848
  3. Moran, p.500.
  4. Morning Chron. 12 October 1844. (London. 1957)
  5. Cf. D.Pike, Paradise of Dissent, p.276, for concrete proof. It was not, however, true at the official level - see Byrne, History, p.11
  6. Moran, p.512.



His long record, no doubt, in Lancashire and New South Wales, as a sort of public relations officer for the Church, uncompromising but unprovocative in his presentation of doctrine, was a strong recommendation for appointment to this mission, where his chief antagonist, perhaps, was the circumambient air of public opinion.<sup>7</sup> Murphy had not always been so sweet of demeanour - Ullathorne nursed the hurt of his sarcasms for thirty years,<sup>8</sup> and Duncan found in him "a mystery and an offensive hauteur" which "at once put an end to all familiarity"<sup>9</sup>. But the Bishop both his own and others found consistently mild and winning.

The press watched the progress of Catholicity under him with a curiosity remarkably friendly. "On Sunday last", the Adelaide Observer reported, "that indefatigable body of Christians, the Catholics, opened their new School-room, on West-Terrace, as a temporary place of worship".<sup>10</sup> And then a page and a half on the "elegant little building", with "fittings exceedingly neat". "The paintings of the Last Supper,

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7. Moran, p.501 et seq., (England), p.504 et seq.(N.S.W.).

8. Ullathorne, Cabin Boy, p.156. The sneering priest is not named, but could not, given the whole context, have been any one other than Murphy.

9. Duncan, Appeal, p.6

10. 11 October 1845.

The Descent from the Cross, and other Scriptural incidents, may well make us blush for our miserable daub at St. John's ... we never recollect hearing any performance of music in Adelaide that could be at all compared with these". So the Catholics, while they still seemed only an ineffectual minority, could be used as a stick with which to beat the Established Church. But not only the Established Church. When the first Catholic Church was opened at Morphett Vale early in 1846, the Observer<sup>11</sup>. was scrupulous to draw the moral, that this was "erected solely by the voluntary labour and contributions of materials, etc. of the Catholics" - "voluntary" being the operative word. Two other ecclesiastical events of the same day, chapels opened by the Baptists and the Primitive Methodists, were treated far more briefly. Nevertheless, Murphy, on his own merits, won the first contest with the public opinion of the New Model Colony: for these two occasions, no fewer than three of his sermons, solid uncontroversial collations of Scripture, were reported in detail. Stephens, the owner of the Observer (as also now of the Register), "although conscientiously differing from the Roman Catholic Bishop

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11. 20 January 1846.

of Adelaide in matters of "creed and controversy", could not "allow him to depart (even temporarily) from these shores" - Murphy sailed for Europe in February 1846 - "without bearing the testimony to his great moral worth, his untiring zeal, expansive charity, Christian forbearance, and sound discretion ... learning and piety."<sup>12</sup> Not so fulsome, the Register was glad to note that he took an "ample collection of South Australian minerals in his luggage, to advertise the colony to prospective migrants"<sup>13</sup>.

Murphy's personal forte was undoubtedly the ministry of the word; fluent, but scrupulous in its preparation,<sup>14</sup> his preaching was less sapid, more argumentative, than Polding's. In his first year he made a strong bid to disarm anti-Catholic public opinion by speaking against image - and saint-worship, and following up with a series of anathemas against them, and against those who seek to keep the Bible from the people, or preach in unknown tongues, or assert that a priest can absolve irrespective of the penitent's state of mind, or consider that good works

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12. Observer (Adel.) 7 February 1846. Cf. Sydn. Chron. 18 February 1846.

13. Syd. Chron. 14 March 1846.

14. Byrne, op. cit., p. 63.



suffice for salvation, or that evil may be done if the Church benefit, and much more besides. These anathemas are a nice epitome of the misrepresentation Catholics could, at this time, take for granted.<sup>15</sup> The clarity and sincerity of Murphy's disclaimers found their reward in the Observer's mention of them as "one of the signs of the times". "Cursed is he who believes that the Pope, Bishops, or priests can give leave to commit sin" - such propositions were hailed as "the abandonment of the long-contested doctrines of transsubstantiation, as well as that of the Pope's infallibility ... the harbinger of a reformation of Papal Rome".<sup>16</sup> - Elsewhere, however, Murphy chose to be purely dogmatic; a sermon on the primacy of holiness touched most heads of Christian doctrine; in an echo of an older humanism soon to be swamped by the evolutionists, he did not forget the physical comeliness of the human person as something that "pointed us out as destined to play a nobler part in creation than the mere beasts".<sup>17</sup> His continued preaching against drink, was a point of contact with non-conformist opinion, though he suffered a significant rebuff, in view of a later development, where some of

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15. Coffey reproduced them in Melbourne - see O'Farrell's Reply to Trollope, pp.9-13. Appendix B.  
 16. Observer 11 October 1845; Syd. Chron. 8 November 1845; Atlas 15 November 1845  
 17. Syd. Chron., 18 January 1846

his own people criticised him for inveighing against drunkenness when he should have been advocating Total Abstinence.<sup>18.</sup>

Murphy, then, Australia's first Maynooth bishop, probably conscious of the scrutiny he must undergo, strove to rise above contention. But soon contention was all around him. His first ecclesiastical student made a well-publicised apostasy.<sup>19.</sup> His first ~~companion-priest~~, Ryan, took Stephens to court when the Register accused him of celebrating the marriage of a Protestant youth - a minor - while the boy was drunk, and so swelling his flock. After some testy passages between the presiding judge and the paper's advocate (Hanson, the future champion of secular education), the jury returned verdict for the priest;<sup>20.</sup> but not before a good deal had been said out of court on the Roman threat. What aggravated matters, in such a small community, was that Ryan's lawyer, Johnson, was one of a number of clergy and laity to take up

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18. Ibid., 14 January 1846. For contact with the nonconformist conscience, cf. **Pike**, Paradise, p. 354.

19. Observer, 19 July 1845

20. S.A. Register, 6 September 1848

arms, from time to time, against the sea of Protestant tradition,<sup>21</sup> still at high flood.

The Romanists of the Continent and elsewhere are utterly corrupt ... Men seemed suddenly to forget ... the Inquisition with its untold horrors; the debaucheries and licentiousness of Popes, Priests, and Monks; their anti-Christian spirit, and hatred of the **word** of God; the kings too had forgotten Papal usurpations, and the humiliation of their predecessors. They saw nothing but the pomp of gorgeous ritual ... The Spirit of the Reform **f**ainted, and the unclean spirit grew stronger.

With this colonial production the Register could "mainly agree".<sup>22</sup>

"Where experimental godliness was found there voluntaryism existed and manifested itself."<sup>23</sup> In the model colony, where Dissent was as it were written into<sup>24</sup> the social constitution, and there were "many conscientious men who would scruple to aid the Catholics", and State Aid would go to assist chiefly the relatively weak Anglican body,<sup>25</sup> there was a

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21. See South Australian, 4 February 1848, 22 February 1848. For Johnson versus Baker, the most outspoken Protestant controversialist, see *ibid.*, 2 May 1848, 12 May 1848. Note also Backhaus in S.A. Register, 24 November 1847
22. S.A. Register 18 November 1848
23. S.A. Register 20 November 1847
24. *Ibid.*, 21 October 1848 (S.A. League to Bishop Short)
25. *Ibid.*, 5 July 1848.



powerful tendency from the first towards complete separation of Church and State, away from the multi-establishment that still obtained in all the other colonies. The Anglicans might argue that England's "National character is founded on Bible truth - she is safe, because the Lord is her God";<sup>26.</sup> but the great divorce was consummated by the very first elected Parliament, 1851, the first legislature under the British Crown to do this.<sup>27.</sup> The Catholics did a great deal to bring it on; a one sentence notice in the South Australian for June 16, 1848, read: "The Roman Catholic authorities have resolved not to apply for any further grant from government". Why? A smaller minority than elsewhere, they had a smaller influence on the government. ~~Robe~~ had sprung state aid on the colony by surprise, during Murphy's absence. It saved the Catholics when a series of chances and perhaps the attractions of a less stable diocese, brought too many priests together in South Australia by 1849.<sup>28</sup>

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26. Ibid., 20 November 1848

27. Pike, Paradise, p.434 et seq

28. Cf. Syd.Chron. 21 September 1847. The "series of chances" see Byrne, *passim.*, - eg. p.33, p.39 p.55. p.57, p.62 (though here to speak of two Woolfreys seems incorrect in view of Odilo's current appointment to New Norfolk, Tas., see Cullen, Bishop Wilson, A.C.R., 1951, p.115) - Byrne on p.52 et seq. corrects Card. Moran's misapprehension, p.514, to the effect that the £247 received before Murphy's protest was all the Catholics received. For the later £2486, see Pike, Paradise., p.381.

But the Bishop represented the administration of state aid as a "system of humiliating annoyance," contrived in a "repulsive spirit which appeared to actuate the government", whose sanction was required for any proposed outlay, **monies** subscribed to be lodged in the bank before aid could be obtained. Moreover, the government would not receive correspondence from the V.G. in lieu of the Bishop. On this point, Murphy seems to have been a rebel against established procedure,<sup>29</sup> but his resolve to refuse aid under such conditions was endorsed by a public meeting of the Catholics, which guaranteed to find the ~~goods~~ <sup>funds</sup> necessary by annual subscription<sup>30</sup>. Though they accepted aid again when Robe left (1848), and though during the early gold period, the abolition of aid left them perilously weak, they had joined the voluntarists with every appearance of

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29. See Earl Grey's regulations in H.T. Courier, 30 January 1850; and Victorian Chief Sec's Archives, 53/7504.
30. S.A. Register, 5 July 1848

conviction<sup>31</sup>. Murphy, in other words, followed the pattern of the Irish hierarchy, not the Australian.

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31. Pike, Paradise pp.380-1 Baker had just taunted them in the South Australian, May 12; "the Papists were at the head of the State principle" he dared "the whole body of priests to declare openly ... that their people are left in the colony to the voluntary ... movements of their own hearts in the support of the Papacy." Having seen Murphy's anathemata, one wonders whether this current of opinion, too, did not move this touchy man to emphatic repudiation. For none of the other Bishops showed any such disposition regarding state aid.



viii. Religious Controversy in the 'Fifties :  
Diminuendo.

After 1851, what religious disputation there was - and there was much less of it - took place mainly where civil and **canon** law met in conflict - education, divorce, state aid. Only Lang, therefore, and the Crange wing of Presbyterianism, retained their prominence, because of the chthonic origins of this feud, and perhaps even more because of the energy of this wing in pursuing the secularisation of public life. Broughton, before he left late in 1852, struck once more, by taking up the cry against the Papal Aggression of 1851;<sup>1</sup> and he even issued a Pastoral against the Catholic Choral Society, conducted by the Jew Nathan, as professedly "open, neutral, and harmless in character", whereas in reality "part of a system of proselytism",<sup>2</sup>. The conversion of a sentenced murderer, at least when he had some intellectual pretensions, and invited the Anglican chaplain to debate with him, could still cause a stir<sup>3</sup>. And there was still an occasional scuffle over precedence - at a University function,<sup>4</sup>

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1. F.J. 20 March 1851, 15 May 1851
  2. F.J. 13 February 1851
  3. F.J. 3 May 1856
  4. F.J. 25 April 1856

or at the Governor's levee<sup>5</sup>. With Denison Governor, and Burton back in the colony (salt to the wound, he succeeded Plunkett in the presidency of the Upper House), a resurgence of Anglican aggression was in the wind;<sup>6</sup> and came at last in the shape of a protest from Barker, Broughton's successor, who saw "little change and no improvement" in the Church's doctrines' of late, against the use of the term "Archbishop of Sydney" in the Saint John's College Act,<sup>7</sup> and a Synod Bill giving (the Catholics feared) the Anglican Bishop the force of law in his administration - on the pattern of the Act that Perry had sought to have pushed through in Melbourne.<sup>8</sup> But in each case the principle of religious equality won the day. The link between the Crown and Church of England, of course, remained its exclusive privilege; the eloquent Deniehy spent his powers and the time of the House on the construction of a theory to

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5. F.J. 19 June 1861 - There is a complaint of Polding to the Executive, 27 May 1856 (S.A.A.) concerning indications of "a disposition to disturb that religious equality" etc., by the manner of opening the chamber of the Legislative Council. On the other hand, only three weeks earlier, 3 May 1856, Polding refused Denison's offer of a seat in that House: "my engagements and duties place it out of my power to devote the time". (Cf. Moran, p.435, where the context misleads as to date)
  6. F.J. 10 July 1858, 17 July 1858, 8 December 1858
  7. F.J. 13 July 1858, For Barker on Rome F.J. 1 December 1858.
  8. F.J. 3 November 1858, 13 November 1858

dissociate them, so far as Australia was concerned; arguing that when the Queen gave jurisdiction to Barker she acted, not precisely as sovereign, but as head of the Anglican missions.<sup>9</sup>

Yet with the Anglican claims, in this period, we find the Irish, as it were, dancing on their grave. A generation had grown up which had no experience of the old penal restraints:

Your readers will hear with breathless interest that Mr. Charles Lowe, a solicitor in this city, and Captain King, a gallant officer of her Majesty's Navy, are resolved upon adhering to the principles by which at the period of the Reformation the British nation was impelled to separate from Catholic Christendom, and are also resolved upon steadfastly adopting what hitherto (so the phrase implies) they have not held, the conviction that the Chief Bishop of the Catholic Church neither hath by right nor ought to have in fact the slightest control over any young lady who being duly vested with the Headship of the Anglican Establishment, shall think fit to give her decision on Christian doctrine.

Another fact of great weight which was elicited on this momentous occasion, is this, that two eminently learned "Divines of the Church of England as by law established" - an Athanasius and a Basil of the Southern Hemisphere - namely the Rev. Thomas Drutt and the Rev. John Vincent, regard his Holiness'

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9. F.J. 27 November 1858, Cf. F.J. 10 November 1858



proceeding as an invasion of the rights of the remarkably united Church of England and Ireland...I believe these illustrious men mean the rights of Lord John Russell.

But I have greater news still. No less an individual than Robert Campbell, Esq., of the Wharf, in conjunction with another celebrated Father of the Anglican Church, the Rev. Thomas W. Bodenham, have determined to abide by the principles affirmed (think of that) by the Lord Bishop of Australia in his public instrument ... It was a powerful "instrument" in itself, but now that Messrs. Campbell and Bodenham have resolved to "abide" by it, its power will be quite overwhelming.<sup>10</sup>

The Free Churches, by their negations of dogma and hierarchy, were inevitably in large part identified with the process of secularisation, and were opposed, of course, to any form of state aid to religion.<sup>11</sup> Their dominance (reflecting their social roots) in the Schools of Arts, one of the main organs of

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10. F.J. 20 March 1851, Given the date and the personalities, this little piece could be Sconce's
11. F.J. 21 July 1855. This role of Dissent was most important, perhaps, in early Queensland. See below, Chap. 9, ii to ix inclusive. But cf. Wesleyans in F.J. 29 December 1858

nascent secularism,<sup>12</sup> made Catholics wary of these,<sup>13</sup> Friction more properly theological arose from their argument for national education, that literacy opened up Bible truth to every individual; for "Bible" meant the Authorised Version - and so Catholics steered clear of another institution, on many counts commendable, the Y.M.C.A.<sup>14</sup> Threlkeld, a very independent evangelist, of long standing and never anything if not obtrusive,<sup>15</sup> made it his business to protest against "any private or foreign translation" being used by the National Schools Board.<sup>16</sup> It was characteristic both of Threlkeld and the sects, that he conjoined<sup>a</sup> "broadside against the Papacy," its pomps, its vanities of this wicked world, its cruelties, dogmatism and love of pre-eminence,"<sup>17</sup>. In this fashion, the world scene became part of the local news; one communication (not, I would add, in the least typical) assured the Freeman that

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12. In his study of this point lies the value of G. Nadet's Australia's Colonial Culture, Melbourne, 1957. See chapters 10,11,12,14,19,21.
13. F.J. 28 April 1855
14. F.J. 1 September 1855
15. Cf. F.J. 11 November, 1854
16. F.J. 11 June 1853 and 18 June 1853
17. F.J. 18 June 1853.

It does a true Protestant's heart good to record the Papists' writings about the withdrawal of the Maynooth grant from the Protestant funds of Old England. Rest assured that Exeter Hall is the voice proclaiming the downfall of all the Papal Kingdoms of Europe, and that the blood of the Protestant Martyrs, so long crying aloud - will INDEED be avenged by Heaven, by the utter annihilation from the earth of Hell-born Popes and Cardinals, and the bloody and tyrannical Papacy. 18.

Certainly, the blood of the Protestant martyrs was being avenged, if the fall of the Papal States, and the decline of the Catholic monarchies, which had so long embarrassed the Church, is to be so construed. But it was not Protestantism and the A.V. that reaped the benefits. Already the Higher Criticism had begun to make its mark, and it was now quite the thing to query the accuracy of the Authorised Version. 19.

"The foreign correspondence and leader in the Times, during the 'fifties, when its circulation was five or six times that of any other paper, were read in all the Chancelleries of Europe,"<sup>20</sup> It enjoyed a like prestige in Britain and the colonies as the voice

18. F.J. 9 August 1856

19. Cf. F.J. 2 July 1853; North Australian 3 January 1865, 15 October 1865

20. Thomson, J.M. Louis Napoleon and the Second Empire, p.139. Lowe was by now writing three Times editorials weekly - cf. Emp. 2 July 1856, which emphasises the journal's astonishing prestige.



of the peculiar mid-Victorian alliance between the non-conformist conscience and the progress of the age; and an unremitting denigration of the Roman See proceeded from this authority:

Popery makes no real progress. Her reverses are those which spring from the natural instincts of mankind, and are therefore lasting, her triumphs, on the other hand, are gained by the artificial aids of an elaborate organisation, an astute policy, a fierce esprit de corps, and a false enthusiasm; they are against the sense of mankind and the spirit of the age. 21.

The same issue of the Colonial Times gave a rather startling example of the elaborate organisation, astute policy, and fierce esprit de corps: the details of Polding's departure, and the meeting in the Cathedral chaired by Therry.<sup>22</sup> But the "spirit of the age" was the real thing here, and the Times certainly breathed it.

On the whole this spirit, in Australia, was that of Lang when he defined the essence of

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21. Col. Times (Hobart) 8 April 1854  
 22. Chapter 7, Section iii below.

bigotry as the denial of political equality on account of religious belief.<sup>23</sup> But there was enough evidence of a more rabid spirit, and of the association of fanatical religious antipathy with transcendental talk, to alarm, from time to time, a very exciteable Catholic population. The independent Gaelic-speaking Presbyterian minister, McIntyre, by tirades, not from his pulpit, but at a public meeting, against all things Catholic, excited the Maitland Catholics to the point of violence against some of the preacher's entourage. Polding himself came up to restore peace. Carmichael provided the transcendental talk. But while he handled a true-to-type protest resolution on the "natural and inalienable right to liberty of speech" (arguing in reality, with Hobbes, that it was not natural, nor inalienable, but arose from "association", and had as much right to be called a right as anything else had), McIntyre spoke to a much more sinister resolution, attacking

views, which might claim for themselves a lofty and special sacredness, which rendered it wrong to institute any inquiry into their

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23. Port Phillip Patriot 1 June 1843

truth or soundness ... Those who held them would resent discussion ... it would be suicidal in those who held them to say that they ought to be supported by evidence. The holding of such views then was hostile to liberty of speech and to the maintenance of political and social freedom ... if an influence was exerted on behalf of one who claimed infallibility, and you acquiesced in it, you were at once placed in false relation to free institutions. 24.

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24. F.J. 14 April 1860. On the circumstances, ibid. 4 April 1860, 21 April 1860. For McIntyre's Gaelic, see Queensland Times 17 January 1862.



CHAPTER 4: INTERNAL FACTION AND ILL-APPLIED  
RESOURCES.

M. de Lafayette says somewhere in his Memoirs that the exaggerated system of general causes affords surprising consolations to second-rate statesmen. I will add that its effects are no less consolatory to second-rate historians; it can always furnish a few mighty reasons to extricate them from the most difficult part of their work, and it indulges the indolence or incapacity of their minds, while it confers on them the honours of deep thinking.. If this doctrine of necessity, which is as attractive to those who write history in democratic ages, passes from authors to their readers, till it infects the whole mass of the community and gets possession of the public mind, it will soon paralyse the activity of modern society, and reduce Christians to the level of Turks.

De Tocqueville, Democracy in America.

- i: Coyle in Adelaide, 1848.
- ii: The Therry-Willson Dispute Widens in Scope 1849-1850.
- iii: The Aboriginal Problem.
- iv: Failure of the Passionist Mission at Moreton Bay.
- v: The Perth Aboriginal Missions, 1846-1848.
- vi: Mission Versus Diocese in Perth, 1848-1849.
- vii: Schism in Perth, 1849-1852.
- viii: Diocese and Mission Disengaged, 1853-1866.
- ix: Moreton Bay, 1843-1858: Duncan

i. Coyle in Adelaide, 1848

When recruiting Coyle, on his visit to Ireland in 1846, Murphy was cautious; as he explained to Ryan, "being an old missionary, I feared lest he might not be as obedient and submissive as he ought to be during my absence".<sup>1</sup> All the caution went for nothing; Coyle's advent did much to spark off a decade or so of disciplinary trouble throughout the Australian colonies. Murphy's original idea was that he should join Hanly at Moreton Bay; but though Coyle did go first to Sydney - where Gregory was in charge - his stay was short,<sup>2</sup> for by early 1848 he was very much in evidence in South Australia. The Register's routine and general hostilities against Catholicism's persecuting spirit and Mary-worship and subtle equivocation were largely suspended after the announcement of Coyle's approaching lecture on phrenology on March 15 1848; for months afterwards Coyle was where he wanted to be, at the

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1. Byrne, History, p.39

2. Hartigan (John O'Brien), a writer not inquisitive where the defects of the pioneer secular clergy were concerned, informing us of Coyle's arrival in Sydney with Corish and McGinty, explains that he soon faded out of the picture. One might comment as Willson did when Polding airily taxed him with consenting to an erastian arrangement at Norfolk Island, - !!!

centre of attention. Nothing daunted by public criticism of his performance on phrenology, he followed up with others on the U.S. constitution, commending payment of members and the secret ballot, and on the character of the American, egalitarian, hospitable.<sup>3</sup> Coyle himself was the secondary theme of these romances - his military career, his university education. So too when he embarked on the series which led to his first check - a series on the history of Ireland, where Colchester became "Coyle's castle".<sup>4</sup> The series was abruptly concluded after the third lecture, just when he had established that the "present-day peasantry" were the "only true Irishmen": Murphy forbade him to continue. The Register was indignant: "we are beginning to hope that the Roman Catholic Church of this province was about to bring its system to the test of "the light", and we looked upon Mr. Coyle's lectures as initiatory to that step".<sup>5</sup>

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3. South Australian Register (S.A.R.)  
19 April 1848, 26 April 1848.
  4. Ibid., 17 May 1848
  5. Ibid.



Thus given a friendly press, Coyle could not be effectively silenced. On May 31, the Register carried the first of a number of large-hearted combative letters signed "Frank M'Elhone". Coyle's mark was on them, the social and political liberalism and the U.S. background; how many realised this identity, of course, it is impossible to ascertain. He at once challenged Protestantism on the very ground, with the very weapons, of its choice: "as Christians, all we ask of our separated brethren is the right of their own broad principle, to read the Bible and abound in our own sense".<sup>6</sup> The confidence this suggests was carried into a controversy with Baker, an independent minister at Morphett Vale. He was "not afraid to discuss historically the comparative liberality of Catholics and Protestants", but had the generosity to "identify no religion with the cruelty or fanaticism enacted in religion's name".<sup>7</sup> Further, he sought to distinguish faith from opinion among Catholics. When Baker concluded that "the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome, as a whole, are incompatible with the personal

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6. Ibid., 31 May 1848

7. S.A.R. 24 June 1848

exercise of genuine spiritual religion", he countered boldly that "there is not a spark of spiritual religion in any Christian creed that is not just so much unextinguished Catholicity"<sup>8</sup>. And when Baker concluded that "the doctrines and customs of the Church of Rome do not harmonise with the actual state and progress of modern civilization", he sweepingly declared it "strange that Mr. Baker should forget that all the noble institutions systems and discoveries of civilized Europe had their origin in Catholic times".<sup>9</sup> "That the Catholic Church is composed chiefly of the rearward of society and the weaker sex", he stoutly maintained to be "a gratuitous assertion, of a nature with countless others that passed current with the rabble while Catholics were deprived of freedom of speech".<sup>10</sup> And he remarked how many Protestant-Catholic controversies are "standard works in all Catholic libraries, but rarely, if ever, found among Protestants".<sup>11</sup> Baker, on his

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8. Ibid  
 9. Ibid  
 10. Ibid  
 11. Ibid

side, also an old missionary,<sup>12</sup> was a solid exponent of a non-controversial Protestantism;<sup>13</sup> but on this occasion, raising conventional allegations about priests and women in the Confessional, heathen elements of Popery, miracles, the Heart of the Blessed Virgin,<sup>14</sup> and so on, much of which Coyle ignored, he could not but let his antagonist appear more liberal, and make some shrewd points; Coyle, though a clown, was no fool.

He had his Achilles' heel, and his glory had to be brief. The Register of October 7 carried notice of Murphy's welcome return from Goold's consecration, together with the following curiosity of literature:

Gentlemen, - The suspension of the weekly meetings I considered the breaking up of the Catholic Total Abstinence Society. Today I have been informed that I was wrong, that the Society still exists; even if it does I can have no connection with it whatever. The greater part of my life I am a teetotaller from choice, holding any office I am a teetotaller from principle, but I never took a pledge of any kind; I think it right to say so publicly. Ever since my arrival in this colony I have been doomed to a wandering, harmless, disagreeable life; distraction and ennui have brought on dyspepsia, which I have endeavoured to remove by stimulants, as I have not the choice

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12. Cf. S.A.R. 2 December 1848

13. Cf. S.A.R. 12 July 1848, Where he drew heavily on the Psalms to delineate the "essence of Protestantism"

14. S.A.R. 2 August 1848.



of regulating my regimen. In such cases I am too much of an independent Yankee to go behind the door, (even if I had a door) and am too much of a wild Irishman to keep my own secret even if I did; moreover I have been obliged to live for the most part in public-houses and associate with all persons, under all circumstances, and "those that are giddy think the world goes round". I know there are many who say that so far from being a teetotaler I am not even temperate; I can bear to be ill-spoken of as well as another, but I again remind all whom it may concern that I never took a pledge. It is true that I lectured a great deal on the subject, and administered the pledge to thousands. I have also lectured on matrimony, and administered the pledge matrimonial, without ever thinking it necessary to be pledged myself.

I have got up a little chapel in Gawler Town, with a little hermitage for myself, into which I intend to remove in a few days. His Lordship's return will leave me free to remain there. After I have collected in retirement my scattered senses, I may come out and Father Mathewize the whole colony. In the meantime let teetotalism and my name never be mentioned together.

Francis Coyle C.C.

Beside this, was a report of his "last lecture" — one more sound exposition, on the Eucharist as a mystery of faith, meaty enough to occasion a heated correspondence between a protesting "Anti-Sophist" and a defending "Diogenes". But it was not quite the last of Coyle. There was a lecture on poetry; again the predilection for the ludicrous, and display of personal vanity; while in his discussion of philosophical training, we may note a disregard of Scholasticism, a defect that characterised his

generation, and dates their writings.<sup>15</sup>

Then, as M'Elhone, he wrote urging Catholics to treasure the freedom of the press - not to be so touchy about Ireland, or the reputation of their clergy:

The church has to deplore the apostacy of at least two-thirds of the children of Catholic emigrants in the United States and the Colonies: and why? Because the parents dont keep pace with the spirit of the age: they dont support the press. 16

Australia's one Catholic newspaper, he moralised, "has gone down for want of support":

We leave to Protestants the whole power of the press.....the light, life and beauty of the intellectual world. With a chilling, paralyzing prudence, that ceased to be wisdom generations ago, we tacitly acknowledge our inferiority. 17

A subsequent public lecture on the same subject wrote finis to his South Australian career; "if report speaks truly," lamented the Register, "it is for the very unreserved and manly expression of his views on several recent occasions that Mr. Coyle's retirement from the priesthood has been forced upon

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15. These efforts carry through S.A.R.  
25 October 1848, 1 November 1848, 15 November  
1848, 25 November 1848.  
16. S.A.R. 13 December 1848  
17. Ibid.

him, and cheerfully acquiesced in, by one who is too enlightened and high-minded to purchase toleration by blind obedience".<sup>18</sup> Like notions about enlightenment, and distaste for "blind obedience", marked his supporters among the faithful; a letter from "Diogenes" revealed the identity of "Frank M'Elone":

The Catholics of this colony are slaves and sons of slaves. Had they got a priest made to order to make their cause respectable and respected, they could not have been better suited than in Frank M'Elhone. Of high Milesian and unmixed Catholic blood from time immemorial. He was brought up under "the mountain nymph, sweet liberty", on the Blue Ridge of the Alleghanies. The institution in which he was raised was merely under Catholic government: the majority of the students were Protestant...Liberality and Christian forbearance were parts of his education, which, in maturer years, free intercourse with the freest people on earth confirmed. Living from childhood in a land where church and state were totally unconnected both were naturally in his mind as separate as the poles. What more thoroughly popish than Frank in the pulpit? What more freely, easily, naturally liberal (in the most beautiful sense of the world), than Frank at the Mechanics' Institute, and in private life? ... so did not think the Popish slaves of South Australia. Though not suspended, from first to last he was left in a state of suspense ... Gullivar in Lilliput. Badgered and starved out among them, he has been obliged, to save the wreck of his health, mind, and reputation, to resign the ministry; and he is now teaching school in Lyndoch Valley...It is strange charity that turns out a man of genius, with his eccentricities, among a coarse and undiscerning rabble. From Frank's arrival in the

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18. S.A.R. 27 December 1848.



colony till now, the Catholics have manifested a feverish anxiety to hide him away. They have succeeded...but, as he is a Secular, he will not be humbugged ~~by~~ bishop or Pope - he has made no vow of blind obedience.

To conclude, a flexing of ~~muscles~~:

From the uncompromising manner in which I lash fools and bigots of my own creed, for Protestant fools and bigots to expect me to pass them by, is vain. 19.

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19. Ibid.

ii. The Therry-Willson Dispute Widens in scope

Coyle and his party had announced the themes on which a party of protest would compose variations throughout the Australian mission over the following fifteen years. Their next field of application was Perth. But before this came to the point of crisis, the Therry-Willson dispute had taken a similar turn, a mixture of demagogy and Irish nationalism challenging the Bishop's very authority and appealing to public opinion at large in the name of "liberalism". Therry's party, neither willing nor able to grasp the points of law involved, subjected Willson to a barrage of mis-statements, privately circulated and from time to time put forth in the public prints,<sup>1</sup> not only in Hobart, but in Sydney and Melbourne: all about "the coterie who, regardless of truth, ventured to style themselves the "Catholic community" (meaning the Bishop's supporters) - "the oppressed and persecuted Father Therry"; "ungenerously assailed behind his back" - "Bishop Willson and his anti-Irish clergy" - while, if Rome were asked to arbitrate, "anyone acquainted with the case must know that the event would not depend on the real merits".<sup>2</sup> The Protestant community, when not more acrid about priestly tyranny, tched tched vigorously, in view of Wesleyan and Independent

1. H.T. Courier, 21 July 1849

2. Ibid., 15 August, 1849 (advert) a reply to the preceding.

chapels were burdened with greater debts, about "Johnny Newcombes", who "fancy their advent was the exact era of wisdom"-the clergy, apart from Woolfrey,<sup>3</sup> backed the Bishop loyally, but thereby put themselves in the invidious position of seeming to prosecute the priest whose zeal had, under the Church Act, secured the diocese its commencing income of £1,100 a year.<sup>4</sup> The climax came in early March 1850 - three meetings in one week, and a counter-meeting the next. Father Bond recounted in vain the evasions of Therry to a meeting which cheered Therry to the echoes when he rose to reply that "he could not give up the rights of others", and, after a bitter public exchange with Bond, to appeal from the "wolves within" to the "sheep without" the fold.<sup>5</sup> A second meeting broke up the following evening, Wednesday, in even worse disorder, and Thursday morning was taken up with the trial - and acquittal - of one of Therry's party in connection with the disturbances. Finally, the Bishop's partisans carried their motions.<sup>6</sup> But Therry's men had

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3. Morgan, Give Us Light, p.9. (Hobart 1850)  
and H.T. Courier 6 March 1850

4. H.T. Courier, 17 November, 1849

5. H.T. Courier, 9 March 1850

6. Ibid.



their own meeting and their own motions, in protest, with the real kick in the final resolution:

That the foregoing Resolutions be inserted once in every newspaper in this island, as well as the Sydney People's Advocate; Sydney Herald; Port Phillip Herald; South Australian Register; the New Zealander, Auckland; Morteon Bay Courier; Perth Enquirer, Swan River; The Tablet, The Times, and Morning Chronicle, London papers; the Dublin Nation and Freeman's Journal; Galignani's Messenger, Paris; and the Reform, published at Rome.<sup>7</sup>

The final settlement, all in Willson's favour, January 4 1858, was lucky enough. Murphy, who, with Goold, brought it about - and contracted a fatal chill in the process - is quite explicit on this point:

Regan has got his nine hundred pounds and Insley his seven hundred - the former has sailed for England. Fourteen days more the time would have expired at the Caveat office - Regan would have sailed and then this unfortunate affair would not have been settled.<sup>8</sup>

But as a result of the past publicity, legal finality did not mean peace to the Church - or to Willson. A highly coloured report, in pamphlet form, was circulated in Ireland in 1862.<sup>9</sup> Hence Willson took the documents of the case with him to England,

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7. N.T. Courier, 16 March 1850 (advert.)

8. Murphy-Goold S.A.A., undated, but obviously early 1858.

9. Cullen traces this development in his art. in A.C.R. of July 1952

hoping to clear his reputation, in 1865; and on his rather sudden death the following year in his beloved Nottingham, Oscott held them until 1946.<sup>10</sup> History, wittingly or unwittingly, hid the triviality of Willson's initial offence, and the greatness of the damage Therry's want of common sense and discernment brought on the whole Australian Church.

The relations of Willson and Polding were permanently poisoned. The suddenness of Willson's original vocation was echoed many times in actions marked by a certain violence and over-decisiveness. When the Archbishop, as mediator, first obtained the diocesan papers from Therry, he took it on himself to sort them before passing them on; Willson exploded on the spot over this interference, and followed up by "formally and deliberately" renouncing Polding's friendship.<sup>11</sup> Everything Polding did to retain Therry's friendship was then construed as connivance in his stubborn stupidity. Gregory added fuel to the fire by his suggestion that possibly Willson should resign.<sup>12</sup> It was

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10. Archbishop Simmonds, of Melbourne, located these in 1946: Advocate, 9 July 1947.

11. Birt ii, pp.108-9.

12. See Cullen in A.C.R., 1952, p.22

singularly tactless, but it was a logical enough deduction from Willson's black-and-white stipulations in accepting the mitre in the first place. In this atmosphere, every disagreement became inflammatory. Rigney, for instance, clashed with the officials at Norfolk Island, and wrote what Gregory described as some very "puerile" letters to Government: Polding was indulgent with the priest, and rather captious about Willson's "Erastian" compromise, and Willson's comment was very justifiably -!!!<sup>13</sup>. Again, "The Archbishop's keeping that island, and leaving all the responsibility on me, is - I must not write"; this time, Willson's anger was less easy to justify, since the priests then staffing Norfolk were from Sydney, not Hobart.<sup>14</sup> So it went on. Gregory's report on the dispute at Propaganda's request was "monstrous"; his treatment of the Christian Brothers and the Charity Sisters "exposed to danger" "the interests of religion"<sup>15</sup> - here is the background

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13. See Cullen's paper on Norfolk Island in the Cath.His. Soc. Archives.

14. Birt ii, p.149.

15. Documents in Hobart Archives reproduced for me by Mgr. Cullen. Willson seemed to have been unaware that Gregory was sent the documents by Propaganda and requested to make the 1852 report. Of course, "requests" can be engineered; but I fail to see why the presumption should always be against Gregory until he has proved his innocence.



of Willson's hostility<sup>218</sup> to Benedictinisation. The bishops' continual journeyings put a formal synod out of the question after 1844; this rift made informal concert just so much more difficult to procure, at a time when the kind of attack Therry's partisans had mounted against Willson, was to be the lot of all the other bishops.



iii. The Aboriginal Challenge

The rise of lay and clerical faction throughout Australia, however, cannot be convincingly disengaged from the aboriginal missions undertaken at this time. The potentialities were grossly exaggerated. The aboriginal, of course, was just as important in the Church's eyes as the white; the one great cri du coeur of Polding's official correspondence, for instance, was against what he conceived to be a violation of the conscience of some condemned aboriginals refused access to a Catholic priest;<sup>1</sup> and as a result of J.J. Therry's interest, and Brady's several were baptised, and several brought up in the Windsor orphanage. But Polding's report to Lyons<sup>2</sup> in 1840 was touched with sentimentality, was just a little picturesque: their quaint corroborees, their affection for Therry, their "well-disposed" heart. And Brady, in Europe

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1. H.R.A. i, xxiii, pp.678-9

2. O.Thorpe, First Mission, p.187 et seq. Cf. Moran p.95, p.554.

without Polding's knowledge or permission,<sup>3</sup> trying to procure the separation of Western Australia (whither , in response to a petition<sup>4</sup>, Polding had sent him<sup>5</sup>) from the jurisdiction of Sydney, - Brady addressed a leaflet to the Italian public giving the white population as seven thousand one half Catholic (there were certainly no more than three hundred Catholics), and the aboriginal population as two million ready for the harvest.<sup>6</sup> As a consequence, no fewer than five systematic missions were initiated among the aborigines during the 'forties. One of these, to the Tasmanian aborigines, by three uprooted Anglo-French

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3. Dom. Perez, of New Norcia, has written a two-chapter history of the mission there, typescript for private circulation only, which I shall designate Perez i and ii. The use to which P. McCarthy put this, in the Foundations of Catholicism in Western Australia, 1829-1911 in University Studies in History and Economics, Vol.ii. No. 4, July 1956 (Perth) prompted Dom Perez to issue an eighteen page supplement. His original was characterised, so far as the aberrations of Bishop Brady were concerned, by a delicacy of allusion peculiarly Spanish; the almost factious account, as I cannot but describe it, of Father McCarthy, demanded, Dom Perez considered, that he be quite explicit. This second document, my reference for the footnote, I shall describe as Perez B.
  4. R.Salvado. Memorias Historicas sobre la Australia y particularmente acerca la mision Benedictina de Nueva Nursia, p.139 (Barcelona, 1853)
  5. Letters from Murphy to Geoghegan, 18 November 1841, 3 December 1845, given by Byrne, History of the Catholic Church in South Australia,



Cistercians, ~~was~~ foredoomed by the extinction of the tribes, and the three missionaries, the Woolfrey brothers and F.X. Johnson. all ended their days in New South Wales, as parish priests.<sup>7</sup> It was a case of soonest ended soonest mended. The other four involved an enormous outlay of men and materials, out of all proportion either to the resources of the province or to the development of missions and parishes among the white settlers; but only one was conducted to a successful issue; and some few of the missionaries even spoiled an originally noble impulse by faction and murmuring.

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5. cont'd.  
pp. 82-3, make it clear that Murphy, acting as Vicar-General in Sydney, 1840-3, had found Brady very difficult. Polding, of course, knew of this, but hoped for the best - could, indeed, hardly have sent anybody else.
6. Madden (quoted by Moran, p.566) mistakenly blamed the Roman authorities for this misconception. The correct version I owe to Perez. See also Moran, pp.556-7
7. J. Donovan, History of the Catholic Church in Brisbane Water District 1842-1942, p.14 et seq. Based on parish records, this booklet, however pedestrian in presentation, I consider valuable work in its kind.

iv. Failure of the Passionist Mission at  
Moreton Bay.

In command of Polding's Passionist contingent for Moreton Bay was Raymond Vaccari, a man in his early 'forties, who had enjoyed, in Rome itself, quite a reputation as a spiritual director; one of his first undertakings in Sydney was a retreat, in Latin, for the clergy. But wise in our after-sight we know that his own General gradually came to the opinion that he was no lover of religious observance, nor easy to get on with, a man of "extravagant ideas" who had engineered the enterprise probably to satisfy vague aspirations which were not without an element of egotism;<sup>1</sup> cut, that is, rather to the pattern of the erratic Irish missionary. The General seems to have let him go against his better judgment; Propaganda appointed him Prefect-Apostolic. Two of his companions were Italians. Lencioni was a big burly, easy-going fellow who had joined the Congregation young, and was still in his 'twenties; unfortunately, he

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1. Thorpe, First Mission, p.200 et seq (Passionist General - Barberi). A third of Thorpe's work consists of appendices reproducing primary sources at length. He has, I am confident, all but exhausted the S.A.A. I have preferred referring to these appendices, accordingly, rather than to other sources where, also, some of these documents are reproduced (Birt and Moran, notably).

proved a very poor linguist. Pesciaroli, who had entered the Congregation late (aged thirty-four) only three year before, was fitted by temperament for the contemplative life rather than the active. The strength of the team was thus with Joseph Snell, a man about Vaccari's age, brought up as a Protestant in France, but converted to Catholicism when twenty-three (1825); physically tough, and a versatile linguist, he had already had missionary experience in Bulgaria; but he was no leader.<sup>2</sup> They were, no doubt, "all young and very good-looking"<sup>3</sup>, as Bridget O'Sullivan observed; but also, no doubt, as Polding observed, "ignorant of the world and contracted in their notions."<sup>4</sup>

The first blunder was therefore the Passionist General's - granted under pressure<sup>5</sup> - in letting such men go on such a mission. - The next was Propaganda's. In setting up a **prefecture**, the

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2. Thorpe, First Mission, discusses the missionaries in chapter II. I summarize.
  3. Ibid, p.244
  4. Ibid, p.191
  5. Ibid, p.201 : " mere passive me habui." Father Antony of Jesus, a man of elevated mind and strong character, is known as the "second founder" of the Congregation.



Sacred Congregation withdrew the missionaries from Polding's ordinary jurisdiction. Polding, always sensitive about his authority, and after all the man who had to finance the expedition, claimed he did not know of this arrangement till Vaccari revealed it to him in Sydney.<sup>6</sup> Doubt even arose whether it was to be under his metropolitan jurisdiction; Vaccari's absence from the Synod of the Australian clergy in September 1844<sup>7</sup> may have reflected this doubt, though distance, and the haste with which it was convoked, were enough to keep him away (Hardly had a week's ride down from Brisbane to get there)<sup>8</sup>. It is also worth considering that the prefecture nailed the mission to one spot; had he had the free disposal of them, Polding may well have been able to find a better place when the

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6. Ibid, p.131

7. Cf. Moran, p.439, Cf. Thorpe, First Mission, p.136, where he suggests that Propaganda's letters regularising the position miscarried. This bears on my argument in f.n.9. below.

8. "O'Brien", In Diebus, A.C.R. 1944, p.139.

one first chosen proved unsuitable.<sup>9</sup> - It is further to be noted, that the missionaries failed, while journeying to Liverpool to embark, to get in touch with Barberi, whose work had made the Congregation such a power in the Catholic revival in England (it was he who received Newman into the Church). He was, from the nature of the case, and in the General's estimation, an essential link - one Passionist, one Italian, to whom the English-speaking world was not all a mystery. He was, furthermore, a kinsman of Pesciaroli, who was to be his companion at his death some years later. But in 1842 they missed meeting.

Vaccari arrived in Sydney, saw the triumphal welcome accorded Polding by his people - "a glorious affair"<sup>10</sup> - and heard the thunderings of Broughton's Protest. He said the Office with the Benedictine community. From his account of Australia in a letter we must conclude that he kept custody of the

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9. This seems to me the crux of the whole argument about the Prefecture, and about Polding's responsibility for the failure of the mission. But because of my ignorance of the Canons in the matter and because the painstaking account of Thorpe does not notice this point, I put it forward with some diffidence. I would note, however, that Thorpe takes a view generally severe on Polding, and gentle with the Passionists in their difficulties.
10. Thorpe, First Mission, p.208

eyes, and meditated on the psalms. He wrote of "hills clothed and adorned with fine plants and trees, the plains irrigated by many streams of the clearest water". "The vegetation is of the most vivid green ... Dates and lemons and every sort of fruit abound in a singular manner ... a veritable terrestrial paradise"<sup>11</sup> - So much for Cook's "indifferently well-watered", "indefferently fertile"; or for Conrad Martens' lithograph of Sydney at this date. - It is a serious point; the Passionists were to regard as unique and unwarranted - due, that is, to the ~~Arch~~ Archbishop's arrangements - hardships which no mission to the aboriginals could **have** avoided.

It must be said, however, that Polding added considerably to their difficulties. The choice of locale was his: Stradbroke Island, on the grounds that the aboriginals were uncontaminated and white settlement unlikely. As a matter of theory, these points were well made; but in fact there had been a convict settlement there, Dunwich, the very buildings Gipps assigned for the missionaries' use. The natives were, in consequence, notably contaminated - by an Irishman, Smith, among others, who had Snell baptise his two half-caste children, thus

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11. Ibid, pp.209-210.



opening the register for Queensland.<sup>12</sup> But apart from this, they had only two years tenure of the old station; whatever "understanding" concerning continuance there was (Polding spoke of one)<sup>13</sup>, it ~~broke~~ broke down. The buildings were dilapidated, the climate very wet. Times were hard, money short: the State refused to support the mission.<sup>14</sup> Supplies, which Polding proposed to send from Sydney, where they were cheaper, were unreliable - and insufficient, for the missionaries soon discovered that they had to feed the natives as well as themselves, not just to win a hearing but in order to assure their lives.<sup>15</sup> More especially, they soon concluded that the only hope was to come to some agreement with the natives to feed and educate the children; the aboriginal culture, as such, was unbaptisable, and the nomadry of the native, with his lack of foresight and industry, constituted a peculiarly difficult problem in missionary technique. But the Archbishop had been confirmed in his prejudice that the native was a good subject by his own

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12. Reprod. Moran. *opp.* p.592.  
 13. Thorpe, *op.cit.*, p.190 (Polding to Heptonstall).  
 Thorpe anatomises Polding's arrangements,  
 pp.129-137. See also pp.77-8  
 14. *H.R.A.*, 1, xxii, p.250  
 15. *Chron.* 5 June 1844. (Polding to Saint  
 Patrick's Society).

brief experience when settling the Passionists in - his rapid "progress in the forming of a vocabulary", the children "apt" as other children, but more "giddy".<sup>16</sup> Vaccari, it is true, wrote at the year's end that the aboriginals "look for practical and material arguments", have "depraved inclinations", are deceitful;<sup>17</sup> and the Archbishop thereafter expressed himself more cautiously; but having laid down the principle, "no food without work",<sup>18</sup> it seemed to him "disastrous"<sup>19</sup> - quite apart from not being feasible financially - to feed them on any other terms. Yet he knew that Stradbroke was far from ideal for agriculture - it was one of his reasons for expecting it to be left undisturbed. Again, he must have read into phrases of Vaccari's like "free from anxiety", "bearing their privations joyfully",<sup>20</sup> some of his own enthusiasm; in fact it was Vaccari's hyper-normal vision, and his companions were very soon complaining of his administration, very justly, to Rome.<sup>21</sup> To cap it all,

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16. Thorpe, First Mission, p.191 (Polding to Murphy).

17. Ibid., p.214

18. Ibid., p.192 (Polding to Murphy)

19. Ibid., p.195 (Polding to Frasoni of Propaganda)

20. Ibid., p.213

21. Ibid., p.201 (General to Barberi).

Stradbroke had been meant as a school in aboriginal anthropology, an experiment in the technique of civilising them; but its very isolation, which had been thought of as favouring the inquiry, instead made it abortive—the missionaries felt they had been politely put out of the way,<sup>22</sup> perhaps as a mark of the Archbishop's displeasure over the Prefecture, and they had no way of gauging how representative their experience was. — Polding may be a saint, remarked the Passionist General, but he has kept none of his promises.<sup>23</sup> In the inevitable event, all the missionaries had left by mid-1847; and not one of them put his experience to use elsewhere. The failure, which cost Polding about £2,000,<sup>24</sup> could hardly have been more complete.

The coup de grace was actually delivered by Brady, who touched little in Australian ecclesiastical history that he did not disturb. He apparently influenced the Passionist General, while in Rome for his consecration (May 1845), to transfer the missionaries to Western Australia, under himself.<sup>25</sup>

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22. Loc cit.

23. Ibid., p.202

24. Draft rebuttal of allegations against himself, by Polding, in S.A.A. Undated, but belonging to 1858-9.

25. Thorpe, First Mission, p.185



Polding, who learned of the move from Brady, and from the Passionist General, as well as from Propaganda, at once took steps to save the mission; for he feared lest its abandonment would confirm the prejudices of those who were arguing that it was no good trying to do anything for the natives, while making the natives more distrustful of further white overtures. He recognised Vaccari's Prefecture, and assigned £200 a year for its upkeep; he appealed to Rome to rescind the order sending the missionaries to the west.<sup>26</sup> The appeal was successful, but mails were slow. The letters reversing the orders to the missionaries arrived in Sydney too late - Polding had left on his second trip to Europe (1846-1848).<sup>27</sup> Snell, Lencioni, and Pesciaroli, whatever advice they may have received in Sydney, made their slow way west.<sup>28</sup> They got as far as Adelaide; warned of the state of affairs in Perth by Brady's bitter critic, Caporolli,<sup>29</sup> they proceeded no further. Snell and Lencioni, under directions,

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26. Polding's acts and reasonings in this crisis are the main subject of Thorpe's sixth Chapter, which I give in summary.
27. There had probably been earlier misunderstandings of this nature, e.g. Thorpe, First Mission, p.136.
28. Gregory was in charge in Sydney.
29. Thorpe, First Mission, p.230

from the General, ended their days serving the Adelaide diocese; Pesciaroli made his way, via England and Barberi, back to Italy. Vaccari, as Prefect not bound by religious obedience, persisted at Stradbroke for one more miserable year, though resigning his prefecture; his health was failing, the natives became unfriendly when he had nothing to give them.<sup>30</sup> Polding in Europe enlisted another Passionist, Magganotto, to join him; Barberi was so convinced that the future of the Christian name rested with the distant colonies that he persuaded the General to consent, despite grave doubts as to Magganotto's suitability, in the hope of salvaging something from the wreck by establishing the Congregation in Australia.<sup>31</sup> But by the time the new recruit arrived, Vaccari was on his way to Lima, Peru, where he lived incognito as a gardener in a Franciscan convent. There is a touch of Boccaccio, something of whimsy and romance: discovered in 1861 by a visiting Benedictine who had known him in Australia, he was permitted to join the Franciscan Order, in which he died with reputation for holiness.<sup>32</sup> Magganotto,

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30. Ibid., pp.116-7, p.248

31. Ibid., p.204 (Barberi-to General)

32. Thorpe follows him to his grave in Chapter VIII, but does not identify the Benedictine.

meanwhile, after teaching theology at the seminary in Sydney for a time, and sowing his own perpetual discontent among the students - the Archbishop would reap a bitter harvest from it in 1858-9 - passed on to spend his great energy on the Californian goldfields mission.<sup>33</sup>

By this failure, one illusion was removed for all time. The success of Pompallier in New Zealand (before the Maori wars destroyed his work) had perhaps been Polding's chief spur; it was now clear, especially after Pompallier visited Stradbroke in 1844, that the aboriginal was a very different proposition from the maori.<sup>34</sup> For the tribes of Eastern Australia the failure of the Passionist mission was tragic indeed: there would be forty years of white aggression, tribe after tribe drying out, and no concerted effort by a Catholic mission, though Rome continued to press it;<sup>35</sup> nothing but isolated successes - that, for instance of Rigney and others among the Burraborang blacks.<sup>36</sup> Already before Vaccari left, there was

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33. Thorpe, Appendix D.

34. Cf. McEncroe's antecedent arguments in Chron. 11 April 1843. For Pompallier's visit and consultation with him on the aborigines, see Moran, p.416, p.506.

35. Polding to Goold, 21 August 1861, S.AA

36. F.J., 17 June 1863.



an enquiry at Moreton Bay, in which W.A. Duncan figured prominently, into the shooting of natives. It was the great vice of Queensland's settlement, and Duncan was simply conducting a new campaign of his old war with the squatters.<sup>37</sup> But the deterioration which set in was due less to direct violence than to alcohol, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis; Polding noted all these factors at work when he gave evidence in September 1845 before the Legislative Council's Select Committee on the aborigines,<sup>38</sup> but he put the greatest stress on the extreme license with which white men used the women.<sup>39</sup> Given white society as it was, it seemed, certainly native society was beyond saving. And the individual was beyond Christianising in its context - Rigney, visiting Stradbroke in 1858, found not a vestige of the missionaries' influence in the one native he interviewed, though the man in question had been an altar-boy twelve years before.<sup>40</sup> The only hope, therefore, was in baptising those near death, or (what the natives often permitted) taking the children for education elsewhere. Polding was

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37. Sydney Chron. 24 February 1847. Cf. Weekly Register, 2 March 1844.

38. Thorpe, First Mission, appendix E

39. And white example, Morning Chron. 4 February 1846

40. Moran, p.419

speaking in this hope - against - hope strain within a year of setting up his missionaries: if they had converted one, their efforts were not in vain; some infants were already in glory, interceding for their fellow-tribesmen; leave the harvesting to God, sow.<sup>41</sup> Well said, but hardly a plan for a mission.

Realistic, but not despairing, the Tyrolese Jesuit, Kranewitter, a few years later, put the matter in a nutshell:

The conversion of our blacks will always remain a difficult and repulsive task here; for all the evil conditions that men found among the lowest tribes in America are to be found amongst these people. They have no fixed place of abode, but wander over the country in small groups, they are divided into many different tribes, they either have no chiefs or have no respect for them, they are not at all numerous, and yet every second hundred of them will have their own peculiar language; so little is the idea of a Supreme Being developed among them that you would hardly credit their ignorance. They are not of evil disposition, you would rather say that they are of a kindly nature; they are not a warlike race, and in general are devoid of any outstanding sign of real character. They shun work like lazy children and for a little bit of work they want 'Plenty to eat':but in spite of all this I believe that a Missioner of the True Church would not work without profit among them. 42.

Morning

41. Chron. 4 June 1845.

42. A Kelly, Jesuit Pioneers, p.20 (Melbourne, 1948)

v. The Perth Aboriginal Missions, 1846-1848

Perth saw only three months of Brady after his arrival, November, 1843,<sup>1</sup> before he was off to Europe to advertise its wants, and, in an evil hour, to be consecrated, May 18, 1845, its first bishop. When he recommended Ullathorne for the new See, Ullathorne, declining the honour, and mistakenly taking it for granted that the Archbishop would be consulted in any case, suggested the suitability of Brady so far as he had "great attraction for the native population" - he had taken this reputation with him when he left Ile de France, and had enhanced it in Sydney.<sup>2</sup> He was recommended, too, by his austere, refined appearance<sup>3</sup>, and old-world courtliness of manner.<sup>4</sup> His original companion, therefore, the Belgian priest Joostens, a man well over sixty, bore the heat and burden of the day, the actual founding of a Catholic community in Western Australia, while unable to receive State aid because not naturalised-

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1. Salvado, Memorias, pp.140-1
  2. Ullathorne, Cabin Boy, p.214 See Salvado op. cit., p.146.
  3. Portrait in MacMahon, J.T. One Hundred Years Perth, 1946. opp. p.128
  4. Moran, p.564.- Polding (see Byrne, History of the Catholic Church in South Australia, p.83) was not even promptly notified.



this, anyway, the reason given by the government officials, an allegedly Orange clique which Earl Grey broke up in 1847 in appointing a Catholic, Madden, as Colonial Secretary.<sup>5</sup> The church, destined so soon to be called a Cathedral, was dramatic enough in its poverty to deserve special mention. The walls were run up without allowing for doors or windows; when spaces were subsequently cut out for these purposes, the tottering structure had to be propped up.<sup>6</sup> Mother Frayne, of the Order of Mercy, who arrived in 1846, has left her first impression of its "shingle roof, through which the sun moon, and stars could be distinctly seen; a few planks laid loosely on the ground ... as flooring; door spaces, but no doors; window spaces, but no window; an old wooden counter ... for altar".<sup>7</sup>

The new Bishop, though not very enthusiastically received in Ireland (which may be significant),<sup>8</sup> was able to win solid backing from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons,

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5. Moran, p.565

6. MacMahon, One Hundred Years, p.35

7. Ibid, p.40

8. Moran, p.559 (Congaloniari to Barnabo).

and persuade four Benedictines, five members of the Missionary Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, founded recently by Liebermann, seven Irish monks of the Order of Mercy, eight Irish catechists, an Italian layman, and several other priests, only one of them English-speaking (and neither Joostens, nor even the Bishop, a master of the language)<sup>9</sup>, to give him a staff of clergy and religious not far short of that of Eastern Australia at the time. There was no local means of financing it except the rather bald promissory notes, a scrap of paper bearing a number and the signature "Brady",<sup>10</sup> by means of which the sanguine prelate was £10,000 in debt by 1849.<sup>11</sup> He deployed his missions to the aborigines on a broad, obvious plan: one to the north, at Port Essington (over which, in truth, he had no jurisdiction); one to the south, near Albany; one in the centre, on the Victoria plains about eighty miles north-north-west of Perth. On the feast of Saint Paul's conversion, 25 January, 1846, the Bishop celebrated solemn high mass, and sent them off with ceremony and fervent exhortation. Three by-standers were converted by the occasion.<sup>12</sup>

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9. Moran, p.558

10. Perez B (on McCarthy p.35)

11. Moran, p.562

12. Salvado, Memorias, pp.169-170

The Port Essington mission comprised an Italian priest, Confalonieri, and two Irish catechists. On the way, they were ship-wrecked; the two Irishmen, who could swim, were drowned, the Italian, who could not, survived, clutching his crucifix, but not, it would appear, his spectacles, and actually established his mission.<sup>13</sup> Polding reported him active when he returned to Sydney in 1848;<sup>14</sup> but on June 9 he succumbed to his privations.<sup>15</sup>

The Liebermann Fathers at Albany were reduced to four in number before they started - one had died in Perth, sick in mind and body from the rigours of the voyage. With no bushcraft, and scanty means, they were hopelessly ill-equipped to deal with the nomadic natives, and soon in dire want. When their Superior made the two-hundred-mile trip to Perth for help, the Bishop put him under censure for leaving his post without permission, and sent him back empty-handed.<sup>16</sup> Liebermann therefore had Propaganda

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13. Syd. Chron. 6 January 1847. There was a fund in his aid (*ibid.*, 17 January 1847), with the spectacles particularly in mind - by no means a trifling privation, however ludicrous it may sound.
14. Syd. Chron. 7 March 1848
15. Moran, p.312-3, p.560. Salvado, Memorias p.108, p.172
16. Perez B (to McCarthy, p.9).



sanction their transfer to Mauritius.<sup>17</sup>

By way of relief in this tragedy of wasted generosity which Brady set in action, the central mission survives to-day (1959). But longa est iniuria, longae ambages.

On the 1835 dissolution of the religious orders in Spain, Joseph Benedict Serra, a studious man of forceful temperament, newly ordained a priest, had gone into exile to the monastery of La Cava in Italy: Rosendo Salvado, a cleric - and a fine organist, among other things - went home to his family, but was later able to join his companion, and be ordained (1839). The thoughts of both turned towards foreign missions; fast friends, but reticent, they opened their minds to each other or a walk. "My mind is made up", Serra told Salvado, "as long as (you promise me) we are not parted".<sup>18</sup> Offering their services unconditionally to Propaganda, they were at first meant for Sydney, but were transferred to Brady when the new See was decided on. Gregory XVI told them as he blessed them, not to forget "those many and great apostles, our brethren, how they not only converted to the

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17. Moran, p.560-1

18. Me contesto, me decido completamente, contal de que no nos seremos. Salvado, Memorias p.142 et seq. for this background.

true faith, but educated and civilised whole tribes and nations".<sup>19</sup> - A party of five trekked inland, therefore, celebrated mass on a wagon in the bush, and by this action established the mission, after a fashion, early in March 1846; it was, for men who themselves thought in symbols, fitting enough it should be the feast of Saint Rosendo, Salvado's patron, and also the first Sunday in Lent.<sup>20</sup>

For, to assist the Spaniards, Brady had assigned a Downside man whom broken health quickly forced to retire; an Irish catechist who was shot accidentally, returning from a hunting trip;<sup>21</sup> and a French student from the Abbey of Solesmes, who went out of his mind as a result of the shooting accident.<sup>22</sup> The Spaniards, accordingly, found themselves within a short time the only missionaries among the blacks over the whole of Australia.

Having not the slightest idea, as Salvado tells us, of the idiom, far less the customs, of the blacks; they had taken the best, if not the most comfortable course, in simply committing themselves to the bush among the uncontacted tribes, and

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19. Ibid., p.147  
20. Ibid., p.177  
21. Ibid., p.189  
22. Ibid., p.197

sharing their way of life, right down to their diet and sandy blight.<sup>23</sup> They found they needed tact, patience and cunning as well, in investigating the native beliefs and traditions. They soon drew their conclusions. No missionary could long survive the fatigue of the perpetual walk-about, and the native diet; there was no hope of carrying sufficient provisions, for he must share whatever he had with the blacks. Besides, a separate missionary would be needed for each small group; and even then, the exacting nomadic life allowed little opportunity for instruction to sink in, especially as the natives were in contact with still-savage tribes.<sup>24</sup> They decided, therefore, on a monastic foundation in the very style Gregory XVI had had in mind: a stable community big enough to be self-contained economically, and to live the whole liturgy of the Order (they had chanted the Office daily in the bush), and the strict Rule of Saint Benedict. Thus they could raise the status of the natives, and evangelise by the force of example. They wasted no time in implementing this plan. Though fearing he would be received as the Leibermann Superior had been, Serra obtained permission to go

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23. Ibid. p.178 et seq.

24. Ibid., p.204



to Europe for funds.<sup>25</sup> With the help of volunteers from Perth, they built a monastery (founded on the anniversary of the first mass, March 1, 1847), naming it New Nursia (Sp. Norcia) for Saint Benedict,<sup>26</sup> and a chapel to the Name of the Most Holy Trinity, invoking the special protection of the Immaculately Conceived Virgin, "Mother, Spouse and Daughter of the Omnipotent", as Salvado reminds us in a fine digest of Mariology.<sup>27</sup> They increased their holding of land (having originally built, through wrong survey on their part, on land not theirs, they now took up the area trespassed on).<sup>28</sup> Bringing 700 sheep up the country some sixty miles, Salvado added droving to his acquirements - he was already a good teamster.<sup>29</sup> They planted vines and stone-fruits. Natives began to settle near; the men were taught to plow and sow, the women to ply a needle (some sort of garment, at least a token of goodwill, was required of any that came for the soup hand-outs).<sup>30</sup> On one occasion, the mission protected a native woman from the anger of her man, and he, for vengeance, set fire to the bush;

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25. Perez B (to McCarthy p.21)

26. Salvado, op.cit., p.211

27. Ibid., p.143

28. Perez i, p.23-4

29. Ibid., p.26

30. Salvado, op.cit., p.226-7, p.253

the mission crop was saved when, at the last minute, an image of Our Lady of Good Counsel<sup>31</sup> was set between the fire and the crop, and the wind changed. This made a strong impression on the blacks, including the offender, who became a staunch friend.<sup>32</sup> They gained friends, too, by making peace between tribes and assisting the sick and wounded.<sup>33</sup> Their lives were a language the blacks understood. The monks were able to take over some of the children; the boys stayed at New Norcia, the girls went to the nuns in Perth.<sup>34</sup>

The same business-like idealism distinguished one other non-Irish enclave in Australian Catholicism (sad contrast with Sydney's monks): the Austrian Jesuit, Kranewitter, establishing the college at Seven Hill which eventually opened its doors in 1857, wrote home to his superiors of the "fine stretch of land, quite level and open without trees or rocks, about a square mile in area", with "springs which give unfailing sweet water"<sup>35</sup> and of how, when in the second half of 1855, as we had expected,

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31. Given, as a matter of interest, by Saint Vincent Pallotti.

32. Ibid., p.222 et seq.

33. Birt ii, p.476

34. Ibid.p.479

35. A.Kelly, Jesuit Pioneers, p.23

the price of labour became more moderate, we set our hands to the work in God's name."<sup>36</sup> But the Jesuits, serving South Australia's miners and settlers as they fanned north, were gradually (partly by Australian vocations) assimilated. Whereas Salvado was to spend nearly twenty years extricating the affairs of his mission from those of a weak diocese disposed to lean on its strength, and Serra to assert the <sup>papal</sup> ~~episcopal~~ authority against the third diaspora-Irish schism of the nineteenth century.

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36. Ibid., p.25.



vi. Mission Versus Diocese in Perth, 1848-49

In 1848, Brady held a Synod<sup>1</sup> at New Norcia - well away from his episcopal seat, where his house had been stoned by his disappointed creditors, and Joostens had been brought before a civil court.<sup>2</sup> All the priests in the Colony were now four, Brady, Joostens, and the Spaniards. Censures were called down on certain lay dissidents, notably the Italian Caporelli, who was very bitter about Brady's misgovernment. The chief business, however, was New Norcia. In an ambitious memorial, which was approved, Serra proposed that the Benedictine Rule was, from experience, the only hope of converting and civilising the aboriginals; that he go to Europe, for men and funds; and that the Mission territory be extended by a thousand acres, to make it self-supporting (through grazing).<sup>3</sup> Serra, in addition, petitioned the Holy See for a separate Western Australian Benedictine Congregation, living the Holy Rule to the letter, and dedicated by a special vow to the conversion of the natives; endorsing it, Brady announced that he had asked also for a Trappist foundation - but surely he must have been glad to see Serra go, February 2, one less

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1. Salvado, Memorias p.228
  2. Perez i, p.29, & B.
  3. Perez i, pp.30-31

mouth to feed.<sup>4</sup>

In England and France, Serra found what a chaos the Bishop's finances were; if New Norcia was to survive, it must stand on its own feet.<sup>5</sup> It was difficult to raise funds in a Europe which Serra found in the hands of the Liberals,<sup>6</sup> the Pope himself an exile from Rome; but in the whirligig of time and politics, Spain had a moderate government. In Spain, therefore, he was able to reestablish the Society for the Propagation of the Faith which had been banned in 1841, and to organise, in each city he visited, public prayers for the Australian mission, with exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and appropriate sermons.

In the colony, Salvado pushed doggedly ahead with the monastic plan, parrying an invitation from Polding, fares paid, to join him permanently in Sydney.<sup>7</sup> He purchased over two thousand acres on one of the Bishop's promissory notes, but had the caution to write Serra at the same time to find the cash (10/- an acre) for this "good lump of soil"<sup>8</sup> - naming Ireland as a likely source,

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4. Ibid., p.34

5. Perez B

6. Perez i, p.36 (Serra to Salvado).

7. Ibid., p.39

8. Ibid., p.35.

apparently unaware of its devastation at the time. He tried to build a new house and chapel. But there were grave obstacles. Even Joostens now gave up, and sailed for the East Indies, leaving Salvado as the Bishop's only priest.<sup>9</sup> Salvado was consequently

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9. McCarthy Foundations, p.12 asserts that Joostens returned to Batavia on the arrival of the Spaniards. But he had never been to Batavia anyway, and he remained for some time after the arrival of the Spaniards. - McCarthy's narrative, while invaluable, because of his access to documents in the Perth diocesan archives, particularly Serra's letters, is extremely confused. For example, the convents spoken of on pages 23, 36 and 37, are assuredly one and the same building, but are treated as if three (Cf. S.M.H. 21 July 1848). This kind of jumble becomes more serious when, for instance, on p.36, Polding and Brady both leave Perth the same day, September 19, 1852, though by different ships, with different destinations; whereas on p.33 Brady had left in August, and on p.23 (!) Polding was still in Perth, laying a foundation stone, on October 15. There may be an explanation of these discrepancies, but certainly none is given. Hence I have avoided using his work to establish the order of events, except where he cites original documents. There are other inaccuracies: that Serra was consecrated on July 7 (p.18); that the first Synod took place in March 1847 (contradicting Salvado, see f.n. 1 above); that Coyle returned with Brady to Europe, p.33. It was, however, not such features as these, but rather the evident bias of his narrative, where the honour of Ireland was concerned, that prompted Perez to supply a commentary to the Foundations, the document I call Perez B. Moreover he made no use, as far as I can see, of Salvado's Memoirs (which have not appeared in English).



spending much of his time on diocesan business. With the expansion of grazing, and soon the introduction of convicts, the natives had contact with whites who, even when not out to exploit them, misrepresented the missionaries' motives.<sup>10</sup> As for New Norcia, the lay catechist whom Brady had sent to assist there, in fact fulfilled a very different role, as Brady's agent. "I myself remained there as his servant", Salvado recalled later; adding, in his charity: "Poor Bishop! He would now be deceived by the cunning of his friends, and then later betrayed by the malice of some others; he now allowed the Mission to become a 'villa' ".<sup>11</sup>

Brady was all this time living very austerely, ministering tirelessly among the people; but his good qualities were marred by a touch of vanity, and a serious want of judgment. Thus Madden, having noted his poverty and zeal, censured as a "great mistake" his expecting all his missionaries to be content to live as he did himself, "in a miserable hovel without comforts of any kind...his diet... often scanty in the extreme."<sup>12</sup> For the time being, 1848, it did him

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10. Salvado, Memories, p.227

11. Perez i, p.40

12. Moran, p.565. It seems to me, however, that the Cardinal, and those historians (MacMahon, One Hundred Years, p.51 et seq. and McCarthy,

credit that, in his extremity, he asked for a Coadjutor.<sup>13</sup> On August 15, 1848, however, Serra was consecrated, not as his Coadjutor, but on Polding's advice as Bishop for the colony being planned for Port Victoria, his jurisdiction embracing the present Northern Territory. This news was the last straw for both priests in the colony. For Brady it meant that he would derive no benefit from Serra's financial strength. Salvado, rather depressed at being left on his own anyway, now felt the whole burden of New Norcia settle on his shoulders. But "the Good Lord was pleased to come to (the) assistance" of this resilient soul, and "grant me the grace of resignation to the inscrutable designs of His Divine Providence".<sup>14</sup> It was well for Salvado he knew the meaning of resignation: Brady's reaction to the news was to send

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12. cont'd.

Foundations. p.19 who follow him, in citing Madden's testimony here, together with his remark that this aspect of Brady's administration it was "led to all the difficulties that took place", are not correct in calling it (MacMahon, op.cit., p.51) the "verdict of an eye-witness". Madden's health compelled his retirement from the Colonial Secretaryship early in 1849 (cf. S.M.H. 3 January 1849, 27 March 1849), long before the depth and scope of Brady's aberration was apparent.

13. Birt ii, p.186

14. Perez i, p.41 et seq. for these events.

him off on the next ship for Europe (January 8, 1849), to represent his interests in Rome. There was no time to make arrangements for New Norcia in his absence, as Donovan, a lay catechist, had to be advanced to the priesthood within a week.

Salvado, accompanied by two aboriginal lads, arrived in Europe (April 27, 1849) neither informed of Brady's affairs nor accredited as his representative; he soon learned, after refusals in London and Dublin, Paris and Lyons, how low Brady's credit stood. To Serra, his arrival meant two things: Salvado had deserted his post, and thus effectively brought the New Norcia venture to an end; Brady had got rid of Salvado much as he had of Serra.<sup>15</sup> Rome, however, had ideas that soon gave him other things to think about. Salvado was consecrated to Port Victoria on the first anniversary of Serra's consecration to the same See: "I kept arguing with the Cardinal Prefect whilst his tailor was measuring me up for a set of episcopal robes".<sup>16</sup> And he had then to tell Serra that he was transferred to Perth as Coadjutor; the official notice was sent to the safe keeping of Brady in Perth. Serra also had permission to use the money he had collected on the Mission's behalf, in meeting the debts of the diocese.

15. Perez i, pp.42-4, thoroughly documents these points.

16. Ibid. p.45



In Spain, where Serra and Salvado had a rendezvous in Cadiz, everything seemed auspicious. There were no fewer than thirty-nine volunteers for the mission, most of them skilled tradesmen, and one a physician; all of them took the Benedictine habit before embarking. The Queen, Elizabeth, knighted Serra,<sup>1</sup> and gave him the use of the Ferrolana, on its way to South America as Spain's official recognition of the independence of her former colonies. There was great religious fervour in Barcelona, where Salvado was the first religious to appear in his habit for fourteen years.<sup>2</sup> But there was more than one worm in the bud. The Captain of the Ferrolana was an undisguised anti-clerical. The Port Victoria project was abandoned by the British government, and Salvado, finding himself a shepherd without a flock, withdrew from the expedition. This left Serra heavily dependent on the Irish Trappist, Urquhart, as the only one in the party who spoke English. But Barnabo (of Propaganda) had written him in warning of this man's unreliability.<sup>3</sup> The letter, however, did not reach Serra until he himself reached Perth. By then, no warning was needed.

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1. McCarthy, Foundations, p.24
  2. Perez i, pp.47-8
  3. McCarthy, Op.cit., p.25.

The voyage,<sup>4</sup> lasted from October 5 to December 29, 1849. Most of it, Serra spent in his cabin, prevented by the Captain from saying mass. Urquhart, on good terms with the Captain, continued to say mass against the Bishop's orders; and some of the other missionaries supported him. But the Bishop had good reason for his orders - the archives of Downside<sup>5</sup> contain a letter written to him by Urquhart during the long leisure of the voyage (November 16-24). Its praise of the Captain and vilification of Serra is described as a piece of consummate hypocrisy. Urquhart, undertaking to campaign against Serra's reputation in Europe, stated that he had his passage (by the Captain's grace, presumably) "not as a priest, but as a British subject, and shall therefore keep my place".

Serra and his party disembarked happily enough, sang the Te Deum and the Litany of the Saints and the Salve Regina in the chapel of the empty convent at Fremantle; and the saintly Garrido discovered that the blue Australian sky "has no equal in the

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4. Told by Perezi, pp.51-4. The appearance of a Spanish Man-o'-War was quite a sensation in the colonies. Cf. H.T.Courier, 20 February, 1850.

5. Birt ii, p.230.

whole world".<sup>6</sup> But in Perth Serra "found the bishop's house turned into a courthouse, where the judge and the accusers were waiting for his coming",<sup>7</sup> with the Captain as witness. Coldly received by Brady, he had to defray the return passage of Urquhart's partisans among his party; and paid out £3000 to meet Brady's creditors,<sup>8</sup> despite persistent rumours that Urquhart was to be made Vicar-General of Perth over his head. The rumours proved true, so Serra published a refusal to answer for any debts he had not himself authorised. When Urquhart sought to arraign him before a diocesan synod, and Serra very naturally refused to attend, Brady took it into his head to suspend his Coadjutor ab omnibus sacris. The Brief of Serra's appointment, of course, was in Brady's possession, and was not published; a letter from Franzoni, Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, did not quite meet the occasion, though Serra published it in the Gazette, because even if it were enough to procure official recognition of his ecclesiastical status in Perth, it gave him no say regarding the temporal affairs of the Church

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6. Perez i, p.55

7. Ibid.

8. McCarthy, Foundations, pp.25-6, for the following train of events.



there, as Brady held all church property in his own name.<sup>9</sup> Serra's heart was broken. In the second half of January he and his party made their way up to New Norcia, where one of Brady's catechist recruits of 1846, Butler, was in charge - very much in charge. Within a fortnight, Serra and Garrido - the Bishop on a saddled mare, and Garrido "looking exactly like Sancho Panza, on a unharnessed colt"<sup>10</sup> - had to return to Perth for more litigation. Their poor English was a grave disadvantage in court, of course. Serra would gladly have gone straight back to Europe; the needs, and tearful prayers of his party, restrained him; he sent Garrido off to Rome to tender his resignation for him. Garrido, who had said only one mass beneath the image of his beloved patroness at New Norcia, was, like Bishop Serra himself, under suspension. He embarked on

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9. McCarthy, loc.cit: " Nobody could deprive Dr. Brady of the personal rights which he held to his own property". This remark misses the point at issue: that all ecclesiastical property was in Brady's name. How like the attitude of Therry, when he wrote the Colonial Secretary (12 December 1844, *A.C.R.*, 1952, p.20) italics mine, of "The Rt. Rev. Dr. Willson having taken my salary of £600 per annum".
10. Perez i, p.59

February 8, 1850, on a ship for Ceylon, to find he had to share it with Bishop Brady.<sup>11</sup>

Brady was returning to argue his case in person at Rome; never at a loss to improvise finances, he was taking two Mercy nuns and an Italian priest as witnesses, and two aboriginal children as exhibits. He was out, of course, to save his right to administer Perth; public opinion was moving against him,<sup>12</sup> now, despite his personal austerity and vigorous apostolate. He left Urquhart to administer Perth to his heart's content. "The Roman Catholics of Perth and its vicinity", "actuated solely by a wish to advance the interest of the Church", had petitioned him for this; and Brady attributed it to "a special interposition of Divine Providence that they had among them a Venerable and distinguished Father of the admirable Order of La Trappe, who had left all to follow Jesus, and to come to that distant land in order to announce that adorable Name to the poor children of God"<sup>13</sup> The "most impious, malicious and infamous man on earth" - as one

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11. Ibid., pp. 61-2

12. McCarthy, Foundations, p.27 (Serra to Polding, October, 1850).

13. Banner (Hobart), 25 April 1850

baffled Italian translator of his ship-board letter to Serra described him<sup>14</sup> - nevertheless appeared in a very different light to his parish as "the only priest in the mission capable of aiding his lordship (meaning Brady, not Serra) in preaching and teaching in their mother tongue".<sup>15</sup> Brady at the same time entrusted to Butler the litigation necessary to expel the Spaniards, who had paid for it, from New Norcia; while a nephew of his (Brady's), another of the catechists of 1846, now married and well set up, enjoys an unenviable prominence in property transactions of this period.<sup>17</sup> Serra retreated to a house in Guildford. He and seven of his men, two of them ill, withdrew on foot, carrying their provisions, from New Norcia to Guildford, spending three nights in the bush. It was the Holy Week of 1850. "On Good Friday we were very tired, but considering how Jesus had suffered much for us walking up the Mount Calvary,

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14. Perez i, pp. 51-4

15. Banner (Hobart) 21st February, 1850.

16. McCarthy, Foundation, p.26

17. Perez i, p.65.



we derived some consolation and comfort from the thought."<sup>18</sup> In Guildford they somehow managed to live as a monastery of strict observance, with the full liturgy; though they lost their stores in a fire. Satan, Serra observed, waged "deadly war" against the mission - "indeed he must be afraid of its future".<sup>19</sup>

But now Serra's fortunes changed. Wiseman, on his arrival in Rome to receive the Cardinalate was assigned to straighten out the tangle in Western Australia; he brought his customary tact to bear, more particularly, it would seem, on Earl Grey, who had already proved himself no friend of religious discrimination in the colony.<sup>20</sup> Serra came to enjoy the favour, indeed the friendship, of Governor Fitzgerald, and was naturalised - thus demolishing the strongest argument of the Brady-Urquhart case, that Serra, not being a British subject, was "persona non grata" with the civil authorities.<sup>21</sup> But Brady had no ground to stand on; in audience with him, Pius, as was his wont, left him in no doubt of his anger concerning the administration of ecclesiastical

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18. Griver (the physician, later Bishop of Perth), quoted by Moran, p.550.

19. Perez i, p.65. Serra did not mean this to be taken as a mere figure of speech.

20. McCarthy, Foundation, p.21.

21. Ibid., p.31.

property, and the attempt to censure his Coadjutor.<sup>22</sup> News of his vindication, and appointment as Administrator, reached Serra late in October 1850; with it came the instruction to pack Urquhart off, even if it meant paying his fare. Urquhart, fortified with power of attorney from Brady, refused to budge. Serra shows up well through the heavy syntax of his letters to the priest at this time; remarking how ill Urquhart's stand consorted with "the opinion that the Right Rev. Dr. Brady has justly deserved from the public, of his Lordship's being rather scrupulous in punctually submitting always to the direction of Rome"; how this recalcitrance, amounting to contempt for authority, was a great pity in a man of Urquhart's qualities; and begging him to "receive these calm reflections as dictated only by brotherly love". Suspended, Urquhart capitulated, and his partisans acceded.<sup>23</sup>

That Urquhart, in his resistance, had been **backed** up by a strong party of the laity, was a sharp warning **to** Serra of the need for priests who spoke the language - and could read the mood -

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22. Ibid., p.30

23. Ibid., p.30

of the people; he at once began to negotiate for some.<sup>24</sup> Probably all this while the Mercy nuns had been the chief factor holding the Catholic community together, collecting the Catholic girls into their schools, bestowing on the appointments of the ramshackle Cathedral their scrupulous care,<sup>26</sup> smoothing relations with the non-Catholic community, despite bigoted opposition, by the very fact that they ran the only school in the colony that could be called select (this being, indeed, their livelihood, amid the insolvency of the mission),<sup>27</sup> loyal first to Brady, now, apologetically, to Serra<sup>28</sup>. But Brady suddenly arrived back in the colony on December 18, 1851.<sup>29</sup> He was ipso facto suspended, by a decree of the previous August, anticipating this very possibility; and aggravated the action by bringing with him Coyle to replace Urquhart; he thus, whatever his intentions, gave the unrest an element of ideology. Knowing the canonical position, Serra despatched the faithful Donovan to them to explain it. Brady's reply was a legal

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24. Ibid, p.30

25. Ibid., p.22

26. McMahon, One Hundred Years, p.41

27. McCarthy, Foundations, p.36. The census gave 337 as the Catholic population in 1849 - cf. S.M.H. 21st February.

28. Perez B.

29. For the following incident, McCarthy, Foundations pp. 31-2



action against Serra for £3000; Serra, in self-defence, used his power of attorney while it still held good (remembering that all the property was still in Brady's name) to liquidate all moveable property. "The Catholic community now divided into two factions, the "Serraites" and "Bradyites". Some regrettable scenes occurred. Both sides requested the Governor to intervene; both published their defence and their views in the daily press; both took legal proceedings to establish their rights; both held separate services for their adherents." Pius IX, by a Motu Proprio, published in the colony on April 21st 1852, declared Brady's suspension, and confirmed in advance any penalty Serra, administering in the Pope's name, should "lawfully inflict or pronounce upon the rebels". And Polding was commissioned to proceed at once from Sydney to clear matters up.<sup>30</sup>

Delaying in Adelaide en route, April-May 1852, where he found Murphy in sore straits, Polding encountered Coyle,<sup>31</sup> who journeyed back to the West

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30. Birt ii, p.187

31. Byrne, History of the Catholic Church in South Australia. pp.80-81

with the Archbishop, presumably hoping to help Brady's case. Polding proceeded overland from Albany, preaching and administering the sacraments.<sup>32</sup> Reaching Perth on July 2, he quickly brought Brady to his senses; the old missionary publicly made complete submission to the sentence of suspension, surrendered the title to all properties he held in his own name, expressed his deep regret, and promised to return to Rome as Polding directed; the document stating all this, signed by Brady, was placed on the altar before the crucifix while Polding offered a public mass in Brady's presence.<sup>33</sup> Even this, however, was not the end of it; a Bradyite party remained, publishing its views in the Gazette. So persistent was this feeling that four entire families sailed back for Ireland with Brady, loyal (though in truth one should not use the name of virtue) to the last. On July 29, the Archbishop had to excommunicate all connected with a certain address to himself, considering it designed to destroy confidence in himself and Serra. Coyle issued a pamphlet arguing that Polding had formerly been Brady's intimate friend, but in this instance

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32. Moran, p.566.

33. F.J., 19th August 1852.

34. Birt ii, pp. 191-2. For Brady's fellow-voyagers, see McCarthy, Foundations, p.36.

favoured Serra because a fellow-Benedictine; and that Brady had contracted his debts at Serra's request, and in Serra's interests. It was his last contribution to ecclesiastical history: ordered to return with Brady, he fell ill on board before sailing, and died in the colony. Polding considered that this pamphlet was ever after used by his enemies as an armoury of argument against him.<sup>35</sup>

The points at issue in civil law were determined in Serra's favour, Polding actually taking a seat on the bench beside the presiding judge.<sup>36</sup>

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35. There is a query here. Perez refers to a 124pp pamphlet, anonymously issued. "Facts Relative to the Roman Catholic Mission in Western Australia", a fully "documented" vilification of Polding. Wynne simply asserts, ipse dixit, that Coyle wrote a pamphlet arguing as in my text. Polding, however, writing Talbot (of the Papal Household) about 1862 (undated transcript by Gregory in S.A.A.) refers to one such pamphlet only, eighty pages, claiming that it had been used against him ever since. This scurrilous pamphlet campaign ran a long time; the writings of McCarthy on Brady, Wynne on McEncroe, are not without some taint of it, probably handed down orally. One finds a similar view, though not scurrilously put, among All Hallows priests today, carelessly depreciating Polding and Gregory, and even Ullathorne (friend though he was to the Irish clergy's apostolate). Note that when in 1875-6 Archbishop Vaughan (nominally acting under Polding) dealt rather precipitately and harshly with Bishop O'Mahony of Armidale, the injustice of



Both the Archbishop and Serra issued Pastorals appealing for peace. Characteristically, Polding's began severely, but became warm and elevated. He explained how, because of his suspension, all Brady's acts since the previous October (date of the Motu Proprio) were, in temporal matters, radically invalid, and in spiritual matters valid, but illegal. "It is for the supreme head of the Church to direct and govern; for us, archbishops, bishops, pastors, priests and laity, to hear and obey ... who are we, that we should summon before our ignorant and erring selves the supreme authority in the Church?" Be, he urged them, Serra's consolation "under the heavy weight of his responsibilities, placed upon his shoulders against his will, as we ourselves can testify". And "for the rest, Dearly Beloved, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever modest, whatsoever just, whatsoever holy, whatsoever amiable, whatsoever of good fame, if there be any

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his proceedings (O'Mahony, accused - quite groundlessly, as it turned out - of lapses, in chastity and sobriety, was retired from the Australian mission without a hearing) was used retrospectively to blacken the entire Benedictine Mission, and even to exonerate Brady! It looks to me as if the Benedictines are made to pay absurdly dear for isolated errors and omissions because they were the wrong breed.

36. McCarthy, Foundations p.33



virtue or any praise of discipline among you" - Saint Paul's words were astonishingly a propos - "think of these things and the God of Peace shall be with you". What a faithful steward of true doctrine and discipline the Archbishop was! "In hearing his voice we hear the voice even of Jesus Christ", Serra told the people, asking that the past be forgotten.<sup>37</sup> His position was an uneasy one, and his grandee airs made it no easier among the poor Irish; nor did it help later when he was forced to remove Donovan from the chaplaincy to the convicts, with no English-speaking priest, let alone an Irishman, to replace him.<sup>38</sup> For the present, however, it must have seemed a happy symbol of better times to come when a new convent rose, designed by Serra, towards the end of 1852; also the following year when the first Australian girl, Mary Spillane, entered the Order of Mercy.<sup>39</sup> Back in Sydney, after a narrow escape from shipwreck, Polding drew the moral:

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37. F.J. 26th August 1852.

38. McCarthy, (p.39) finds this "harsh treatment" "difficult to understand". Polding spoke to the Colonial office, 20th March 1854 (copy in S.A.A.), of an "indiscretion" (not further specified) on Donovan's part.

39. McCarthy, Foundations p.23, p 36-7

"Scandals must come .. but in the Catholic Church, if the scandal occurs, the authority shows itself - the scandal ceases." But he had been able to purchase peace only by shouldering some of Brady's debts.<sup>40</sup>

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40. F.J. 4th November 1852, 11th November 1852.



viii Diocese and Mission Disengaged 1853-1866

Serra's fortunes had changed - not New Norcia's. His heart was no longer in it. A change perhaps dating back to his mitre, in this authoritarian temperament; confirmed by Salvado's "desertion" and subsequent consecration; by the tedious and humiliating litigation; by the introduction of transportation and Irish female immigration (so that by 1854 there were two thousand Catholics, one in four convict<sup>1</sup>), absorbing all his energies, leaving him none to spare for the monastery. But what of Salvado?

Garrido had arrived in Rome, after a brief pilgrimage through the Holy Land, in May 1850; and the same month, joined forces with Salvado to save the mission from Brady, who was also there by this time. Salvado, dedicated as ever to the interests of New Norcia, found himself able to do a good deal for it. Relieved of his obligation to Port Victoria, he steadily refused to accept any fresh post. Putting together his Memoirs, he gave Rome a reliable account of the aboriginals; not to mention a balanced survey - geography, economics and statistics, politics,

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1. McCarthy, Foundations p.37

history, and natural history - of the Australian colonies; the book shows him **observant** and well-informed. He replied with spirit to a remark of Pius IX: "it is men" - not Saint Benedict - "who do not want us at New Norcia". In September, a rescript authorised him to concentrate on the foundation there, while remaining Bishop of Port Victoria; Serra was to administer Perth, and Salvado **to be** responsible to him.<sup>2</sup>

In Europe, and particularly in Spain, Salvado once more achieved remarkable success: he embarked on April 16th 1853, with a company of forty-four, again almost all Benedictines, mostly skilled artisans, and £7600 cash for the mission.<sup>3</sup> (things which remind us why it was that, despite reluctance to ordain the natives, Spain none the less left all her former colonies Catholic). On an easy trip out, it proved possible to keep up full religious observance.<sup>4</sup> By October, Salvado was back at New Norcia - to find it completely desolate, the church being used as a stable, the book of baptisms to record tobacco purchases.<sup>5</sup>

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2. Perez i. pp 66-7

3. Perez ii p.38

4. Ibid., p.13

5. Ibid., p.16

For Serra had not merely given the mission no attention; he designed to set up a monastery at Subiaco (the existing suburb takes its name from the attempt); consequently he had transferred most of the Guildford community to Perth, and now retained most of Salvado's party there for the same purpose.<sup>6</sup> Now, too, he sailed off to Rome, to offer his resignation once again; Salvado, charged with the responsibility of the diocese, could do little for New Norcia. These were necessarily years of construction and reconstruction - restoring the Church at Freemantle, enlarging the pathetic little Cathedral, building churches at Albany and Dardanup; state salaries for pastors encouraging, as it had in the eastern colonies, the rapid organisation of a parish system and the building of churches.- Serra's resignation was again refused; he returned in May 1855 with fifteen more recruits, mainly religious who had contracted to come out earlier but had had to complete their novitiate in Italy - three of them were Irishmen, and one an Australian aboriginal who had received the Benedictine habit at the hands of Pius IX himself. There were also four French nuns of St.

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6. Ibid., p.38



Joseph of the Apparition.<sup>7</sup> But Salvado could not retire to the Victoria Plains mission until the beginning of 1857. He was travelling continually up and down the vast diocese at the behest of Serra; asked had he been appointed mailman, he replied "No, it's that Bishop Serra wants to make a saint out of me, and that rather quickly".<sup>8</sup> His diary for December 1855 records how his monastic brethren too were scattered by the Bishop, Martelli to Northam, Riboya to Fremantle, Aragon to Bunbury, Garrido to Perth (also teaching philosophy and theology at Subiaco), Bertram to Subiaco as Novice-master, Bourke, still a student, teaching at the Perth school.<sup>9</sup> New Norcia, indeed, had become a bone of contention between two men once such close friends. Serra took the position Brady had once held; to him, the monastery was a farm, and he wanted the profits, or at least a good rent<sup>10</sup> (2200 a year, as a matter of cold figures). The ordained monks were diocesan priests as far as he was concerned, and he moved them about at will. Perhaps as a result a number of the Benedictines left Perth, four of the Spaniards to Ceylon;

7. Ibid., p.24. The Irishmen were Reynolds, later Archbishop of Adelaide; **Byrne**, the historian; and Bourke, a popular priest and Vicar-General in Perth at a later period.

8. Ibid. p.58

9. Ibid. p.27, p.31.

10. Ibid., p.22. p.38

Reynolds and Byrne to South Australia. Garrido was inexplicably dismissed (1858) - it is to his credit that we do not know the cause. Martelli wrote, in serious jest: "At last I have got the key to the mystery ... it is a sorrowful mystery instead of a joyful one".<sup>11</sup> There was a brighter moment in 1856, when Serra visited New Norcia, and the bush seemed to revive old memories; he was all solicitude for the monks and the natives. Then again after Salvador's return in 1857, when Martelli wrote Garrido: "Everyone is working hard at his respective employment; every one looks happy under the mild, paternal management of the most amiable Rosendo, who is indeed the right man in the right place".<sup>12</sup> But the worst was not yet over. In 1858, Serra determined to push forward his scheme of a large monastery near Perth, living the primitive rule ad litteram, and enabling him to combine the regular life with the episcopal dignity.<sup>13</sup> It was a sign, I think, of the inner restlessness of a capable man in the wrong place, big with desire for he did not know what, unpopular on all sides - with the Irish nuns, loyal

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11. Ibid., p.47 (Martelli to Garrido).

12. Ibid., pp. 60-1 (again Martelli to Garrido, the latter in Ceylon).

13. Ibid., p.54 et seq.

throughout, but wishing for more of the Salgado  
 douceur;<sup>14</sup> with the new **Governor**, Kennedy  
 (1855-1862), who favoured the Irish system in  
 education and refused to sanction Donovan's  
 successor as convict chaplain;<sup>15</sup> with the people,  
 who wanted more preaching and more of the common  
 touch; with the community at large because of  
 his rigorous enforcement of the Canon Law  
 regarding mixed marriages (treating disparity  
 of **cult as an impediment only to be dispensed**  
 on condition the non-Catholic party promises the  
 children shall be baptised and brought up as  
 Catholics - a rule now universally adhered to).<sup>16</sup>

The monks who had been employed building the  
 Palace and Convent had now to turn to and build  
 a monastery on land the Bishop held in his own name.  
 Partly to finance the project, Serra proposed that  
 New Norcia be broken up into rental allotments.<sup>17</sup>  
 Rome replied by separating it from his jurisdiction,  
 by a decree of April 1st, 1859. Determined to oppose  
 this move in person, Serra left the colony in mid  
 July, a week after receiving the news;<sup>18</sup> he had

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14. Moran, p.567.

15. McCarthy, Foundations, p.39 cf. Moran, pp.569-571

16. McCarthy, Foundations, p.38

17. Perez ii, p.62

18. Ibid., p.63.



some initial success, a plan endorsed on December 19th by a meeting of eleven Cardinals, of himself as an Abbott-Bishop in Perth, Salvado to work his own diocese (Port Victoria) from Timor;<sup>19</sup> but New Norcia was set up as a separate Prefecture the following February.<sup>20</sup> Delaying in Rome for the canonisation of the Japanese martyrs, he was once more moved to tender his resignation, and it was accepted;<sup>21</sup> he returned not long after to Spain, where he found himself at last, in establishing a very successful Order of nuns devoted to the reclamation of women of ill-fame. Griver, to whom he had entrusted the administration of Perth, was confirmed in that post. Brady remained Bishop in name, of course, having never resigned. Salvado, convinced from first to last "that the best and the only plan of civilising the unhappy aborigines of this country is that of settling them and teaching them how to work,"<sup>22</sup> could now at last set about it without fear of disturbance. The original decree of separation reached Perth on July 7th, 1859. "I know and I remember it all", Salvado wrote later, "as a mother remembers the year, the month, the day, the very

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19. McCarthy, Foundations, p.40

20. Ibid., p.44

21. Ibid, p.45 cf. Morgan, p.568

22. Perez ii, p.60

hour of her deliverance". The monks, given the choice, preferred New Norcia to Subiaco. The Mission survives, a monument to the remarkable man who founded it, a stubborn island of Spanish culture and asceticism in the great sea of Irish Australian Catholicism.

ix. Moreton Bay 1843-1858: Duncan

When Polding visited Moreton Bay, May-July 1843, whilst settling the Passionists in, the district was not long open to free settlement; there were not more than two thousand whites in the area, and perhaps as many blacks, with Brisbane a mere village - a hundred and thirty found their way to the Archbishop's first mass. After a tour of the district with Gregory, however, Polding determined to station a priest there permanently, and chose Hanly, a young Irishman fresh out from Liverpool.<sup>2</sup> Hanly's stone church, completed by 1850<sup>3</sup>, was inadequate by 1856, and he had to say two masses on Sundays.<sup>4</sup> By 1850 he had two schools in operation, with over a hundred children<sup>5</sup>; we find them using the Christian Brothers' text books as well as the Irish National ones.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Moran p. 593
  2. Moran, p.596, cites an entry from "the Diocesan records of Sydney" to the effect that Rev. McGinety accompanied Hanly in 1843 and took over the Ipswich mission, completing a church in 1859. We know, however, that McGinty did not come to Australia until 1847. Hanly's first permanent assistant was Luckie, 1848, though J. Kavanagh and one of the Downings - not Matthew, of Eureka fame but his brother - had previously had spells there. Cf. A.H. Annual 1946-7 (McGinty); Advocate 28th August 1946 (Downing), 23rd July 1947 (Kavanagh)
  3. EJ. 27th August 1850. Cf. Syd. Chron. 30th September 1847, for the beginnings. By a quirk of fate, this diminutive structure, soon to serve as a cathedral, was built on a design supplied by Pugin during his Australian tour ( A.C.R., 1944, p. 138).



Most of the mission was a scattered, thinly-peopled one - Polding in 1858 spoke of successive stations, each thirty or forty miles from the last with 10,20,40, 5,42 Catholics in turn.<sup>7</sup> A devout laity kept Catholicism alive. Cleary of Wide Bay is particularly remembered, like the Phillippses in early Adelaide, or the McKillops and Coffees in Melbourne; a bachelor, he befriended the aborigines, supported students at All Hallows, and made his will in favour of the Church.<sup>8</sup> In all these features, Brisbane was a typical frontier parish. About 1852 McGinty, put in charge at Ipswich, gave it a lift; between 1855<sup>9</sup> and 1859 he erected a handsome stone church. A long-drawn-out and inconclusive action-at-law against some Catholic labourers who (following the discipline of the universal church, dispensed in Australia) refused to work on the feast of the Epiphany,<sup>10</sup> perhaps

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4. F.J. 5th January 1856
  5. F.J. 17th October 1850
  6. F.J. 5th January 1856
  7. Moran, p.596 (Polding to Goold, 29th November 1858)
  8. Ibid., p.595
  9. F.J. 13th October 1855
  10. F.J. 10th February 1855, case adjourned, *ibid.*, 5th May 1855; the Address to Denison, 24th February 1855.

indicated the confidence of the Catholic community under his influence. They were challenging a squatter; and those future hammerers of Popery Macalister and Challinor, taught by Lang to oppose the squattocracy,<sup>11</sup> took, for the occasion - an address to the incoming Denison - a liberal view, and sided with the Catholics; a lying augury, considering what was to come. - Polding, surveying the district in Rigney's company in 1858, with a view to the erection of a new see (separation was pending), for a time considered locating it at Ipswich. But for that matter, he planned a missionary diocese at Maryborough, under Salvado, with some of Cleary's land as an aboriginal reserve; there was more imagination than judgment in all this; Brisbane it was, with Rigney as caretaker.<sup>12</sup>

What differentiated this from any other frontier parish was the presence of W.A. Duncan. Rewriting his autobiography in 1854, and cutting out the bitter sections, he represented himself as

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11. G. Greenwood (ed.) Australia: A Social and Political History, Sydney, 1955, p.110

12. Moran, pp.596-7. (Polding to Goold, while Goold was in Rome, 1858 - 11 August, 1858, 29 November 1858 - at a juncture when the establishment of new Sees was an all-engrossing question).

tranquil, settled; and certainly there was nothing contentious about his musicianship,<sup>13</sup> or even his Presidency of the School of Arts.<sup>14</sup> But he was Ovid among the Goths, and not so easily contained. During the debate of the New Constitution, which shortly after sent Macalister south to study political manoeuvres from his seat in the House, Duncan issued a pamphlet in the interests of moderate conservatism, favouring nomineeism, tempering democracy also by a strong executive clearly separated from the legislature, and defending the tie with Britain.<sup>15</sup> In 1857, he recommended the Saint John's College (Sydney University) fund, as the proper response to "the most graceful act of justice conferred on us by a British legislature for three hundred years".<sup>16</sup> It was also presumably he who answered the Bible Society charges in 1857, that the priesthood, in Queensland as everywhere, forbade the "reading of the word of God"; no other

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13. F.J. 17 October 1850, 5 January 1856. This interest, including composition, and a warm regard for Nathan, had been evident in Duncan's Chronicle.
14. F.J., 1 October 1853, S.M.H., 30 May 1859.
15. F.J., 23 February 1856
16. F.J. 3 October 1857



Catholic, not Hanly, would have been able to claim on his shelves " the Hebrew original, the Greek Septuagint, numerous editions of the New Testament, by Erasmus" and others, plus the Vulgate, the Latin version of Beza, French, German, and Italian editions, and many English.<sup>17</sup> Still the same old Duncan; only at one point more so. The radicalism he had relaxed in politics, he maintained and developed in matters ecclesiastical. His extremely capable lecture in favour of National education, June 1850, the first pamphlet published in Queensland, was one manifestation;<sup>18</sup> and by the time Polding arrived in 1858, Duncan was, from his Archimedean remoteness, threatening the administrative equilibrium of the Church in Sydney by his publications.<sup>19</sup> As to education, J. Wallace argued in reply that if there was to be no

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17. F.J. 7 March, 1857

18. See J.A. Ferguson's Bibliography of Australia, vol. iv, Sydney, 1955. A.G. Austin, in William George Rusden and National Education in Australia 1847-1862, (Melbourne, 1958) draws attention to the force of Duncan's argumentation, p.22.

19. See chapter #7- almost passim!

reference to controverted doctrines in the schoolroom, the school system would rapidly become an organ for the inculcation of the vaguest form of deism, and so it came to pass, more rapidly in Queensland than elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> But it is no mean tribute to Duncan's quality that he has forced us to name the two principal themes of the 'fifties as far as Australian Catholicism was concerned : its relations with, precisely, that vague deism; and the role of the laity in church government.

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20. F.J. 12 September 1850, When I say "more rapidly" in Queensland, I have in mind that this colony, while later than South Australia is abolishing a distinct denominational board, was prompter to eliminate the scriptures as a school text.

PART IITHE DEBATE ON THE GOOD LIFE. 1850-65.

All this time the Guard was looking at her, first through a telescope, then through a microscope, and then through an opera-glass. At last he said "You're travelling the wrong way," and shut up the window and went away.

Lewis Carroll,  
Through the Looking Glass



CHAPTER 5: THE PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS OF SECULAR LIBERALISM.

All these systems, then, of scepticism, polytheism, and theism, you must allow, on your principles, to be on a like footing, and that no one of them has any advantage over the others. You may thence learn the fallacy of your principles.

Hume, Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion.

A small cut which would escape notice if inflicted on the mature body after birth can produce entire malformations if applied to the embryo. The malformation is more monstrous the earlier the cut occurs.

K. Stern, The Third Revolution.

- i: The Liberal and Dogmatic Principles in Conflict.
  - ii: Features of the Conflict in Australia, 1840-1860.
  - iii: The Three phases of the Catholic Attitude.
  - iv: National Versus Denominational Education.
  - v: Secular Liberalism Ascendant, 1860.
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1. The Liberal and Dogmatic Principles in Conflict.

Nothing is more necessary or rewarding in the inquiry - the historia par excellence - we call history, than to elucidate how different men have explained themselves and their world, and what happiness they have conceived to be within their compass. Self-knowledge forbids us to treat such world-pictures, especially where the argument bears against Christ's authority, as the issue of dry logic. "The world," the ancient writer told Hadrian, "though suffering no wrong ~~from~~ Christians, hates them because they challenge its pleasures"<sup>1</sup> - not only the pleasures of the flesh, of course, but also (and above all) those of self-esteem and intellectual superiority. Time and tragedy do not necessarily mend the kind of self-satisfaction which is sure it has given consideration enough to the work of Christ in history. Hence, though hence is a hard saying, the Church as a polity and Christ's claim to be the light of the world were impugned no less under parliaments which called themselves liberal and progressive than they had been under emperors who called themselves divine. Now this "chasse le prêtre"<sup>2</sup> was in part but one more variation

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1. Epistle to Diognetus, ch. 6, v.5.

2. V. Hugo's Chasseur noir, much admired by Tennyson. It is a strange symbol for an enthusiast of the Idea (as Hugo called secularist liberalism) to endorse, but scarcely more so than another of Hugo's - Luna.

on the great nineteenth century theme of Revolution, "Ôte-toi, que je m'y mette," in Metternich's contemptuous phrase - jobs for the boys. But more was at stake. By a transvaluation of values typical of error in every age, the concept of liberty furnished a rhetoric by which the man in the street was edged into contemning laws, certitudes, virtues, and even Christ - so thoroughly can the wisest of animals let abstractions run away with his common-sense. On the one hand, then, Catholicism, a patiently reasoned use of liberty, whose premises - the miracles of the Omnipotent, the whole structure of prophecy in the Old and New Testaments and in the Church, with man's natural instinct for the absolute, and for the true rule of morals - do not shift or melt in the flood of history. On the other, a militantly secular liberalism framed less by clever advocates than by massive historical forces and motives scarcely conscious. In short, a collision between clericals and anti-clericals as genuinely intellectual as it was morally inevitable.

"At periods of equality," De Tocqueville reasons, maintaining this moral inevitability, "men have no faith in one another, by reason of the common resemblance"<sup>3</sup>,

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3. Democracy in America, World's Classics edition, pp. 297-8.



and this "fixing the standard in themselves alone leads them to other habits of mind;"

As they perceive that they succeed in resolving without assistance all the little difficulties which their practical life presents, they readily conclude that everything in the world may be explained, and that nothing in it transcends the limits of the understanding. Thus they fall to denying what they cannot comprehend; which leaves them but little faith for whatever is extraordinary, and an almost insurmountable distaste for whatever is supernatural.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, in an expanding economy, at a time of technological revolution,

in proportion as castes disappear and the classes of society approximate - as manners, customs, and laws vary, from the tumultuous intercourse of men - as new facts arise - as new truths are brought to light - as ancient opinions are dissipated, and others take their place - the image of an ideal perfection, forever on the wing, presents itself to the human mind. Continual changes are then every instant occurring under the observation of every man.....His reverses teach him that none may hope to have discovered absolute good - his success stimulates him to the never ending pursuit of it.....It can scarcely be believed how many facts naturally flow from

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4. Ibid. pp.296-7

the philosophical theory of the indefinite perfectibility of man, or how strong an influence it exercises. 5

As his dependence on the weather and the seasons taught the **peasant** a certain religiosity, in particular the fertility cults; so the nineteenth century taught Western Man the religion of progress. Here was the root of the animus against Catholicism. Liberty in this context meant human autonomy, sanctioned by religious agnosticism.

Unduped of fancy, **henceforth** man  
 Must labour; - must resign 6  
 His all-too-human creeds.....

Pius IX came to the throne, thanks to an accidental suspension of the Hapsburg veto, sentimentally inclined to liberal politics (his social background was not unlike Cavour's) but sharply aware that this profound antagonism made his pontificate a great crisis in the history

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5. Ibid., pp.310-1

6. M.Arnold, Obermann Once More. "Above all", Henry James remarked of him, "he is the poet of his age." What we should remark of him is his key role in shaping England's system of national education between 1851 and 1886.

of dogma. Older heresies had taken subject and predicate direct from Christianity, but challenged the Christian copula, as Arius refused to predicate God of Christ or Luther God-given of the Papacy or the Mass. But secularist liberalism, by attacking the conceptions of God as creator, of religion as objective verity and imperative obligation, of the supernatural, of mystery, and hence of revelation and dogma, - by this attack it tended to take away the very possibility of making meaningfully the sort of proposition faith is.<sup>7</sup> The first major document of his pontificate, Qui Pluribus, 9 November, 1846, put in the clearest terms this Pope's conception of his pontificate as a mission to combat the ideas of those who never ceased to extol the power of human reason, and insist on its incompatibility with

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7. "As for the new Academicians, whom Varro avouches to hold no certainty but this, that all things are uncertain, the Church of God detests these doubts as madness": so Augustine (City of God. Everyman trans., vol. ii. p.256.) The best Scholastic refutation of agnosticism is probably Garrigou - R. Lagrange, De Revelations, Rome, 1950, vol. i. pp. 206-299. The most celebrated treatment in English is Newman's discourses on The Scope and Nature of University Education, especially the first three and the last. Australians have done work of value in this field. A. Woodbury's Defensive Metaphysics, circulated in roneo only, has received high praise abroad; and see also T. Muldoon's De Deo Uno, Rome, 1958.



Christian belief; who took Catholicism to be a human invention, and attacked it as the enemy of "progress."<sup>8</sup> He might almost have been thinking of Lang, Lowe and Parkes. And so when the Syllabus of Errors finally appeared in 1864, the Sydney Morning Herald owned that it captured the "spirit of the age," and declared that "it would have been impossible for the most ardent and most skilful opponent of the Romish Church to draw up a more complete and exhaustive bill of indictment against that institution as a friend of darkness and the enemy of light;"<sup>9</sup> thus it unintentionally vindicated the Pontiff's realism. But he was as ~~consistent~~ as he was realistic; indeed, had the Herald examined its own files, it would have found in the issue for 3 August, 1847, the sane prediction that the liberal rhapsodists about the liberal Pope were in for disenchantment.

Such a man was the acknowledged leader, the spokesman of the innermost faith, of the Catholic world at this

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8. Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum, Barcelona, 1947, 1634 - 6.
9. S.M.H. 20 March, 1865. "The eighty points which the Pope condemns...include...all the fundamental axioms on which European life is now based." - Cf E. Eyck Bismarck and the German Empire, London, 1950, pp. 202-3. A correspondent in the Freeman's Journal 21 June, 1865 also made this point.

critical juncture. The politics of it he left to the earthy, cynical Antonelli; the dogma was his concern. Ardent, trenchant, he had little flare for tact or tactics; and tended to read international affairs into the terms of analysis supplied by those Papal States whose boundaries he had never crossed. Here we find the explanation of his failure to emphasise the friendly distinctions that commonsense - not to mention Pecci, Newman, Ozanam - must make.<sup>10</sup> For in Rome, Lavigerie reported to Napoleon III, most of the people were "either devoted to the Pope, or attached by interest to the present regime, or at least indifferent as to how they are governed."<sup>11</sup> The degree of popular political education achieved by O'Connell and the Irish priesthood was something outside Pius's experience; and in practice (and this greatly affected Australia, in the van as it was of political liberalism) they must find their way by their own light till Pius died and Pecci succeeded him. At the same time, Lavigerie went on, "the most

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10. In proposition 55 of the Syllabus, for instance, - Church and State must be separated - we distinguish must: As a categorical imperative, I deny; as a conditional imperative (the most prudent course given men as they are), I concede. Some other such distinctions are suggested by E.E.Y. Hales in his Pio Nono, London, 1954, pp. 275-6.
11. J.M. Thomson Louis Napoleon and the Second Empire, Oxford, 1954, p.200 et. seq.



active, influential, and, it must be admitted, the most intelligent part of the population is radically opposed to the Temporal Power, and since the two things get mixed up in their minds are declared enemies also of the religious and spiritual power of the Holy Father." Here, liberalism was jobs for the boys with a vengeance, as the Republic proved; and "personal interest," Lavignerie reported, "combines in various degrees with patriotism, anti-clericalism, and love of progress to give this party close cohesion and real power."<sup>12</sup> It was in the face of this not particularly scrupulous faction that Pius declined to isolate the honest intentions for human betterment expressed by the slogan Liberty, Equality, Progress.<sup>13</sup> The Catholics who cherished these values had to find their own way, in fear and trembling; Pecci had years away from the centre of power; Newman narrowly escaped condemnation, thanks (as he never knew) to the intervention of a prelate he thought illiberal, Cullen;<sup>14</sup> Acton and Dollinger, by their intemperate agitation, precipitated the publication of the Syllabus.

Yet to mark the essential unanimity, we should note that it was Pecci who had originally suggested a Syllabus

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12. Thompson, loc. cit.

13. Hales, Pio Nono, p.259, p.274, on how the Italian situation coloured the Syllabus.

14. The evidence, Dr. E.M. O'Brien tells me, is in the Dublin archives.





of modern errors, as early as 1849.<sup>15</sup> This unanimity becomes clear if we see, what it is so important for us to see, that the Church's insistence on control of the whole school curriculum is the same thing in principle as its pronouncement of the Syllabus condemnations. The Idea often claimed, and does still, that it was not hostile to true Christianity, or to some religion-beyond-the-religions. Or argued, as we find it in the Sydney Morning Herald, that though "one-ness in religion is impossible," still "why shall there not be one-ness in secular or ordinary education?" Was it not - and here the hint of 1984 - the aim of education to "secure common mental resemblance?"<sup>16</sup> But what this school called reasoning the Church called sophistry; if it was to inculcate true faith the Church must be in a position to protect its disciple against invalid reasoning at key points. The denial of miracles, of human immortality and freewill, the methodical distortion of history, such logic infected the air, and religious neutrality in education meant surrendering the schoolroom to its empire. Hence, as Polding said at the beginning of 1851, and his

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15. R. Corrigan. The Church and the Nineteenth Century. Milwaukee, 1938, p.177.

16. Freeman's Journal 24 September, 1864 (excerpt from a series printed in S.M.H. at this date).

opponents said the same, the choice of a school was not a matter of more or less secular knowledge for more or less cash, but a matter of life or death for the spirit.<sup>17</sup> And when they defined in Council in 1870 the relations between faith and reason in language so pregnant and luminous, the bishops of the world were doing no more than make explicit the principles behind their prudential decisions in the matter of education in the generation prior to 1870.<sup>18</sup> The bias of "neutral" education had

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17. Ibid. 16 January, 1851. Among his opponents, let us add, Parkes said no less. "Darkness or Light - which is to conquer?" was the Empire's heading, 13 October 1851, a propos the Papal aggression with which Parkes chose to link Cullen's policy on the godless colleges and Longmore's candidature for the Legislative Council.
18. Some English accounts of the transactions of the Council - those of Acton, Trevelyan, Bury and Woodward - are so tendentious (seeing the Council from Dollinger's viewpoint, as a tactic for steam-rolling through a definition of Papal infallibility, and representing this as somehow compensation for lost territory) and inaccurate (based on hearsay, not on eye-witness) that they are of little value. Without going outside the sources of this essay, we have abundant eye-witness evidence, of a very different tendency, in the Vatican diaries of Gould (Moran, p.803 et. seq.); indeed, these celebrated English historians ignore the numerous Irish prelates at the Council, formed in the school of Dr. Murray, who turned Maynooth's teaching to favour Papal Infallibility. (Ullathorne's letters on the Council, since published, are another source we must not now neglect.) There is a brief account in Hales, Pio Nono, p.293 et. seq. The institutes on Faith and Reason are the Council's main achievement, the definition of infallibility - not more binding - unintelligible except as part of this argument. And it was the Bishops of the world, fresh from their encounter with the world-wide education crisis, who personally assumed responsibility for these definitions. Cont emporary Catholic distrust of the Times's (London) hearsay account of the Council will be found voiced in Advocate, 30 April, 1870.

already become quite clear, by that stage, in its choice of text-books, the tendentious exclusion of Catholic authors and themes.<sup>19</sup> "In a couple of generations... through the missionary influence of the State Schools, a new body of state doctrine and theology will grow up",<sup>20</sup> So the wind blew. But the Council, reciprocally, toughened the fibre of the Bishops' arguments, and on his return from it, Goold put the issue sharply: How "a new sect called unsectarian" (the Advocate's words), "with a view hostile to the faith and teaching of the Church", "by mere numbers, overriding the rights of conscience",<sup>21</sup> carried on a war against Christianity under the form of education administration.<sup>22</sup> The Irish bishops used language harder still, and echoing it Vaughan was to shock non-Catholic opinion in New South Wales: "godless education....subversive not only of religion and morality, but also of domestic peace, of the rights of property, and of all social order."<sup>23</sup>

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19. For Australian examples, see the correspondence in the S.M.H. 26 November, 1867, and succeeding issues to 11 December, 1867, especially this last, and again 17 December, 1867. Cf. Freeman's Journal 10 August, 1859 that the National Schools "have carefully eschewed a single extract from Catholic writers on all and every subject."
20. Quoted by A.G.L. Shaw, The Story of Australia, London, 1955, p. 147.
21. Advocate, 3 February, 1872.
22. Ibid, 13 February, 1875.
23. Ibid, 3 February, 1872.



11. Features of the Conflict in Australia, 1840 - 1860.

Everything favoured the Liberty-Progress religion in Australia: the newness of the environment, the rapid amelioration of conditions, the smallness and random recruitment of the population, the want of institutionalised traditions, the premium colonial life set on adaptability, and on the application of up-to-date- techniques. Note particularly this last factor. The slump of the early 'forties was close-linked with President Jackson's quarrel with the Bank of America: Australia was from the first articulate within the international economy formed after 1815 on British investment. And in much the same fashion, it was part of the new civilisation, the words in everyday use were imported ready-loaded with the overtones and implications of a far more sophisticated milieu. It was, perhaps, hardly more than a joke when Robert Cooper told the electorate he was "no wordy theorist, but a practical utilitarian,"<sup>1</sup> or Andrew Lang that he stood for the greatest happiness of the greatest number;<sup>2</sup> but the depths were there, for those who could plumb them, as (in some measure) men like J.D. Lang, Lowe, Gipps, with Polding and Duncan among the Catholics, certainly could. Duncan, in particular, nearer than

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1. S.M.H. 2 January, 1843 (electoral advertisements).

2. Ibid.

any of them to the dynamic Idea that was reshaping Europe, opened the columns of first the Australasian Chronicle, and later the Weekly Register, to Harpur and Parkes,<sup>3</sup> men also in step with the movement of the times. The literary critic cannot be impressed by raw material like the following verses of Harpur's, but they are historical evidence, semantic evidence of value and beyond dispute:

The march of knowledge hasten,  
Charge onward and be free:  
Before are Mercy, Justice, Truth,  
Our standard-bearers three!<sup>4</sup>

Liberty moves in the best circles; mercy, justice, truth, knowledge. Progress is there, disguised by the metaphors of "march," "charge," And Harpur was Australian born of convict stock.

The abstractions in question are saturated with New Testament associations, and I daresay drew much of their rhetorical impetus from this source. Contrast the conception of knowledge, freedom, and the rest, implied in the Church's condemnation, between 1846 and 1864, of the

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3. Australasian Chronicle. 22 February, 1841, 31 January, 1843; Weekly Register, 27 July, 1844, 28 September 1844, 30 November, 1844. Mr. Michael Roe has told me he shares my opinion of Duncan's quality and significance.
4. Australasian Chronicle. 31 January, 1843.

following propositions as numbered in the Syllabus of Errors of 8 December, 1864,<sup>5</sup> -- noting that these were duly communicated to the Catholics of the colonies as they were promulgated - <sup>6</sup> and remembering, furthermore, that the Roman Church deems its present state and mind at any time to be the one thoroughly reliable commentary on the New Testament:

- 3: Human reason, irrespective of God, is the one judge of truth and error, good and evil, is its own law, and is enough of itself to secure the good of individuals and societies.
- 7: The prophecies and miracles expounded and recounted in sacred scripture are poetic constructions, and the mysteries of Christian belief are the pinnacle of philosophical investigation; both Testaments contain mythological material.
- 10: Philosophy (as distinct from philosophers) neither can nor ought to submit to any authority whatever.
- 12: The decrees of the Apostolic See and Roman Congregations hinder the free advance of knowledge.

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- 5. Denzinger 1703, 1707, 1710, and so on. The translation, not literal, but not misleading (I trust), is my own. I have chosen out these propositions as particularly ~~a propos~~ <sup>relevant</sup> in the colonies.

Verbum Sapienti: to condemn a proposition is to assert its logical contradictory, not its contrary. For example, to deny that Church and State must be separated is to assert no more than that they can sometimes be joined, lawfully.

- 6. Instance Sydney Chronicle. 16 June, 1847, Freeman's Journal. 7 November, 1850, 16 April, 1853. The complete text was given by Sydney Morning Herald 22 March 1865 and Freeman's Journal of 25 March 1865.



- 13: The method and principles used by the Scholastics in their theology are out of touch with the needs of our times and the progress of the sciences.
- 16: Men can find the path of eternal salvation, and eternal salvation itself, in any religious system.
- 45: The whole regimen of the public schools, in which the Christian youth of any state is instructed, excepting only certain episcopal seminaries, can and must be assigned to the state, and be so assigned, moreover, that no other body is empowered to interfere with the discipline, the curriculum and grades, or the choice and approval of teachers.
- 55: Church and State must be separated.
- 60: Authority consists in nothing but coercion, and strength of numbers.
- 77: It no longer suits the times that the Catholic religion should enjoy a unique standing to the exclusion of all others.
- 80: The Roman Pontiff can and must come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilisation.

The issue was far from being something remote and academic for Australia's Catholics. Polding, indeed, anticipated Pius when, discussing Spain's tribulations, he spoke of "infidelity, under the specious name of liberality."<sup>7</sup> It was, perhaps, hard to see anything so sinister in Harpur, friendly to the Catholics, his soul "raying like a star,"<sup>8</sup> and wanting a woman, in the romantic manner,

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7. Moran, p.436.

8. Sydney Chronicle, 27 November, 1847.

not for the zest  
It lends to passion's gust,  
But that I might on nature's breast  
Repose in blander trust.<sup>9</sup>

Too intoxicated with fancy's brave new world to see that the heart of man is desperately wicked, even in Australia, he represented the current of political romanticism, the carnivorous dream (against which the Syllabus was aimed point-blank) of a perfectly rational society to which, in modern times, the chance of a tolerable society has been more than once sacrificed:

And in this Southern Land there yet shall be  
A race begotten in the Spirit of Beauty....

But the Chronicle's one quarrel with the bard occurred when McEn~~oe~~, inheriting him from Duncan, failed to obtain his prior consent to the editor's improvements of his diction, in a poem he wrote on the wrongs of Ireland.<sup>10</sup> Carmichael, however, was more obviously menacing, given the choice of words in his inaugural address to the School of Arts in 1844: religion's "unseen communings with the UNKNOWN and inconceivable author of all" - priests as those who "make known to

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9. Ibid. 4 February, 1843.  
10. Ibid. 25 May, 1844 - Later, note, Harpur stuck to Parkes, and the Empire - Cf. Emp. 25 September, 1851, 12 September, 1856 (the iambs cited).

less favoured, and less PRESUMPTUOUS mortals the special messages of heaven" - philosophy "omnipotent to the regeneration of the race."<sup>11</sup> O Condorcet! O Feuerbach! O Robert Owen! An unknown God can hardly have a cult, nor a presumptuous priesthood command a following; but an omnipotent philosophy has a rosy future. Here it was at last, our new religion, all our own work. Lowe was another of its acolythes. For a year, most of it under his editorship, the Atlas conducted a sometimes brilliant campaign against Broughton, a tireless derogation of his motives: contending, for instance, that the Bishop of Australia opposed the squatters because "concentration may depress the Colony, but it will elevate the hierarchy," that he opposed a National Schools System, because, though "Religion would benefit," "the hierarchy would not."<sup>12</sup> Nor did the Atlas's virulence spare the Roman clergy. In the course of an angry serial campaign against Puseyism during the year of

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11. Ibid. 13 July, 1844. Duncan, on the same topic, Weekly Register 6 July, 1844, showed no such discrimination. - G. Nadel makes a swan of this goose in his Australia's Colonial Culture, p.113. et. seq., p.260. et. seq.
12. Atlas. 1844-5, p.277. Lowe resigned the editorship in favour of Martin at the end of May 1845 (see Port Phillip Patriot 4 June, 1845) but there was no obvious change of style and policy. As late, indeed, as the Sconce-Makinson conversion in 1848, it had not greatly changed.



grace 1845, aimed, of course, at Broughton, it went so far as to prefer the existing Protestant exclusivism of the English universities, rather than grant entry to Catholicism and its "factitious life." Let Protestant England be on its guard against that Church crying "liberty of education."<sup>13</sup> While talk of Christianity as "a scheme of universal applicability, instead of a bed of Procrustes" was there, as if to guarantee that the anti-clericalism was metaphysics, not mere politics.<sup>14</sup> It is, however, a commentary on the shallowness of human judgement that both Lowe and Polding seem, at this stage, <sup>each</sup> to have taken Broughton to be their most formidable adversary.

1848 put an end to this particular misconception. In the colony, a National System was introduced; and thenceforth the technical details of education administration - horarium, syllabus and text book, teacher qualification and inspection, salaries and fees - were the terms in which the great debate between Christian dogma and the new anti-dogmatic was carried on in Australia; and, on the religious side, the Catholics

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13. Ibid. p.640.

14. Ibid. p.276. - In 1848 a letter by "A Protestant Englishman," refused by the Herald, and printed by the Atlas 26 February, 1848, announced that "the Holy Father...is destroying (Holy faith) by the liberal line of policy...a Line of Rail - hence, knowledge and freedom will be conveyed to a degenerated and chain-bound race."

showed most clarity and energy on the points at issue. Broughton, of course, lost credit over the Sconce-Makinson affair, and again over the Beamish-Russell scandal,<sup>15</sup> and no later Protestant leader could fill his boots. But beyond these narrow horizons the great political commotion in Europe highlighted what was at stake. When in 1848-9, "the capital of the Christian world" was "for a time in the hands of the Romans," giving them an opportunity to examine "the secret cabinets of villainy and the ledgers of conspiracy against the rights of human nature," the Catholics of Australia sensed the role of the Temporal Power as a symbol and tool of the Church's liberty and gave the Pope moral and financial support.<sup>16</sup> The destruction of the Temporal Power

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15. S.M.H. 30 June, 1849 (three pages on the subject!) See Ibid. 5 June 1849 for the beginnings.
16. Hobart Town Courier, 17 November 1849; for Catholic support, Ibid. 25 July, 1849, and Sydney Chronicle 20 April, 1848. For impact of 1848 on Australian public opinion cf. S.M.H. 14 July, 1848; as regards the Papacy, Ibid. 21 July 1848. But note especially the moral drawn by William Lane in Ibid. 13 March 1849: France, Italy, etc., yearning for religious liberty. What such opinion ignored, and has, in secular-liberal historians, continued to ignore ever since, is the Church's prudent unwillingness to change a system which, whatever its defects, did guarantee the person of the Pope (so essential to a monarchical system) and, on paper at least, afford him some financial security. It can be construed as resistance to democracy, only on the supposition that the Church ought to be organised along different lines. But it did, of course, cross the purposes of Italian nationalism.



during the long reign of Pius was in effect a dramatic transition to voluntarism on a global scale, and the Australian Catholics did not fail to read the lesson.

The Patrimony of Saint Peter continued for a generation to play this role in the life of Australian (as of other transmarine) Catholics. They again showed their loyalty by their subscription to the Papal Relief Fund, £30,000, when the City was assaulted by Garibaldi;<sup>17</sup> the proscription of the Irish Brigade by the British Government no doubt did much to promote this striking testimony.<sup>18</sup> Here, as overseas, there was some confusion concerning the Temporal Power. Whereas a Catholic might treat it as an essential of the Church, an anti-Catholic press might foretell the gain to the Church when it ceased to be encumbered by a petty Italian principality.<sup>19</sup> Polding, however, put his finger on

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17. Freeman's Journal, 2 November, 1861. At a time when Australian affairs can hardly have consoled Pius, Judge Therry, retired, was able to discuss them with him in the happy light of this munificence: see Ibid. 27 March, 1861. The party anticipated Polding, Freeman's Journal, 8 February, 1860.
18. Ibid. 11 July, 1860, 19 December, 1860. Gould had a public mass said for its fallen.
19. S.M.H. 19 December, 1867. But Pius IX described the unsigned pamphlet (actually by Napoleon III), which seems to have given this argument its currency, as "un insigne monument d'hypocrisie et un ignoble tissu de paradoxes." See J.M. Thompson Louis Napoleon and the Second Empire, p.200. - For a Catholic treating the Temporal Power as a matter of religion, see Freeman's Journal, 16 March, 1861. The Emperor's pamphlet circulated in translation in these colonies, The Pope and the Congress, Hobart, 1860.



the quick of the matter when he bade his flock not to let "the plea of needful reform, and of discontented subjects," distract them from the fact that it was true religion, not its trappings, that was under fire; and went on to forecast a day very soon "when the very principle of authority, and its divine sanction, will be recognised only in the Church."<sup>20</sup> It would, I think, be very unjust to indict the Australian defenders of the Temporal Power for confusing sacred and profane. The Yass Catholics, under Bermingham's guidance, were very specific that what was being defended in 1860 was not precisely Christianity, but "civilization against anarchy - rational liberty against licentiousness - vested rights against robbery - virtue against vice:"<sup>21</sup> secular values all, even ~~the~~ values not conspicuously well secured amid the jobbery, mendicancy, and brigandage of the Papal States.<sup>22</sup> Bermingham, we should note,

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20. Freeman's Journal. 11 July, 1860. See also Ibid. 31 March, 1860 on the Papacy as the anchor of the monarchical principle.

21. Ibid., 22 August, 1860.

22. D.A. Binchy, Church and State in Fascist Italy, London, 1941, Chapter I, gives a moderate account of the Papal administration, which was, in the period of the Risorgimento, very largely in lay hands. Antonelli himself was a cleric only in a technical sense, neither priest nor celibate. Hales, op.cit., pp.28-32 and appendix, paints a more distinctly favourable picture. Neither leaves much of Trevelyan or Woodward standing.

was actually quoted by Montalembert on the celebrated occasion at Malines which hastened in the Syllabus.<sup>23</sup> However they might differ on other points, men like Pius, Polding and Bermingham were at one on the Temporal Power; the patrimony built up in no small part by the wars and diplomacy of some of history's least edifying prelates was no part of the Christian religion;<sup>24</sup> but those who sought its destruction, particularly after Cavour's death (1861), openly expected that the Papal authority itself would follow.<sup>25</sup> It was a broken and ambiguous tool of the Church's liberties, but scarcely an ambiguous symbol; yet none of the powers seriously proposed to do anything but leave the Pope at the mercy of the Italian government. The historian

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23. "O'Brien," In Diebus, A.C.R. 1943, p.125. (Mechlin is Malines). For the Conference in relation to the Syllabus see Moody, J. (ed.), Church and State, New York, 1953, p.293
24. Binchy, loc. cit. nicely collocates Pius VIII's discourse of 11 July, 1808, on the need for a Temporal Sovereignty to give the Papacy freedom of action, with Pius IX's on 26 March, 1862, making clear that no point of faith is involved.
25. Polding wrote from Rome in 1866, to Jane Therry (Roger's daughter, a nun), of how everybody there was expecting "a general massacre of Cardinals, Bishops and Priests, of all who by profession are deemed the enemies of "progress", the grand word of the day." From a paper on Archbishop Polding in the Catholic Historical Society's archives, author unnamed, but probably J. McGovern.

with a sense of humour, however, cannot but be amused to see in Rome after 1870 the Divine Irony's comment on the nineteenth century and the religion of liberty: the Papacy alone among those claiming earthly sovereignty grounding its power on nothing but the free consent of the governed.



iii. The Three Phases of the Catholic Attitude.

We can speak of three phases in the Catholic approach to liberalism in Australia. The tendency is for the community, like the individual, to grow out of the first into the second, and ripen into the third.

The first phase has as its obverse the ghetto mind. "It is an evil thought which I have reluctantly entertained, but I cannot for truth's sake withhold it," one Scotus told the Herald, "that the disposition of the Irish in this country (generally, I say, for I know exceptions) is to keep all their good will amongst themselves, and to do nothing for a Protestant native or Englishman, but in exact and measured proportion to payment."<sup>1</sup> The rest of the community did something to encourage this when it argued in Broughton's words:

The objection was not to Irishmen as such, but arose upon religious grounds; those who held with him thinking that if the predominance of the faith adverse to theirs were ever established, as by the description of immigration now going on (it was 1840) it might possibly be, the toleration and freedom of their own religious worship and rights would surely be interrupted.

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1. S.M.H. 22 June, 1846. Cf North Australian 8 January, 1861: "Most of the Irish Catholics act and speak as though they were in the self-same oppressed and persecuted position as the Irish Catholics were in the days of Orange ascendancy." The Irish Catholics in Queensland are the subject of this sentence.
  2. G.W. Rusden, History of Australia, vol. II, p.209, (Second edition, Melbourne, 1908, 3 vols.)

Then the Catholics would give such fears a boost by (say) some syndicated praise of Napoleon III in their press;<sup>3</sup> and go on to cultivate their own reciprocal suspicion that toleration, only a generation old, might be withdrawn:

Once let the question be reduced to one solely between Protestantism and Catholicism, and we shall see all sects of Protestants uniting, as is their wont, to deny the Catholic faith an equal status with their own opinions.<sup>4</sup>

The reverse of this coin, was an attempt to break the vicious circle by jumping on the liberal band-wagon, arguing, Shylock-wise, that Catholicism is as good as Protestantism, in as much as it is a religion, and is Christian, two good old horses the State ought to back. Instance Curr's "Let no man support me because I am a Catholic, or on any religious basis narrower than Christianity itself,"<sup>5</sup> in 1843, or his zeal for advancing "all forms of Christianity"<sup>6</sup> in 1848, as though Catholicism and Christianity were distinguished as species and genus. - And in this phase,

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3. Freeman's Journal, 3 February, 1853.

4. Ibid., 19 October, 1859.

5. Australasian Chronicle, 23 March, 1843.

6. (Melbourne) Observer, 5 October, 1848.

state aid to religion was not yet clearly distinguished from state aid to religious education.

How far this sort of apologetic was from the mind of Pius IX in Qui Pluribus; how far also, from the mind of Newman, in a passage of his Present Position of Catholics, 1851, highlighted by W.B. Dalley, during the education controversy of 1879-1880.<sup>7</sup> If Catholicism is no better than Protestantism it can ask only the State's toleration, or indulgence; but in fact it considers the state bound to favour it (though this favour does not necessarily take the form of money). For its claim is unique, by virtue of its continuous identity since Abraham, its ubiquity and unity and strength, its exalted yet practising moral idealism and evident congruity with man's highest aspirations and intuitions, its solidly attested miracles and unfailing fecundity in every work of mercy, its intellectual and aesthetic riches, its freedom from class and race prejudice.<sup>8</sup>

Catholic citizenship was bound, therefore, to mature; and to do so more particularly in terms of

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7. Dalley, W.B., An Address to the Catholics of New South Wales on the Education Question, Sydney, 1879. p8.  
 8. Compare Dalley, loc. cit., and Qui Pluribus (Denzinger 1638).



Leo XIII's fine dictum, Man is older than the State. The claim to state financial backing for religious organizations was waived; but education was seen as a different question. The Catholics' claim to an education subsidy was grounded in their presumed contribution to consolidated revenue (one rather hostile economic historian has represented to me that in view of the available statistics on liquor consumption, this was proportionally high in the era of indirect taxation!); for the duty of the individual to follow conscience, and of the parent to educate the child, are far prior to any duty of the state to tax for education, or determine its character. Here Catholics were squarely met by eminent liberals like M. Arnold, Mill, Gladstone, and (in his riper days, as the imperialist and champion of universal education) Lowe; in the colonies, by men like Badham and Moorhouse.<sup>9</sup> For here the Catholic was at one with the genius of

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9. Dalley, op.cit., p.25 et seq. collates their views. It is in my opinion an able pamphlet. - That the "liberals" themselves had used this argument from contributions to revenue is evidenced by J. Gregory in his article, Church and State in Victoria 1851-1872, in Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand May 1953 pp. 372-3; it was used to mobilise Free Church opinion against state subsidies to religious education.

liberalism, the truth it held captive, namely, the supreme dignity of the individual human person in the cosmos. And as Polding told himself, "no Church founded in truth can perish under this fair state of things," free competition in ideas.<sup>10</sup> But there was a tendency in this kind of Catholic liberalism to be just a little too sanguine. Duncan was close to Acton, and not so far from Lamennais, when he said he was content to send Catholic children to National Schools because

All parties with whom we have to deal are perfectly agreed on the general principles of Literature, Physics, Metaphysics, and Ethics. They also agree perfectly as to Natural Religion and the History of Revelation.<sup>11</sup>

And in the event, the Catholics' arguments against a monopoly of revenue by state education were overruled because Australia's professed liberals had other axes to grind, free thought, free churchmanship, and the rest.

There had consequently to be a third phase: toleration. Religious toleration is no exercise for sceptics. It is a rare fusion of intellectual discipline, prudence and concern for the common good, that enables a man who knows he is certainly right

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10. J. Kenny, Progress of Catholicity, p.95

11. Weekly Register, 3 February, 1844.

on grave questions to live on friendly terms with those he must insist are certainly wrong.<sup>12</sup> But Christian perfection requires no less: "Have salt in you: and have peace among you."<sup>13</sup> - Christ coupled the two precepts. And to this delicate equilibrium within the soul and in society, therefore, a Christian schooling in the liberal era tends, amid all the nosism, dilution and leakage,<sup>14</sup> as to a remote but attainable ideal; some redolence of it freshens the stuffiest moments. This needs emphasis, not because it is possible to compile statistics on how far Christians have realised this relationship of theirs to an agnostic age, but because it brings out the meaning of Catholicism and its *raison d'etre*. It is a school in Christian living; not all the students pass and few get honours. Now naturalistic explanations do not explain the propagation, the stability, the loftiness, and the matter-of-factness

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12. For Bishop England on this theme, cf. F.J. 15 January, 1842, 25 March, 1843. It is of some moment to appreciate the ecclesiastical sense that went along with a conviction of Ireland's privileged vocation in this man's mind.

13. Mark ch. 9, v.49.

14. There are some statistical and descriptive data on leakage in nineteenth century Australia: the Bishops' 1885 Pastoral, in Moran, pp.692-9; the fact that in 1880 less than one third of the Catholic children of school age attended Catholic schools; and that judging from the 1911 Federal Census possibly forty percent or more marriages involving Australian Catholics prior to Ne Temere were mixed. See Appendix A.



of this school, taken altogether. The Roman Catholic community is there to bear witness to revealed truths about God and man; and whatever its faults, which have on occasion been gross, though never more so than those of men at large, its witness is unequivocal, at least for those who will listen - the doctrines of God, immortality, freewill, our supernatural destiny, the rule of morals, do not go by default, for this community's views on them are always sufficiently well known. Hence the hostility to Catholicism of those who wish to assert human autonomy. The injustice of the penal measures this hostility leads to - and this applies to the Australian colonies' education legislation - is not precisely that they penalise a minority, large or small, but that they potentially penalise every honest citizen, since his very honesty may well in time be rewarded by the <sup>fullness</sup> ~~gift~~ of faith.

The assumption, however, was successfully imposed on our public life in the course of the very crisis we are dealing with, that one religion is as sure as another, for certitude is not for us, and hence each religion is equally unsure, indeed, to some extent arbitrarily asserted by its proponent. It is a long-run vindication of the Australian Catholics'

stand on education in the last century that their grandsons have composed work of quality in answer to this unwarranted assumption.<sup>15</sup> But their arguments have not yet entered the main stream of our civilisation. For at the time, reflecting the destruction of the Catholic university system by the French Revolution, the Catholic body which argued with such polish against Anglicanism was relatively unprepared for agnosticism. Polding's course in metaphysics at Downside leaned heavily on Reid and his doctrine of common sense;<sup>16</sup> thus making the best of a bad job, no doubt, but leaving many questions unanswered. Hence it was that it could be plausibly asserted, even taken for granted,<sup>17</sup> that the advocates

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15. See Section ii, footnote 8 above.

16. Ullathorne, Autobiography, p.42. "At that time," he says (p.47), "St. Thomas was little known in practice on this side of the Alps, except in quotations." F.J. 29 August, 1850, suggested that Hamilton's edition of Reid should be used as the basic text for the University metaphysics course when it was set up.

17. It is very nearly a commonplace. Cf. R.M. Crawford, Australia, London, 1952, p.136; A.G.L. Shaw, The Story of Australia, London, 1955, p.146; J. Gregory Church and State in Victoria, 1851-1872, p.376-7; K. Inglis, Catholic Historiography in Australia. Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand, November 1958, p.252. But of these it is Mr. Gregory only who provides detailed argument directly on the point at issue. Contrast with his thesis, G.W. Rusden, History of Australia, 1907 edition, vol. ii, p.370, et. seq., vol. iii, p.379, et. seq.; also C.M.H. Clark, Select Documents in Australian History, vol. ii, sect. 4, III passim and pp. 661-2 (Sydney, 1955); and the same author's Sources, p.355 et. seq. and my quotations in the text. F.J. for



of secular liberalism, in imbuing Australian education with their tenets, were free of anti-Catholic bias. Of animus, in certain cases, perhaps; but not of bias. Under cover of agnosticism, and in the name of universal education, the state fosters a sort of mock-religion compounded of poetic sentiment and nationalistic hagiography. If this is sound thinking, Catholicism is unthinkable - and here was an explicit premise of much of the secularisers' reasoning. "The vain, glorious, unseemly and undignified anxiety, shown by (Polding) for precedence in point of rank," said Parkes's Empire, "is indicative of the general policy of his church":

But the most dangerous manifestation of that policy is to be found in his strong and continued opposition to the system of National Education....To the Protestant portion of the constituency, therefore, do we now appeal.... to unite in checking the encroachments of those who....would reconduct us back to the dark and dreary intellectual waste, from which three centuries of advancing science and intelligence have delivered us, as we hope and trust, for ever.<sup>18</sup>

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17. (cont'd). 10 August, 1859 had occasion to note the anti-Papal slant of the Empire's irreligion - the caricature of ceremonies (there is an example in Empire 6 July, 1858), failure to distinguish Temporal from Spiritual Power.
18. Empire, 7 August, 1851. Parkes was writing against Longmore's candidacy. Cf. J. Gregory, loc. cit., quoting Argus of 1867: "Nothing remains but for the State to refuse to concern itself with religious teaching in any form," and then the clincher: "let us leave behind us all the superstitious nonsense of the old world."



"Ardour for Education," wrote Dalley, confronted with such argumentation, "but thinly disguises their antagonism to religion."<sup>19</sup> There was a profound antagonism between dogma and secular liberalism, no less in Australia than elsewhere, and the champions of the latter knew perfectly well the implications, for all the traditional religious bodies, of what they were doing. Stephen, for instance, "hoped his system would stamp out not only denominationalism in schools, but every other 'ism' in religion, even Presbyterianism"; he "would spend so much in bricks and mortar that it would be impossible for any government to undo his work" (and so he did).<sup>20</sup> Stephen crowned the efforts of Lang, Lowe, Parkes, Mucalister, Higinbotham, Buchanan, to design a community in which, as they well knew, the Catholics, very particularly, were once more forced to swim against the main stream of legislation and opinion. No longer subjected to the civic obliteration of the Protestant era, the Catholics, though grateful to a point, complained steadily - complaint was their witness that "this is the stone which was rejected by

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19. Dalley, The Education Question, p. 20.

20. Rusden, History of Australia, vol. iii, pp. 383-5.  
I like that "even."

you the builders, neither is there salvation in any other."<sup>21</sup> In giving at length Montalembert at Malines in 1863, on the evils of the day, - "the infatuation of Utopian dreams, the depraved worship of immoral success....the vogue of unlimited publicity gained by everything which attacks the dogmas or the morals of Christianity,"<sup>22</sup> the Freeman carried his epitome of a Christian's constructive distrust of democracy:

The more men give themselves liberty on earth, the more they must bind themselves with regard to Heaven. If they have not faith they must needs be servants; and if they are free, they must needs believe.<sup>23</sup>

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21. Acts, ch.4, vv. 11 and 12.

22. F.J. 23 December, 1863.

23. F.J. 26 December, 1863. Montalembert takes it from De Tocqueville.

iv. National Versus Denominational Education.

It was chiefly through the schoolroom that the Idea infiltrated; and the course of the education debate in Australia is a good warning to us, never to imagine an idea is not present merely because it is imperfectly articulate. The National System proved a nurse of practical naturalism and indifferentism, determining by its omissions the bias of the next generation towards secularism. "Espouse the cause of a national education.....and this is to will the triumph of rationalism."<sup>1</sup> Its advocates set to work immediately on the election of the new representative assembly, 1843, Lang and Lowe the leading spokesmen; and their activities came to a head, if that is the word, in a Select Committee, chaired by Lowe, which sat in the winter of 1844. Polding sensed an aggressive secularism in its terms of reference. That it concentrated on mere literacy "does manifest an indifference on

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1. F.J. 24 March, 1855 (reprod. from London Tablet).  
 And Cf. Second Annual Report of the Central Council of the Catholic Association, Sydney, 1869, p. 14.



the most important points, which is really lamentable,"<sup>2</sup> he told the Committee; "the cream of the joke," he told his "dear Hepton", "is that none of the Committee understand what education is."<sup>3</sup> The Catholic interest as such was not represented on the Committee, since R. Therry and Plunkett were committed to promote the Irish System. But Polding was naturally called as a witness.

A great part of his evidence<sup>4</sup> concerned comparatively uncontentious, semi-technical matters - thus he favoured Pestalozzi (though this, of course, was something of a concession to Rousseau; but the Archbishop certainly had no Jansenism in him); there should not be too many children under one teacher, it would be premature to attempt, by boarding schools or itinerant teachers, to meet the needs of the out-back children; the Government should hesitate to make education compulsory, but could make literacy a condition of the franchise; teachers' salaries should

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2. Votes and Proceedings, N.S.W. Legislative Council, 1844. Vol. 2. The Committee's hearings begin on p.449 of the whole, but have their own internal pagination. This quotation, p.44.
  3. Birt ii, p.80.
  4. 9 July, 1844. Committee hearings (see note 2 above) loc. cit. For Polding's private disapproval of the Irish system by now, Birt ii, p.82.

be fixed (that is, not dependent on voluntary contributions) and adequate; the controlling board should be lay, honorary, representative of all the main divisions of religious opinion, but served by a paid secretary, and all its expenses met. Elsewhere, particularly under interrogation by Lang (who rather enjoyed his position on this occasion),<sup>5</sup> he sought to counter some common Protestant assumptions: no, Prussia and Sweden were not his ideal; yes, the Bible should be read daily - in the family. When it came to the real point and object of the Committee, which was to recommend the Irish System, Polding was still reluctant to condemn it outright in public, though he did so in private. Reflecting his bargaining position, that in Saint Mary's Seminary he could provide a solid secondary education for as many of his flock as were likely to want it,<sup>6</sup> he was concerned to distinguish the needs at different levels: at the primary level, state support, and absolutely no separation of religious from secular education; but at the secondary level, the school to confine itself to intellectual formation, leaving parent and

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5. J.D. Lang, Popery in Australia. p.7.

6. Moran, p.239.

clergy to supply religious formation, and putting the state under no obligation to finance secondary schooling. Likewise, he conceded that the National System should foster mutual understanding (the argument Duncan had put before the Committee,<sup>7</sup> and was propounding in the Register); he rejected it for Australia because de facto the parents were too apathetic and clergy too few. When it came to the trump card of the secularisers, that none but a non-denominational scheme was financially feasible in the outback, he could only "hope," hedge, speak of "some plan or other."

Meanwhile, McEncroe put his much more sharply defined views into leader after leader in the Chronicle<sup>8</sup> (plus a leader expressing fear of wearing the public by his insistence);<sup>9</sup> he now combined supervision of the schools of the Archdiocese with editorship of the paper. Probably his Irish contacts helped develop his views towards intransigent rejection

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7. Duncan, perhaps the best-informed witness, was heard on 2 July. His evidence begins on p.22 of the Committee hearings as cited. See also his Weekly Register 13 July, 1844, 3 August, 1844 and thenceforward through to September.
8. Morning Chronicle. 10 July, 1844, 20 July, 1844, 14 September, 1844.
9. *Ibid.* 7 August, 1844.



of Stanley's Irish National System; the Irish Bishops, not without some pressure from Pius, were to repudiate it in unmistakable terms at Thurles in 1850, and so determine the stand taken everywhere in the English-speaking world. But it was the vigorous propaganda of Duncan, not to add the presence in the Council of Therry and Plunkett, which forced McEncroe to reiterate that the system was not a success in Ireland, but tolerated by the clergy only in the absence of anything better. He dwelt on the principles at issue: that the parent is the first apostle of the child, and neither he nor the state can alter his obligation; and let us acquire knowledge by all means, but first things first, religious knowledge before secular and controlling it.

The Committee hearings were accompanied by a considerable agitation of public opinion. There were at least nine petitions<sup>10</sup> for and against a National System, and Gipps's count of the signatures temporarily decided the issue: against.<sup>11</sup> The

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10. Votes and Proceedings, 1844, vol.ii. p.51 et seq. Lang midwived those pro, it would seem - ~~of~~. Morning Chronicle, 7 September, 1844. Cf HRA 1, pp.232-3.

11. F.J. 20 November, 1851. McCulloch, S.C. The Attempt to Establish a National System of Education in New South Wales, 1830-1850, Pacific History Review, vol. xxviii, no. 1. February, 1959, is a good general account of the 1836 and 1844 commotions, and Fitzroy's solution.

Nationalisers were free in their assertions that McEncroe used his influence with the mob to break up their meetings.<sup>12</sup> The Catholics met on 9 September, Polding present.<sup>13</sup> Obviously the Archbishop felt that the denominationalists' cause was politically weak. While making clear the parent's inalienable right to determine the education given his child, he argued mainly round the margin of the topic, how little the Catholic Schools in New South Wales cost the state compared with the National Schools of Tasmania. It suggests that he saw the economic argument as the most formidable. He certainly had reason to fear the weakness of his own party. The recent Anglican petition against the Irish system had been tied to the great sacred cow of English-speaking Protestantism, the use of the Authorised Version; Broughton was mixing an admirable insistence that there is objective truth in religious matters

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12. S.M.H. 4 September, 1844; McEncroe's denial, 9 September, 1844. His demagogy consisted in a reference to O'Connell's trial, still a fresh wound to Ireland's hopes: the merest reference was enough. The accusations came mainly from Lang; see the accounts in Colonial Observer, 5 September, 1844.
13. Morning Chronicle, 11 September, 1844.



with "much offensive misrepresentation" of Catholic doctrine in the course of the Parramatta factory incident,<sup>14</sup> with charges of "abominable idolatry" (quite fatuously alleged of a hymn to the Blessed Virgin in which no single divine attribute was assigned her even by poetic hyperbole),<sup>15</sup> and insinuations of "Jesuitry" against the Christian Brothers who ensured much of the economy and efficiency of the Catholic schools in Sydney. Polding, therefore, in his dim prescience, was forearming his people with patience when he made his own the words of the Irish reformer-patriot bishop, Doyle ("J.K.L."):

We will waive all right to the public money, and sit like Lazarus expecting crumbs. All this we will do, only do not afflict us by interposing your authority between us and our children....You would not confide the instruction of your children to us; do not oblige us to intrust ours to you.<sup>16</sup>

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14. Morning Chron. 18 September, 1844; for the Anglican petition, Ibid. 4 September. For Broughton on Scripture, S.M.H. 8 September, 1844; and for the non-conformists, Ibid. 3 September and 6 September.
15. Morning Chron. 7 September, 1844. The best report of this interesting speech of Broughton's is S.M.H. 4 September. For another attack on the hymn, see Colonial Observer 19 September. It would be of some interest to know how many Protestants in Sydney 1844 regarded it, as the Observer did, as precisely "anti-scriptural, prophane and blasphemous in the extreme to say that the Virgin Mary is the mother of God."
16. Cf. Edwards and Williams, The Great Famine, p.58, on the bid of certain Irish bishops, led by McHale, to secure more say over National System schooling, in 1840.



Lowe brought all his anger and all his ability to bear against the Governor's decision, which he sought to prove inconsistent with the position Gipps took up in 1839; but it was the clergy who received the roughest treatment, and he made anti-clericalism, what is was to be for forty years to come, a key-point in the nationalisers' case: "the bigoted clamour against the general system has not been raised by the people, but solely by the clergy."<sup>17</sup> Duncan had given witness to the same effect.<sup>18</sup> The <sup>clergy</sup> ~~stroke~~, Parkes was to say, "not for virtue, or morality, or religion, but for power."<sup>19</sup> Twenty-two hundred years before Aristotle had diagnosed this peculiar ailment of democracy: "History shows that almost all tyrants have been demagogues who gained the favour of the people by their accusation of the notables."<sup>20</sup> But these particular demagogues had a very real argument, in the position of the rural population; and in 1848, under Fitzroy, who had toured up-country and seen for himself, two Boards were set up, Denomina-

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17. Atlas, 1844-5, p.14 (7 December, 1844; the Chronicle at the same date speaks in the opposite sense).  
 18. At the opening of his evidence, Committee hearings p.22 et. seq.  
 19. Empire, August 2, 1851.  
 20. Book V, Chapter x (Bekker 13106).

tional and National. The danger was not long hidden, - that, virtually, a new Sect had been created, commanding, at least in prospect, all the resources of the State. Plunkett lent the prestige of his name to the enterprise, as National Schools Board chairman - policy here, disarming Catholic resistance. There was, of course, no reason why a Catholic, as an Australian, should not advocate a national system for those who needed one, and could in conscience use it; but that was neither the intention nor the effect of Plunkett's presidency. While the Inspector, Rusden, though a religious man in his way, was certainly no friend of Catholicism. The Chronicle, however, professed to welcome the experiment, in the confidence that its failure would soon be apparent;<sup>21</sup> not reckoning that, as Kierkegaard remarked of income tax, the provisional arrangements of the early democratic era soon became traditional features of the liberal society, irreversible by any future majority because they fatally determined the mould in which after-generations were cast. In the Supplement to the (official) Gazette for May 10, 1848,

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21. Sydney Chronicle. 6 January, 1848.



the Commissioners, of the National System turned divines; every classroom under their supervision was to display the following exegesis of Romans xii, 18 ("Live peaceably with all men"):

Our Saviour Christ commanded his disciples to love one another. He taught them to love even their enemies, to bless those that cursed them, and to pray for those that persecuted them. He himself prayed for his murderers.

Many men hold erroneous doctrines, but we ought not to hate or persecute them. We ought to seek for the truth, and to hold fast what we are convinced is the truth;- but not to treat harshly those who are in error. Our Saviour did not intend his religion to be forced on men by violent means.

Well said, and well intended; but in effect giving Pilate the last word in theology. Once the State set itself up as exegete, it was no great step from this excursus to a Colonial Secretary telling these children's children "that a view of a profusion of green plants, and of expanded fields of blue ether, and other similar aesthetical objects, would sustain them in the hour of trial and temptation."<sup>22</sup>.

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22. Second Annual Report of the Central Council of the Catholic Association, Sydney, 1869. Whether the words are Parkes's indiscretion, or O'Connor's reportage, I have not discovered.



v. Secular Liberalism Ascendant, 1860.

During the 'fifties, it was in Sydney that the Catholics were best equipped to argue their case. The Guild Library, in Saint Patrick's Hall, in addition to standard classics like Bossuet, Locke, Leibniz, and the Irish orators, carried volumes of Dollinger, Moehler, de Maistre, Newman and Wiseman, Ward and Allies and Faber, not to forget the very respectable publications by fellow-colonists, McEncroe, Sconce, Duncan, and Ullathorne's colonial sermons.<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest issues of the Freeman<sup>2</sup> carried an account of Montalembert's able equation in the Assembly of socialism with the spirit of revolution, a defiance of authority reaching out to the very throne of God; and from this point on reprints from the Tablet and the Rambler, from Newman, Lecordaire, Ullathorne, and others, must have reinforced the impression. At a time when geology and archaeology, not yet biology and physical chemistry, were the field of battle (though it was the same battle, as In Memoriam was there to witness), Wiseman's Modern Infidelity<sup>3</sup> at the decade's end, was a landmark in

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1. F.J. 8 July, 1852
  2. Ibid. 11 July, 1850.
  3. Ibid. 20 July, 1859.

popular Catholic recognition of the ideological issues of the day. Polding had eyes and ears, and in his Lenten Pastoral for 1852 warned his people against those who "deny that God so loved the world, as to give his only begotten Son to redeem it":

They are prepared to assert that all the miracles, by which the fulfilment of the promises of God hath been proved and made manifest, are mere illusions....And Jesus Christ they are prepared to hold up and denounce as an imposter....<sup>4</sup>

Though Australia's socialists were few, and Utopian rather than scientific, the Freeman picked them out as the most virulent opponents of religious education.<sup>5</sup> The Empire, however, which opened its innings six months after the Freeman, was the most capable colonial organ of the new spirit; its first issue sparked off a definition of radicalism from the Freeman's reviewer - a tendency "to create grounds for complaint where there really are none."<sup>6</sup> The same week - it was among the ironies of this micropolis - the Freeman had to make use of the Empire's printing-presses!<sup>7</sup> But there was

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4. F.J. 26 February, 1852.

5. Leaders against socialism, *ibid*, 24 April, 1, May and 8 May, 1851. On the socialists and religious education, 27 January, 1853.

6. *Ibid.*, 2 January, 1851.

7. Autograph Letters of Notable Australians. Parkes Papers, Mitchell Library, p.482-3 - Parkes's fundamental hostility, however, was apparent later in the year with his conscientious reproduction of Gavazzi - eg. 10, 11 and 13 December.

soon open war, over National versus Denominational education, and hence over Longmore's candidacy.

The strength of secularism was much in evidence by the end of the decade. Earlier Freeman leaders on the rise of materialism and indifference had continued to treat it as a moral issue, while the secularist attack on Catholicism was hard to disengage from the Protestant. But the Empire's strident attacks on denominational education when it resumed publication after Parkes's bankruptcy, 1858-9 - here was the Idea, naked. To say that "the inculcation of religious truths should be wholly disconnected from the public educational institutions" was one thing, old stuff. But to say that "the duties of the teacher and the minister of religion are as distinct as the poles are asunder" was another; especially given the argumentation that the two offices proceed on "discordant principles - one which deals with known and demonstrable facts and truths, and the other which deals with modes of belief," or "forms of belief, about which no half-dozen men are agreed."<sup>8</sup> Pure Carmichael, one must add, in view

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8. F.J. 1 October, 1859.



of what the venerable Icarian - all New South Wales the Icarie for the experiments of this voyageur - had written in the Australian a quarter of a century before<sup>9</sup>; but now in immediate prospect of triumph. In Hyde Park now one might pick up a tract on "The Impossibility of Proving the Existence of God;"<sup>10</sup> the Southern Cross (Denichy much in evidence) might speak of the Scriptures as a "certain collection of ancient books,"<sup>11</sup> and the Essays and Reviews would soon be "creating a sensation out here as well as at home."<sup>12</sup> The Freeman saw the Empire as the "god and organ" of "a rude Infidel democracy;"<sup>13</sup> and the Empire saw democracy as the panvital "root of all religions" - "which contains, we trust, within its womb, a fuller revelation of the will of God."<sup>14</sup> There was solid evidence for the Empire's boast that

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8. F.J. 1 October, 1859.

9. Australian, 14 June, 1836. See Nadel. Australia's Colonial Culture, p.263.

10. F.J. 3 September, 1859.

11. F.J. 4 January, 1860.

12. F.J. 19 June, 1861. The maturest first-flush assessment of the Essays and Reviews, - informed, acute, sensible - within my purview of this period, was that of the Congregationalist minister in Ipswich, Drane (d.1864) in Queensland Times, 3 December, 1861 Drane in the same style on the Pentateuch, Ibid., 22 March, 1864.

13. F.J. 19 December, 1860.

14. Empire, 23 May, 1859.

"the great bulk of the Australian population, though nominally belonging to sectarian churches, are not, as their brethren in England, under the control of Ecclesiastical superiors," and that "they know and care but little for those denominational questions which divide people at home."<sup>15</sup> And as O'Shanassy warned on his retirement, which coincided with Parkes's education act of 1866, "there may be a despotism of numbers more cruel than the despotism of the individual."<sup>16</sup> The Freeman's preview of the parliament of 1862 justly anticipated<sup>17</sup> a legislated drought enough to dry up the frail roots of Christian civilisation in Australia: the abolition of State aid to religion and religious education, the permission of divorce and remarriage. Cowper having changed his tack to catch the new breeze, the Freeman correspondent found it "really painful to witness the irreligion and infidelity manifested by the members on the Cowperite side."<sup>18</sup> As Polding put it to his people, on the occasion of Cowper's legislation, "little prospect truly have we, that in our present or future

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15. F.J. 10 August, 1859.

16. Ibid., 19 May, 1866.

17. Cowper chaired the Garibaldi lecture reported in F.J. 4 January, 1862.

18. F.J., 26 August, 1863.

legislative bodies, Christian doctrine will not be accounted of as, at the most, one of the prejudices or philosophies of the day."<sup>19</sup> Hence it was in vain for Plunkett, his last political manoeuvre, having changed his mind to side with the bishops on education, to tumble the Cowper ministry by resigning his stop-gap Attorney-Generalship - the very men who stepped into Cowper's shoes, Parkes and Martin, piloted through almost identical legislation on education.<sup>20</sup>

Now, as McEncroe remarked on this last occasion, "the ideas of civilised Paganism are becoming more prevalent in Australia every day."<sup>21</sup> The Freeman felt it could assume, a propos the free trade controversy, that "each member of the contending parties will cordially agree.....that the government has no right to carry on any branch of industry which shall interfere injuriously with private enterprise."<sup>22</sup> But Bermingham,

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19. F.J., 7 April, 1866 (reproducing Polding's Pastoral of 1863).

20. Plunkett's was a name to conjure with (Q.T. 10 January, 1865): when one Queensland MLA adduced him in favour of National Education, Bishop Quinn interjected: "He has since retracted."

21. F.J., 15 September, 1866.

22. F.J., 2 January, 1864.



a missionary with ardent memories and regrets for books he now never saw, knew better how to read between the lines. He reflected on the new history, where "the pagan centuries, with their deeply dark crimes....are constantly extolled," while "the heroism....so frequent between the second and sixteenth centuries....is....travestied or passed over"; and deduced that "when youth has recourse to such polluted sources of information....the prospect of their ever keenly appreciating truth, and of entertaining a pure love for the beautiful....is not always very cheering: for man's power of mind, like his years, are (sic) limited."<sup>23</sup> Well might Kendall address God's Mother concerning

the secular sneer  
More bitter than death now  
Where Faith, like a phantom, hath chang'd into  
Speaking under his breath now.<sup>24</sup>

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23. F.J. 31 March, 1860. The element of gaucherie is more likely the reporter's, not Bermingham's, defect.
24. F.J. 18 November, 1865. Again the reader must make allowances (for youth.)

But Bermingham went on in prophetic vein:

The wild democracy of the "reds" will arrest the love and admiration of young men; or a despotism, originating in the licentiousness of the mob or of the individual, and in both cases destructive of man's rights as man, shall eventually obtain, even in countries favoured with representative institutions.<sup>25</sup>

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25. F.J. 31 March, 1860.

CHAPTER 6: MELBOURNE UNDER GOOLD. 1848-1866.

It may be urged, that though the parish might not choose better ministers, they would at least choose ministers whom they like better, and who would therefore officiate with greater efficacy. (But) that ignorance and perverseness should always obtain what they like, was never considered as the end of government; of which it is the great and standing benefit, that the wise see for the simple, and the regular act for the capricious.

Dr. Johnson, aetat. 64

- i. Goold Bishop of Melbourne, 1848-1851.
  - ii. The Diocese During the Gold Rush
  - iii. The Political Undertow : Young Ireland.
  - iv. L'Esprit Presbyterien.
  - v. The "clerico-laic committee" in action : O'Grady, 1858.
  - vi. Church and State and Education.
  - viii. Hibernicisation.
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1. Goold Bishop of Melbourne. 1848-1851.

There was talk of an Anglican diocese of Melbourne in early 1846,<sup>1</sup> and perhaps this hastened Rome's decision, at Polding's urging, to erect a see there. It was set up by the same Brief that set up Maitland for Davis and Port Victoria for Salvado: "We set up new dioceses in any part of the world when we know it will assist the spread of the Catholic faith."<sup>2</sup> Bets were laid on the new appointment, with Geoghegan favourite.<sup>3</sup> Gregory broke the news to him with a pun on 11 February, 1848: "My dear Boy, Goold is the unfortunate fellow who will be mitred."<sup>4</sup>

As Therry's successor at Campbelltown, Goold had finished the church, put up "the first school erected by private enterprise in the colony,"<sup>5</sup> and won golden opinions. He was a fresh-complexioned round-faced Irishman, still young (thirty-six) and physically strong;<sup>6</sup> his family, well-off Cork merchants, had given several men of distinction to the Church during the penal era.<sup>7</sup> Of the man behind the bishop we

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1. Port Phillip Patriot: 26 February, 1846. For Polding's petition, Moran, p.723.
  2. A.C.R., 1899, p.381: Brief of 25 June, 1847.
  3. "Garryowen" (E.Finn) Chronicles of Early Melbourne, pp.143-4. McEncroe also, Cf. Syd.Chron 3 July 1847; S.M.H. 30 June, 1847. *ran,*
  4. S.A.A.
  5. Moran, p.210
  6. "Garryowen" (Finn) Chronicles of Early Melbourne p.144.
  7. Moran, p.726

can infer little from his rather flat sermons, or his correspondence with the government. But this itself is instructive; he seems to have been a born prelate, his correctness was his very soul. He lacked humour, colour, eloquence; he was strict with his clergy, and reserved with all; but he had consistency, discretion, tact, and what he said was always to the point.<sup>8</sup> Ruling the Church nearly as long as Polding, he was to have an influence as great. It is perhaps significant that, in his diary, which records travels on every continent, his enthusiasm and discernment are reserved almost entirely for architecture, with a bow to the plastic arts, rather than for literature and music. On this, one could quote at random; how, for instance, he found the Dresden churches "large, tasteless buildings," but those of Nuremberg "splendid Gothic"<sup>9</sup> - his own city churches, spread out in the form of a great cross over Melbourne, bespeak his preference for Gothic.<sup>10</sup> He speaks of emotion - his affection for his people, "not easily expressed" (as he says

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8. Whoever wrote up the 1869 Provincial Council put it very neatly where he depicted Goold's reply to an address as "brevi sed sensu pleno sermone" (Acta, p.83): "brief, but full of matter."

9. Moran, pp.788-9.

10. Cf. E.J. Kelly, The Church In Melbourne - Its Position and Prospects in A.C.R., 1899, pp.58-60.

somewhere), his anxiety over a priest, his heavy heart on parting from his uncle, Bishop Hynes of British Guiana<sup>11</sup> - but the emotion is always contained, noted with detachment. He never fails to note and castigate untidiness and dirt, laziness and inefficiency. It does not matter where he is: the altar linens at Callao, "too short and small in every way to conceal the dirt and rents of the oilcloth"; the Colonial Office clerks, "lazy and indifferent for want of employment"; Cairo, "this great centre of Egyptian filth"; in Ceylon, "how degraded these Buddhist priests look."<sup>12</sup>

He probably unveils his mind most when, as he often does, he draws a moral. Thus his South American trip, taken (1851) when he had been long enough Bishop to know his problems and formulate policies. "The neglect of episcopal visitation has been productive of serious evils to the Church of South America .... Most of the Prelates of this the Pacific side of South America are inadequate to the satisfactory fulfilment of this most important duty by reason of

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11. Moran, p.790.

12. Ibid., p.738, p.764, p.791, p.805. These travels and observations extend over a period of twenty years. Goold's diary, borrowed by Moran to compile his History, and known only by what Moran has published, has never been located since. The published portions, however, comprise forty thousand words, "for the most part carefully rewritten," as the Cardinal observes, History, p.735 - a substantial document from a man who did not waste words. Search for the original continues - cf. Advocate 13 August, 1947



their great age." "Subjection to Episcopal jurisdiction (is) essential to the welfare of religion" - meaning the religious state in the narrow sense, nuns, friars, etc.; - and so the Josephite nuns were never to enter his diocese. He was thinking of home when he opined that if the Church were not organised and energetic in South America, "the feeling of the people which is now with her will be alienated from her, and she will fall prey to the designing few of bad principles, who are endeavouring to corrupt the people, and destroy in them all attachment to the true faith." And again when he criticised the state nominee for the See of Panama because "his zeal displays itself more in politics than religion."<sup>13</sup> Goold's attitude towards the English was guarded and hostile; approval is implied, I think, where he records the Archbishop of Malta finding the English "plausible but slippery";<sup>14</sup> and at Colombo:

No state-aid for Catholic schools or churches though Catholics are the vast majority. Protestants and Presbyterians, a small minority, receive State-aid. Such is English justice and liberality!<sup>15</sup>

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13. Ibid., pp. 738-740.

14. Ibid., p. 766.

15. Loc. cit.

This was the other face of a strong love of Ireland, where the aftermath of famine - and later "the crowbar" (eviction) - filled him with "grief and indignation."<sup>16</sup> His friendships with both Ullathorne and Polding, however, were enduring (like every feature of the man), and apparently intellectually rich. Thus in 1859, going through England on his way between Ireland and the Continent, three times he stopped off at Birmingham: "a long and interesting conversation with the Bishop" (Ullathorne) - "Went with the Bishop to Oscott, where we dined; spent the evening with the Bishop" - "Called on the Bishop, with whom I had a long conversation in reference to the affairs of Sydney."<sup>17</sup> Polding, whom we find him praising unreservedly to the secrecy of his diary,<sup>18</sup> reciprocated with expressions like "My ever dear Lord."<sup>19</sup>

His consecration was delayed a year. At one point, when Murphy was in bed with boils, Polding,

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16. Ibid., p.742

17. See Goold's diary for 23 May, 4 September, 3 October, 1859, Moran, p.758 et. seq. There are other references to Ullathorne (at the Vatican Council) in Moran, p.806, 808, 810.

18. Ibid., pp.735-6

19. Ibid., p.474

observing how "the state man" was already "hard at work," even suggested that he might go ahead with the consecration on his own, but left the decision to Goold.<sup>20</sup> Eventually, however, 6 August, 1848, Polding laid hands on him, with Murphy assisting, and Gregory by special indult making a third.<sup>21</sup> Driving overland in a carriage and four - the first man to do so, and that without change of horses - Goold took a month, in fine spring weather, to do the trip, saying mass and hearing confessions wherever a score of the faithful could be gathered together. He crossed the Murray near Albury, into his own diocese, he tells us, "on the morning of the 28 September, at 25 minutes to 10 o'clock." Ahead of schedule, he met Geoghegan at Seymour, and was escorted in state into Melbourne on the feast of Saint Francis (October 4).<sup>22</sup> Geoghegan, whom he had appointed as his Vicar-General before leaving Sydney, was put in charge at Geelong; others of

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20. Polding/Goold, 22 June, 1848, S.A.A.  
 21. Syd. Chron. 12 August, 1848.  
 22. Moran, p.729; cf. Dunne in Advocate 12 May, 1894. Also Syd. Chron. 9 September, 1848. But the Chronicle was defunct by Goold's arrival, for which see South Australian 20 October, 1848: a cortege of 50 vehicles and 100 horses. The best account is Finn's Chronicles pp. 144-5



his few priests were sent to Belfast (Slattery, later Dean, who set the seal of his unpolished personality on the Western District over the next thirty years), Portland (Stephens, back in Victoria, but soon a.w.l.) and Kilmore (the short-lived Clark).<sup>23</sup> The Bishop's missionary excursions bear the stamp of the man: matter-of-fact thoroughness. January-February, 1850, he spent in Gippsland, returning to Melbourne for Easter; April-May he spent in the Western Districts; he then conducted parish retreats around Melbourne, and got his confirmations up to date; and toured the central districts, between Kyneton and the Murray, during November, commenting with his usual unemotional precision on the extreme heat and drought.<sup>24</sup> He founded a Catholic Association to finance clerical aspirants;<sup>25</sup> Geoghegan went home to Ireland in 1849 to see what could be arranged, particularly at All Hallows, and priests began to trickle in - 1850 saw the arrival of the stormy petrel,

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23. Advocate 25 December, 1946, for Stephens; but Stephens did first write Goold applying for relief - cf. H.T. Courier, 12 May, 1849. For Clark, Adv. 9 October, 1946; Slattery, ibid., 30 July, 1947. For Geoghegan as V-G., Syd. Chron., 2 March, 1848, 9 March, 1848 (combating the allegation that he solicited the appointment).

24. Moran, p.729 et seq.

25. Ibid., p.744. Do not fail to note the O'Connell echoes in this name.

Patrick Dunne, and three others.<sup>26</sup> The same year, Goold laid the foundation-stones of three churches: Saint Patrick's, East Melbourne, never in fact finished, but diverted into Wardell's lovely cathedral; Saint Paul's, Coburg (then Pentridge), the nucleus of a third city parish; and a chapel at Bacchus Marsh.<sup>27</sup> A seminary was founded, and Goold celebrated the second anniversary of his consecration by conferring minor orders on Madden, a student there.<sup>28</sup> Stack, another recent import, was the first priest ordained in Melbourne itself.<sup>29</sup> But this was by Willson, in Goold's absence, 1851 - immediately on Geoghegan's return, the Bishop, accompanied by Fitzpatrick, who was to be his right hand ever thereafter, sailed himself for Europe.<sup>30</sup>

Amid the business of founding a diocese, Goold had to encounter the three characteristic harassments of the period. Perry's stand, as Anglican bishop, we have touched on. - The State, in the person of Latrobe, embarrassed the new bishop by appointing Curr, by no means persona grata with the Lieut.-Governor,<sup>31</sup>

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26. Adv. 28 August, 1946; also 26 May, 1894

27. Mackle, Footprints, p.71, p.76, p.81.

28. Ibid., p.76, p.79-80.

29. Adv. 20 November, 1946.

30. Mackle, Footprints, p.89.

31. Reasons will be found in Victorian Chief Sec's. archives, 44/1368, 1465, 1502, 1632 et alibi - a dispute over the gaoling of Curr's son.



to the Denominational Schools Board, on the ostensible grounds that he was a proved administrator. Now Curr was a "big man" in favour of reviewing transportation; he had opposed Gipps' land regulations;<sup>33</sup> and had openly clashed with O'Shanassy:<sup>34</sup> hardly the man to represent the Catholics Goold found at Wangaratta, "very few, and mostly servants,"<sup>35</sup> or at Brighton, "the greater part....absent, being engaged at the shearing in the interior, or employed bringing the wool to Melbourne."<sup>36</sup> Curr, electioneering that year, opposed every point of the Charter - it was

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33. In fairness to this broken Coriolanus, he claimed that his policy of slowly reducing the upset minimum, rather than keep Gipps' stringent £1 per acre, would help the small settler against the squatter; and he proposed to limit exilism to three years and offset it with free immigration equalising the sexes: Observer (Melb.) 10 August, 1848. But it was his manner rather than his matter that offended - both Latrobe and the populace. See S.M.H. 25 June, 1846, Syd. Chron. 27 March, 1847; And he was, finally, largely instrumental in the farcical election of Earl Grey, Syd. Chron. 12 August, 1848, and Observer (Melb.) 10 August, 1848.

34. S.M.H. 25 January, 1849.

35. Moran, p.733

36. Ibid. p.735



the year of the Charter - except the ballot.<sup>37</sup> But there was an objection weightier still: Curr advocated a risky compromise, the Denominational system for the towns, the National for the country, with reasoning Goold could not accept:

But either system is better, as it is better carried out. A consistent man may give his energies to whatever plan the popular feeling zealously take up.<sup>38</sup>

Latrobe none the less over-ruled all Goold's objections to Curr's appointment as Catholic representative, which held till his premature death in 1850.<sup>39</sup> - Goold's third trial was at the bar of public opinion, a renewal of sectarian animosity over the immigration of Irish orphan girls, who were described as not only "useless" (having, as can well be imagined, few domestic skills) but depraved.<sup>40</sup> The Saint Patrick's Society, whose confidence may be gauged by its brand new hall, soon to house the legislature, took up the case.<sup>41</sup> Finn, an energetic newsman, gave a statistical refutation: four out of thirteen hundred had fallen.<sup>42</sup> But it was John O'Shanassy who gave

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37. Observer (Melb.) 19 October, 1848. Lang had intervened (from Great Britain) with the Charter as his programme, ibid. 12 October, 1848.

38. Ibid., 5 October, 1848.

39. See Minutes of Board, in its archives at the Public Library of Victoria. For death F.J. 5 December, 1850.

40 Mackle, Footprints, pp. 73-4.

41. Advocate 15 February, 1873, 22 February, 1873.

42. Cf. F.J. 11 July, 1850, for an analysis.

the Catholic protest much of its vigour; and so, again, with their protest against the use of Masonic ceremony at the opening of the Benevolent Asylum.<sup>43</sup>

We find him losing a municipal election about this time, and protesting the poll.<sup>44</sup> He epitomised the position of Catholicism itself in public life, broad vision and public spirit labelled party and not listened to.

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43. Mackle, Footprints, p.75

44. Syd. Chron. 13 November, 1847.

ii. The Diocese During The Gold Rush.

Goold was away from Easter 1851 to the Lent of 1853; Geoghegan's periodic reports to the people gave no detail of his movements beyond the obvious and general - he was in Rome, he was in Ireland, he was recruiting, and he was returning.<sup>1</sup> The Bishop tactfully chose a public meeting shortly before his departure to announce that he was leaving Geoghegan in charge;<sup>2</sup> and followed a similar proceeding on his return, publicly praising the Vicar for his loyalty to his absent Bishop's views.<sup>3</sup> The interim had been a severe test: "I did not say that the Government was corrupt," Geoghegan explained once, "I did say that it was most Protestant."<sup>4</sup> And the abolition of State aid was mooted in the very first session of the new parliament.<sup>5</sup> And then the golden horde

with impious hands  
Rifled the bowels of their mother Earth  
For Treasures better hid, -

a process that impoverished the Church, relatively speaking.<sup>6</sup> The Catholic population did not increase in proportion to the whole : 23% in 1851, it was 19%

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1. Cf F.J. 8 July, 1852, 5 August, 1852, 30 September, 1852.
  2. F.J. 8 May, 1851.
  3. F.J. 3 March, 1853.
  4. F.J. 25 December, 1851.
  5. Ibid.
  6. Moran, p.743 (Goold explaining the point to the Propagation of the Faith, Paris).



in 1854. Nevertheless, the absolute increase from 18,000 to 45,000 and the scattering of these over the whole mountain backbone of the state, presented insuperable difficulties to the priests whom the V.-G. testified had "satisfactorily discharged the sacred duties allotted to them" in 1851: Geoghegan, Bleasdale, Ward, Bourgeois, Dunne, Slattery, Roe<sup>7</sup> - even allowing for two unsalaried priests in addition.<sup>8</sup> The situation was brought home most forcibly to Dunne, whose parish at Pentridge in theory embraced both the goldfields and the convict hulks,<sup>9</sup> that second sodom which now multiplied off-shore at Williamstown as the crime-rate rose five-fold. His trip to Ballarat late in 1851, on horse back, mass-kit before and cassock rolled up behind, living digger fashion, is a highlight in our church history.<sup>10</sup> What is less often dwelt on is that he returned utterly exhausted, requiring two or three months' convalescence.<sup>11</sup> Geoghegan accordingly decided to staff the gold fields by rotation, and so asked Latrobe whether he might sign

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7. Exec. Council Papers, Chief Sec's. Archives, ~~P.L.V.~~,<sup>Victoria</sup> 28 January, 1852.

8. Clark was unsalaried because no church was built at Kilmore; J. Cavanagh seems also to have been in the diocese at the time.

9. Advocate 2 June, 1894.

10. Cf. Austral Light, 1901, p.525 et seq.

11. Advocate, loc. cit.

the pay abstracts on behalf of the priests. "The scattered locations of our clergy would render the operation of this rule" - that each sign his own pay abstract - "most harassing and tedious." The rule, however, was insisted on; and the comments pencilled in the margin show that reasons beyond strict law contributed to the decision. On Geoghegan's argument that enforcement of the rule was inconvenient, the comment runs: "and would interfere with the centralisation of R.C. policy." On Geoghegan's argument that the rule had not been enforced in practice, the dry remark: "I do not think the plan has been uniform - one R.C. Priest retained his salary in opposition to the will of his bishop in N.S.W."<sup>12</sup>

The executive, then, unco-operative; militant secularism in the legislature and the press; society in the melting-pot, as the imports of canvas, beer and spirits and salted meats soared out of all proportion to population, and prices doubled and trebled: such were the conditions of Geoghegan's administration. He applied for a sum which had rested to the credit of the Catholics when the accounts were separated from

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12. Geoghegan to Latrobe, 3 March, 1852. Filed 52/2577. All religious correspondence for these years is boxed together in the Chief Sec's. Archives.

Sydney's: the principle was conceded, the money - what with roads, bridges, police, schools, to eat it up - not to be had.<sup>13</sup> But Geoghegan had two allies. One curiously enough, was Latrobe, in whom religion and civilisation were now alarmed. Two lucky arrivals - Downing, an Augustinian, and Backhaus, who had come to Victoria when his Adelaide parish was emptied by the gold-fever - were posted at Ballarat and Bendigo respectively, as official chaplains, pending (and it was to be four years pending) more permanent settlement.<sup>14</sup> - The other ally was O'Shanassy. His election to the Assembly in 1851 was a consolation to the Catholics, and distasteful to the Argus, whose editor he had defeated at the polls.<sup>15</sup> His thankyou to the electors at the declaration of the poll was breezy and frivolous - resolutions, all four of which he was to keep, to look after his health, not to lose his money or his temper, and not to throw himself in the Yarra should he lose an election.<sup>16</sup> But this was mere camouflage, concealing undeviating determination and

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13. Geoghegan to Latrobe, 17 September, 1852 (as above)  
 14. See the same file of correspondence, 4 May, 1852, 21 May, 1852, 12 June, 1852. On Backhaus' arrival on the Bendigo Creek field, F.J. 6 May, 1852.  
 15. F.J. 29 January, 1852.  
 16. Argus 15 September, 1851.



business capacity; he had not mentioned to the electors his resolution (which also he kept) to enter no ministry save as head of the government.<sup>17</sup> His career began with opposition to the proposal to have a single form of prayer for the House. In what the Argus described as "a specimen of bigotry run mad,"<sup>18</sup> "Mr. O'Shanassy would state openly and boldly, that no human body of men could draw up a form of prayer in which he could join."<sup>19</sup> In January 1853 he put his growing influence behind the increase of the total State grant for religion from six to thirty thousand pounds;<sup>20</sup> and when the 1854 estimates followed this pattern, the Freeman's Journal was prepared to give him most of the credit.<sup>21</sup> Goold on his return praised O'Shanassy as publicly and pointedly as he did Geoghegan.<sup>22</sup> But meanwhile, the big Tipperary man's contributions to the general business of the House, often on matters rather technical, made the Argus confess him "enlightened upon every subject but one";<sup>23</sup> for there was nothing in his conduct to cast doubt on the sincerity of his declared adherence to "the great principles of justice,

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17. See the reminiscences on O'Shanassy by W.H. Archer in Austral Light, 1893, p.7 et seq., a valuable source on O'Shanassy.

18. Argus 18 November, 1851.

19. Ibid., 15 November, 1851.

20. F.J. 6 January, 1853, 3 February, 1853.

21. F.J. 4 February, 1854.

22. F.J. 9 April, 1853.

23. F.J. 29 January, 1852.



equality, and universal liberty;"<sup>24</sup> while on the one point where he differed from the enlightened ones, religion, he had the good fortune to share the ground with the Lieut.-Governor. He kept the Argus' good opinion, moreover, even when, as one of the goldfields Commission, he was associated with its strictures on the press as a fomenter of trouble.<sup>25</sup> And he capped his fortunes, by making money at last, after a series of failures that might have driven him from the colony but for his wife's tenacity.<sup>26</sup>

In expectation of £3800 in State aid for 1854, therefore, Goold sketched out for the executive a scheme for its distribution among no fewer than seventeen parish priests for the full year, and three others part of the time, besides the Bishop and the V.-G. and Fitzpatrick (also now to become a V.-G.), and the goldfields chaplains;<sup>27</sup> and Melbourne had at

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24. Argus 15 September, 1851.

25. F.J. 19 November, 1853.

26. Archer, loc. cit.

27. Chief Sec's. Archives, 54/3108. The '55-'56 grants were the occasion of a hostile pamphlet How the Money Goes (Melb., 1856) which gives a good brief outline of the growth and staffing of the parish organisation in these years. - The total 25 seems to have been reached on Goold's return, for cf. F.J. 16 April, 1853.

least one advantage over Sydney, with its far more numerous clergy, that the Victorians were concentrated in a comparatively small area - scarcely twice the size of Ireland, as Goold might have remarked! Of the six he brought back with him in 1853, Shiel, who at once took charge of the little seminary, Hayes and O'Hea, proved towers of strength.<sup>28</sup> The Englishman Bleasdale, also an Augustinian, was a man of many parts, prominent in Melbourne's cultural life for thirty years, as trustee of the Public Library, as member of the Royal Society, and the author of numerous articles of scientific interest.<sup>29</sup> O'Connell, O.F.M.C. Cap., 11, had been Father Mathew's successor as Provincial of Cork, but determined to give his last years (which turned out to be but four) to missionary work.<sup>30</sup>

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28. On Goold's party, F.J. 3 February, 1853; character sketches of clergy F.J. 27 August, 1853. The seminary was financed in large part from Goold's stipend, see application for l.o.a. of 2 June, 1858 - Later careers of O'Hea and Hayes, Adv. 13 November, 1946 and 18 September, 1946. Shiel was Adelaide's third bishop.
29. Argus 8 July, 1858 for an example. Cf. E.J. Kelly on The Church in Melbourne, A.C.R., 1899, p.59.
30. Adv. 19 November, 1947, 26 November, 1947. These and the following references are to a series of sixty-nine articles by E. Ebsworth in the Advocate (Melb.) 1946-7. These, he tells me, owe something to the researches of F. Mackle, who bequeathed his notes to Father Ebsworth, who has since destroyed them.



O'Rourke at Kilmore 1854 - 1861 showed, Polding thought, "what a truly disinterested man can do" - among other things he guided Victoria's first native priest and nun to their vocations.<sup>31</sup> Finn, brother of the journalist, took his degree at Melbourne in 1858, before proceeding to orders in 1860;<sup>32</sup> while Farrally, a mature man, who had been teaching in Australia since the early 'forties, and had been one of Melbourne University's first prizemen, was now studying for the priesthood - he was to be Sheehan's Dr. Gray in the flesh, the Bible sharing his pocket with Horace, dress and manner somewhat eccentric, but an effective pastor;<sup>33</sup> and there was quality among the other clergy, Smyth, Bermingham, McAlroy, not to mention Dunne - of all four, more later.

But, since we speak of Horace,  
vis rapuit ~~rapietque~~ *improvisa leti* gentes,

and Clark's death in 1854 was the first of a great rape. No fewer than twenty of Goold's exiguous clergy died between that date and 1870, the majority of them young men, like Smyth and O'Rourke and the three McCarthy brothers - all, very probably, delayed victims of the

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31. Adv. 16 October, 1946

32. Adv. 11 December, 1946.

33. There is a sketch of this priest in Austral Light, 1906, p.830 et seq. by J.G. Duffy. Cf. Adv. 30 October, 1946.

famine Ireland of their adolescence. Another dozen or more left for various reasons - some simply to go home, like Bourgeois; but not all in good fame, for priests not welcome back home - the tippler, the recalcitrant, the crotchety man - flocked to the mission.<sup>34</sup> Hence it was not till the rate of population increase slowed very decidedly in the 'seventies, and sees were erected in Bendigo and Ballarat, that Victoria began to catch up with New South Wales. In Melbourne itself it was All Hallows alone that saved the day : 56 men by the time the new sees were founded, and, as Goold's long episcopate drew to a close, no less than three quarters of all his secular clergy.<sup>35</sup>

Of the first generation priests, only Geoghegan in and around Melbourne, O'Hea at Pentridge, H. Geoghegan at Kyneton, Backhaus at Bendigo (where his large intact

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34. On the McCarthys Adv. 1 October, 1947, 8 October, 1947. Also F.J. 18 November, 1865. On Bourgeois, Adv. 4 December, 1946. On the inflow of bad priests, see Polding - Propaganda, 19 December, 1863, S.A.A., an anguished passage: "to these distant parts as to a centre every manner of unsettled priests flows - the ambitious, those of evil habits, the factious, those out to make money." (Ad istas regiones longinquas veluti ad centrum presbyteri omnigeni vagabundi, ambitiosi, malae vitae dediti, factiosi, mercenarii confluunt). - For the Bishop's relevant measures, Birt ii, p.229.
35. A.H. Annual 1953-4, p.155, et seq., p.163 et seq.



bequest to the diocese guarantees his name near-legendary perpetuation), and T. Slattery at Warnambool,<sup>36</sup> - only these saw their mission through from the makeshift beginnings to a stable, well-equipped parish. The country missionaries, especially in Eastern Victoria, had rather to serve a network of small mass-stations than anything so compact as a parish: the familiar pioneer pattern. And some priests seem to have had a roving commission around the far edge of settlement.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, a feature peculiar to so rapidly growing a church was the continual erection of new parishes, and an almost annual reshuffle of the clergy by consequence. In all this, the Victorian mission did not differ in kind from any other colony; but it differed enormously in the rate of change, and hence the very few stable

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36. O'Hea was at Pentridge till 1881, Adv. 13 November, 1946; Geoghegan at Kyneton till 1895, Adv. 4 September, 1946. Backhaus' association with Bendigo is dealt with at great length by Ebsworth, Adv. 19 February, 1947 and succeeding issues weekly up to 2 April, 1947. This T. Slattery, Ullathorne's recruit, is not to be confused with the education controversialist, of the free and flashing sword. For T., see Adv. 5 November, 1947.
37. Cf. Adv. 4 December, 1946 on P. Kavanagh. But Ebsworth cannot be right in putting Ward in this class, loc. cit., as Dunne's reminiscences in the Adv May-June 1894, make it clear, with much laughter, that this priest could not ride.



missionaries. There was more than the usual proportion of stop-gap ministries: a volunteer ad tempus, like P. Kavanagh, might have eight assignments - and note the geographical spread, Williamstown, Belfast (that is, Port Fairy), Woods Point, Castlemaine, Sale, Richmond, Emerald Hill, Sandhurst - in less than eight years, 1858 - 1865.<sup>38</sup> Equally, a congregation might be exposed to a bewildering succession of such pastors: Portland had six priests during the 'sixties, and another six or more up to 1878;<sup>39</sup> Williamstown, once Geoghegan left it in 1859,<sup>40</sup> Richmond, 1864-'66,<sup>41</sup> had half a dozen pastors in two or three years.

Building kept pace with the territorial articulation of the Church; and it was when he went to open churches that Goold himself did much to shape morale, by conducting preliminary retreats for the whole parish, lasting several days.<sup>42</sup> After his first return from Europe,

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38. Adv. 16 July, 1947.

39. Adv. 1 January, 1947.

40. Adv. 8 January, 1947.

41. Adv. 22 January, 1947. Madden, as Richmond's first priest, was assisted in running it by various members of the clan: an interesting item of sociology.

42. e.g. Adv. 9 October, 1946 (Kilmore, 1850), 1 January, 1947 (and here Ebsworth says it was Goold's custom). Cf. 6 August, 1947. Cf. F.J. 9 April, 1862, 20 May, 1863.

he laid foundation-stones for school-churches at St. Kilda, Kilmore, S. Melbourne, Richmond and Williamstown, in 1854, several of them completed and opened before the end of the year.<sup>43</sup> Carlton followed in 1855, and the seminary was transferred from S. Francis's to a new building in the grounds of the future cathedral. There was a lull while preference was given to the completion of the city churches, particularly the Cathedral, planned on the hill east of the city and named for St. Patrick: a system of priorities that led to friction between the Bishop and his missionaries, especially as it involved the razing of walls already erected at considerable expense, to make way for a building more in keeping with the size and status of the see. But with 1857 building was resumed throughout the diocese, and Goold laid foundation stones for substantial churches at St. Kilda, Bendigo, Kynston, Portland, Belfast, Castlemaine, blessed another at Warnambool, founded orphanages at Geelong and South Melbourne<sup>44</sup> (taken over by the Sisters of Mercy in

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43. In order: Adv. 8 October, 1947, 16 October, 1946, (cf. F.J. 25 February, 1854) Adv. 19 November, 1947, 22 January, 1947 (F.J. 25 February 1854) Adv. 8 January, 1947. I give the references with this in mind, that each is a context of general information on the parish in question.

44. In order: Adv. 8 October, 1947, 26 February, 1947, 20 November, 1946, 25 December, 1946, 6 August, 1947, 9 July, 1947, 5 November, 1947, 11 September, 1946, 26 November, 1947. On the building of Saint Patrick's, in this context, 11 September, 1946.



1859 and 1861 respectively,) <sup>45</sup> and set the Mercy nuns up at Nicholson Street (his own former residence), Fitzroy. <sup>46</sup> Many, of course, of the churches which swell the Victorian statistical returns were make-shift affairs of slab and shingle, or other buildings roughly adapted, described by New South Wales' more discriminating returns as "other places." The plan of the St. Kilda Church was Wardell's first, <sup>47</sup> characteristically expensive, intervention in the architectural affairs of the church in Victoria; he followed it up with designs for the Cathedral, and for churches at Hamilton, Williamstown, Richmond (actually his sons' work), Beechworth, Wangaratta, and, I suspect, elsewhere; <sup>48</sup> thus giving this wealthy, optimistic colony a very respectable place in the world-wide gothic revival. <sup>49</sup>

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45. Ibid., 18 September, 1946.

46. F.J. 11 April, 1857. These nuns came from Perth, under the original superioress there, M. Ursula Frayne, a woman of unusual character and ability, whose letters survive.

47. Cf. Adv. 30 October, 1946, 8 January, 1947, 5 February, 1947, 10 September, 1947, 1 October, 1947.

48. Pugin made a big impact in Ireland. A critique of the Catholic Almanac for 1854, in F.J. 7 January 1854, criticised the survey of Australian church history in this publication for failing to mention Pugin's influence in these colonies generally.

49. Ibid.



iii. The Political Undertow : Young Ireland.

O'Connell lost his unchallenged position in Ireland, without by any means losing all his power, after his humiliation at the Tories' hands in 1843, and the next generation of Irish politicians was divided, and at times quite leaderless. In a confused situation, a clear and prophetic note was sounded by Young Ireland, and their paper the Nation, edited with great ability, and the best political verse in English (it was no accident that when "Eva" came to Australia in the 1860's, her verses for the Freeman's Journal were mainly graceful renderings of Berenger),<sup>1</sup> under Davis and Gavan Duffy. "Young Ireland" - "Nation" - the evocations of Mazzini were self-conscious and deliberate: his romantic nationalism, as a cause transcending divisions of caste and creed; his republicanism; his readiness to use direct action; and, if not precisely his pantheism, at least a rationalistic optimism, which took the concrete form of advocating mixed education against "sectarianism," even in fields like philosophy and history.<sup>2</sup> Its social basis the growth of a middle class,<sup>3</sup> Young Ireland,

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1. For Le Roi d'Yvetot, F.J. 11 May, 1861. "Eva" - Mrs. Kevin O'Doherty - was an almost weekly contributor from 6 February, 1861 on.
  2. Cf. Syd. Chron. 13 December, 1845. Also Edward's and Williams' The Great Famine, pp.85-6.
  3. For Newman on this theme, F.J. 2 February, 1859.

though conscious of what it owed to O'Connell, was gradually estranged from him at three points. Irish nationalism, whether it took the form of Repeal or not, must never again become a pawn in the game of English party politics: Smith O'Brien made the first break with O'Connell, though neither public, nor complete, April, 1846, on this issue.<sup>4</sup> Second, O'Connell's clericalism: the Young Irelanders sought to introduce a Protestant, a United Irish element into the Repeal Association. When O'Connell chose the occasion of Gavan Duffy's first trial for sedition to expel him, T.F. Meagher and others on the grounds of their radicalism, the Times commented, 13th August, 1846:

Old Ireland has beaten its young rival. The priests have done it.<sup>5</sup>

Third, O'Connell's peasant demagoguery was seen as a clog on the development of authentic Irish culture, whether in the native tongue or English.<sup>6</sup>

The first effect of the famine was to close somewhat the breach that had opened, by the founding of an Irish party embracing all classes and creeds; but this proved merely the prelude to a new split. For "the famine which disorganised and impoverished the O'Connellite repeal movement made a direct issue of

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4. The Great Famine, p.140.

5. Ibid., p.171 et seq.

6. Carty (ed.) Grattan's Parliament to the Great Famine, p.147.

something which had hitherto been an indirect issue: the question of Irish agrarian reform."<sup>7</sup> Fintan Lalor, son of the tithe-war leader, attacked the existing settlement at its root, the Crown Land fiction: the land belongs to the people.<sup>8</sup> The concept coloured all subsequent tenant-right agitation in Ireland. But for the present, though Lalor himself, a frail man, shortly died, he imbued the ardent republican soul of John Mitchel with his views, and split Young Ireland down the middle: Gavan Duffy did not absolutely repudiate direct action, or republicanism, but he did not, as Mitchel did, regard them as the immediately necessary and only program, even under the influence (1848) of the bloodless French revolution, with its congenial mixture of social and political aspiration. The Irish leaders divided, then, at least into three, The English government was able to concoct a new crime, treason - felony, suspend the habeas corpus act, and detain all Young Ireland leaders in Tasmania, except Duffy, whom no jury could be found to convict.<sup>9</sup> And

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7. The Great Famine, p.204.

8. Ibid., p.171 et seq.

9. H.T. Courier, 3 January, 1849. "Treason sells best," said the S.M.H. 23 August, 1848, "and Mr. Duffy writes for the market."



Duffy proved unable to control the Irish party in the Commons.<sup>10</sup>

Into the near-vacuum stepped Paul Cullen, first, as Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All-Ireland, next (1852)<sup>11</sup> as Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland, a post less honorific but far more powerful. In Rome in 1848 he learned, and he never forgot, to suspect "Young" nationalism of designs against revealed religion; on the other hand, he did what he could to forestall the Papal rescript, at the instigation of the British government, admonishing the Irish clergy to steer clear of politics, lest it involve them in murder.<sup>12</sup> He never abandoned this *via modia*, and has therefore never been thanked by historians who prefer a specious clarity to truth. Thus he founded an Irish Catholic university; but he was not happy over Newman's too close collusion with the doctrinaire middle-class Young Irelanders and English converts.<sup>13</sup> Gavan Duffy, who had

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10. F.J. 24 November, 1855.

11. Death of "Archbishop Murray F.J. 1 July, 1852; for Cullen as Armagh, already in decided opposition to Murray's compromise on education, *ibid.* 26 June 1851.

12. Cf. Morning Chron. 7 June, 1845. For Cullen's stand The Great Famine, p.188: the second such rescript at this critical period.

13. See H. Tristram, (ed.) John Henry Newman: Autobiographical Writings, London, 1956, pp.327-8, for the points at issue between Newman and Cullen. Also Duffy, My Life in Two Hemispheres, London, 1898, 2 vols. vol ii, pp.26-7.

fairly met his match, eventually quit Ireland, with a parthian shaft aimed at the Archbishop: he quitted because he feared to foster hopes where there was nothing to hope for; there was in Ireland's favour, the indestructable power of the priesthood (those "dark sectaries," as Duffy's dear friend Thomas Carlyle called them, and moreover "the worst section of that miserable category");<sup>14</sup> but Ireland could count on her priests only if there were a patriotic episcopacy.<sup>15</sup> The Irish party in the Commons had sold their country in exchange for place, here was Duffy's motive for leaving.<sup>16</sup> And Cullen had lost the praise of Ireland to win that of the Times,<sup>17</sup> it was his politics Duffy opposed not ecclesiastical authority.<sup>18</sup> - Cullen's answer, perhaps, can be read in the 1859 Pastoral of the Irish bishops:<sup>19</sup> in a clean break with the National System, it asserted the right of the Bishop to supervise

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14. H. Parkes, Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History, London, 1892, pp. 170-1 (Carlyle to Parkes, re the 1866 Act; it was Duffy who introduced them.)  
 15. F.J. 24 November, 1855.  
 16. F.J. 9 February, 1856.  
 17. F.J. c6 June, 1857.  
 18. C.G. Duffy, My Life in Two Hemispheres, vol. 1, p.36-7. Cullen disliked Duffy - see Gould to Geoghegan, 10 June, 1859, S.A.A.  
 19. F.J. 23 November, 1859, 26 November, 1859.



text-book and school curriculum, and made an appeal, its confidence justified by the event, for lay co-operation. And it drew attention to the proselytising pressures on Catholic soldiers and sailors, and on the Catholic poor; confirmed the Catholic University, condemned "the godless colleges," and vindicated the authority of the Holy See, threatened at the time in the name of (Italian) nationalism. Yet withal, a strong statement favouring "tenant-right." And the same hierarchy resolutely refused state endowment except for Maynooth. Rome, while conciliatory towards the British government, found every reason rather to trust the Irish hierarchy when a choice had to be made.<sup>20</sup>

This Irish background is an integral part of Australian political and ecclesiastical history between 1850 and 1880 - made so, at a stroke, by the presence of the Irish exiles in Tasmania, and by their releases and escapes, 1852-'54, especially the release of Smith O'Brien in 1854<sup>21</sup> - and much that was deferred in Ireland for half a century in the way of franchise and tenant-right became a reality for Gavan Duffy and Kevin

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20. Cf. F.J. 24 February, 1855 (Fransoni to Bishop of Cashel). Cf. J. MacCaffrey History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century 1789-1908, pp. 190-1.
21. F.J. 4 March, 1852 (Meagher's escape); 22 July, 1854 (O'Brien's release).



O'Doherty, Lalor, E. Butler, and many colonial disciples, long before in these colonies. But not without currents of lay opinion nearly bursting the banks of ecclesiastical discipline. For the first years of self-government the Catholics remained a submerged class: as W.H. Archer, that cultivated English convert who completed O'Shanassy's education, computed in 1856, - and Archer was then Assistant Registrar-General - of sixty-four in the Council, but three were Catholic, of thirty heads of departments, but one;<sup>22</sup> while that one, Croke, the solicitor-general, had been a long-delayed and extremely controversial appointment,<sup>23</sup> as was Archer's own to the Denominational Schools Board.<sup>24</sup> Precisely here lay the danger: frustration venting itself as anti-clericalism.

Peter Lalor's stump was a vivid reminder of what smouldered not far beneath the surface. "When the Eureka men would sometimes grow rather wild and untameable, the Rev. Mr. Downing could make them as so

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22. W.H. Archer, Noctes Catholicae, Melb. 1856, p.2  
 23. Argus, 3 July, 1851, against; F.J. 18 December, 1851, for (Geoghegan speaking); the appointment, F.J. 9 September, 1852. But in fact the Catholics had looked for Croke to fill the office filled by the hostile Stawell, the Attorney-Generalship.  
 24. See below, section vi~~is~~ - Note, though that Brownless was for a quarter of a century the uncontroversial Vice-Chancellor of the University. - Finn, we should note, ascribes Croke's delayed preferment very decidedly to his inferior ability - Chronicles, p. 866.

many lambs"<sup>25</sup> - being an old hand with the Vandemonians, whom he knew from Port Arthur;<sup>26</sup> and the Catholic proportion of the population (here alone on the goldfields) being comparatively high.<sup>27</sup> But in mid-1854 Goold removed Downing, and replaced him with Smyth, able no doubt, but not able to talk down insurrection. Smyth saw the source of trouble in a clique, rather than in such irritants as the Argus: "the people," so he wrote to Archer, "or what is the same, the leaders of the people"<sup>28</sup> - this "same insidious element that transformed us into warriors" was not laid low by the "sad farce," and its needless toll of lives, the majority Catholic Irishmen, one summer Sunday morning on Eureka Hill.<sup>29</sup> "I don't and cannot augur a peaceful conclusion....everything tends to an insurrection",<sup>30</sup> he

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25. F.J. 15 July, 1854.

26. Adv. 18 September, 1946

27. Victorian Censuses of 1854 and 1857. These bring out, incidentally, the uniform scattering of the Irish throughout the State, except for Kilmore (high concentration) and Prahran (low concentration, and a social index).

28. Smith to Archer 27 November, 1854 and 8 January, 1855 (Eureka, that is, between, 3 December), in Archer Papers, A.N.L., 71/18, 71/22.

29. Westgarth says "sad farce" of it in his Personal Recollections of Melbourne and Victoria, Melbourne, 1888, p.70.

30. J. Murtagh, Letters of Eureka, in Twentieth Century, Vol. ix No. 2, Summer, 1954, p.25 is the best account of the Church's interest in the emente. See also the same author's review of Currey's The Irish at Eureka, in the Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand, Eureka Supplement, 1954.



wrote Goold a week before the emente, and brought the Bishop hurrying up, careful to make it public that he came sua sponte, not at Hotham's request.<sup>31</sup> "That word 'demand' omens badly," Smyth told Archer that same day; "before one month law and order will go the way of all flesh."<sup>32</sup> As peace maker, he had partial success, weaning many away from the Stockade.<sup>33</sup> But two of the best heads among his flock, Finton Lalor's big red-blooded brother Peter, and the sharp seminary-trained Raffaello,<sup>34</sup> lent the rebel cause an air of coherence and honest exasperation which kept many in the stockade who should have been away at Sunday mass. Smyth, his advice unheeded, had later to save what he could from the wreck - harbouring Lalor, and finding him medical attention,<sup>35</sup> and, in concert with Archer,

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31. Herald (Melb.) 5 December, 1854.

32. Smyth to Archer 27 November, 1854, Archer papers, 71/18.

33. See the article on Smyth and Eureka in Austral Light, 1913, p.1011 et seq.

34. A piece of Higher Criticism on my part. I see no other way of readily accounting for the curious blend of his erudition. He was planning to leave the diggings by Christmas to go to Jerusalem. Cf. Archer papers, 71/5, a letter of 20 August, 1854, Raffaello to Archer, with the exotic mixture of diggings argot - "some Irish fool out of vandeemonian spite" - and ecclesiastical Latin: *Cupio in orationibus tuis me reminiscaris - Jubeo te benevalere tibi ex corde salutem dicens.*"

35. C.H. Currey, The Irish at Eureka, p.71 et seq.



superintending the imprisoned Italian's affairs.<sup>36</sup> But he did not forget, as Raffaello remarked, the dignity of Ireland's priesthood, moving among the casualties in the aftermath of the affray, barely able to stifle his anger at official obstruction.<sup>37</sup> Gould's verdict on arrival, a mixture of sympathy, rebuke, and distaste for officialdom, we have to construe from his refusal to accept quarters among the military, his leaving Downing in charge,<sup>38</sup> his not finding Lalor in the priest's house.<sup>39</sup> This "unobtrusive orator," but never "one more effectual," brought forth fruit worthy of repentance, a new church;<sup>40</sup> O'Shanassy coined a phrase of genius, "Miner's Right";<sup>41</sup> and Lalor came to his essentially gentry self in a sober, if never exactly royalist political career. But Eureka sealed in blood the marriage between the Irish Catholics and social and political radicalism in

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36. Smyth to Archer, 13 December, 1854, Archer papers 71/19.  
 37. Ibid. "May we have the good just things that our people look for."  
 38. Mackle, Footprints, p.122.  
 39. Currey, for some reason, regards this as an open question (Cap.V). But Withers asserts it categorically, in Austral Light, 1896, p.279, in one of a series of articles on old Ballarat.  
 40. Mackle, loc. cit. The quotation is from Judge Quinlin.  
 41. For O'Shanassy's authorship see Westgarth's Recollections, p.83.

Australia, the chief inheritance from Young Ireland. Lynch, late in the century, was to add another eye-witness account to Raffaello's<sup>42</sup> and start a wide hunt for the authentic original flag - but to be reminded that flags had been the chief form of folk art in Ballarat,<sup>43</sup> and every survivor of the roaring days claimed to have fluttered over the stockade.<sup>44</sup> It was a treasured memory.

What stabilised the situation among the laity, where the church was concerned, was the union of prestige and effectiveness with faith and piety in O'Shanassy. Duffy had advertised his wares before the Australian public by defending the popular cause

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42. Austral Light, 1894, three articles. That on Lalor, p.130 et seq.
43. This was actually the sequel to Wither's articles, 1896, which followed on Lynch's.
44. See E. O'S. Goidanich, The Church in Ballarat, Austral Light, 1901, p.525 et seq. Such frequent harping on this theme in this magazine at this late date, goes far to justify my phrase, "a marriage sealed in blood". The F.J. 23 December, 1854, took a Smyth-Goold view of it, a "dear-bought lesson," "reckless leaders," with hard words for the officials, and for Latrobe rather than Hotham. Goold, however, considered the latter's prudence at fault - his heart was in Sebastopol. - Moran is completely silent. - According to Kiernan, Irish Exiles, the Irish involved were all from the West countries (p.149). See also Mackle, p.123.



against the oligarchy during the Commons debate on the New Constitution for the Australian colonies, in 1855;<sup>45</sup> and he came to Australia, he announced on arrival, as to a democratic Utopia.<sup>46</sup> A constellation of circumstances determined him, despite warm support and the friendship of Parkes in Sydney, to settle rather in Victoria.<sup>47</sup> Not only was it more wealthy and populous, but it was statistically more promising to a seasoned campaigner like Duffy: the proportion of Irish-born high, the sexual distribution among the Catholics 21:17, against the rest of the community 2:1, promising a future for this minority; and in Villiers-Heytesbury and Dalhousie two electorates with a solid Irish-born-Catholic vote (up to 50%) - Duffy, O'Shanassy and O'Grady shared these green-ribbon seats for a generation.<sup>48</sup> He could look to find the political collusion of clergy and laity rather under Goold and All Hallows, than under Polding and Saint Mary's; and in fact found in Dunne a priest on the authentic

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45. F.J. 8 September, 1855, 29 September, 1855. For the advertising aspect of these speeches, Turner, History of the Colony of Victoria, London, 1904, vol. ii, p.66.

46. Argus, 21 November, 1856.

47. F.J. 5 July, 1856.

48. See Victorian censuses of 1857 and 1861.



pattern, in the Villiers-Heytesbury electorate.

A third factor was O'Shanassy. When Duffy received his testimonial at his hands (and signed by six clergy)<sup>49</sup> - a retainer, he called it, dedicating him to the best interests of Australia - he emphasised their common ground, the desire for effectual social equality for the Catholic - "to make Helots of us in what you cannot do, and shall not do" - but equality, not domination - "I hate Protestant and Catholic ascendancy alike."<sup>50</sup>

The uneasy coalition had two effects on Victorian life. One, specifically political: the early years of responsible government, 1856-1863, were a see-saw between Haines and O'Shanassy, until the secularists took over. The London Times' rather acid analysis in 1865, discussing an unprecedented phenomenon, a ministry fifteen months old returned at a general election, volunteered as an explanation: - "the last

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49. F.J. 9 February, 1856. McEncroe, if I remember, was alone among the Sydney clergy in signing this testimonial. N.S.W. subscribed over £2000. Blair, however, in his article on O'Shanassy in The Centennial Magazine, 1888-9, p.803 et seq., gives O'Shanassy credit for collecting most of the money.
50. F.J. 30 August, 1856. F.J. 16 December, 1856 contrasts (very neatly catching the essence in an accident) the loud laugh of O'Shanassy, the white trousers of Gavan Duffy.

ministry" - O'Shanassy's third - "was almost exclusively Irish; during the long period of twenty months for which it held office, none but Irish appointments were made; and the present Ministry is the fruit of an alliance between the English and Scotch to recapture the spoils."<sup>51</sup> So, it was widely, if falsely, believed, "Has O'Shanassy or Father Geoghegan not a single lamb of the flock upon whom their impartial eyes rest?", asked the Age sarcastically when one appointment went to a Protestant.<sup>52</sup> Hence the unpopularity of Duffy's first cabinet post, Lands and Survey, with the patronage it controlled. Duffy, however, if a new chum ill-informed of local conditions, could at least claim that consistent conviction - "farming never had a fair trial in Australia"<sup>53</sup> - lay behind his ill-judged Land Act of 1862. - The other effect was ecclesiastical: a tendency to divide the Catholic community at a time when education was the burning question. For

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51. Reprod. in S.M.H. 18 March, 1865. Blair contradicts this categorically, as to O'Shanassy, throughout his Centennial Magazine article (f.n. 49 above).
52. Reprod. in Empire (Syd.) ~~no~~ August, 1858.
53. F.J. 31 August, 1859. For a hostile critique of his Act, see S.M.H. 29 March, 1865, reprod. from the (Melbourne) Age. - Mrs. Chisholm was behind this movement also - S.M.H. 9 July, 1859.



O'Shanassy and Duffy diverged on the details of the Land Act,<sup>54</sup> and later on the constitutional balance between the upper and lower house.<sup>55</sup> This was more serious at the lower levels; the attacks on Geoghegan, for instance in 1859, were coloured by party;<sup>56</sup> and there was the world-shaking question whether Duffy's portrait should hang in Saint Patrick's Hall - temporarily resolved in the negative by O'Shanassy's partisans (whose hero already enjoyed this enviable immortality) by means unquestionably crude.<sup>57</sup> The point was that all this commotion pointed to a general political undertow, perpetually threatening the stability of the laity.

The tug-of-war within the individual conscience between the secular ambitions of Young Ireland and loyalty to the Church, personified in the friction

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54. F.J. 5 May, 1860; and (a bitter exchange) 25 August, 1860. Blair, op. cit. pp.805-6, holds that this was calculated careerism on Duffy's part.
55. Duffy, My Life in Two Hemispheres, vol. ii, p.199, et seq., p.209 et seq., cf. alibi (see index). See F.J. 5 August, 1865, Adv. 4 October, 1873. As early (however) as 24 September, 1856, the Herald (Melb.) described O'Shanassy as "perhaps the most bigotted aristocrat of the lot."
56. Cf. F.J. 22 September, 1859, 5 November, 1859, 12 November, 1859: even if the facts were not as alleged, the correspondent himself was a party in my sense.
57. F.J. 21 January, 1860.



between Cullen and Duffy, was the downfall of one Catholic paper after another in Victoria: the succession of failures underlined the reality of the strain at the same time as the lack of a "Catholic" press possibly contributed to the demise of anti-clericalism. Finn, "Garryowen," was true to Young Ireland, in his presidency of the Saint Patrick's Society, forte on nationalism, plano on religious differences - "religion must be effectually shut out," he decreed.<sup>58</sup> His connection with the Herald provided some substitute for a Catholic press, and seemed to give him some interest in the failure of any competitor; but as Finn realised better than anyone else, the substitute was not the real thing. "The Herald more than once remained neutral," insisted Geoghegan, "where our just rights were concerned."<sup>59</sup> There had been talk late in 1847 that Darcy, lately retired from the Sydney Chronicle, intended to start up at Port Phillip. Geoghegan at once wrote the Patriot that the venture had no official sanction; and though the rumour was then denied by those concerned, Geoghegan was left to deny further rumours that he was acting in the matter hand-in-glove with Finn.<sup>60</sup> Here

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58. F.J. 12 December 1860

59. Argus, 10 December, 1851.

60. Syd.Chron. 6 November, 1847, cf. S.M.H. 30 October, 1847. Finn had, in reality, little confidence in the integrity of his employer, Cavenagh, the Herald's owner - Chronicles, p.150, pp.846-7

was a first hint of press versus hierarchy.

A second venture came to grief during the 'fifties under similar circumstances. The Catholic Tribune, was launched by a certain Hanley, with a public mention from Goold himself,<sup>61</sup> and the hearty goodwill of the Sydney Freeman (whose Melbourne subscribers did not pay anyway),<sup>62</sup> in July, 1853. But within two months the paper lost the Bishop's patronage. He explained to the Executive that it was not his public organ; he

had used its columns for advertising purposes only. Its leading articles are not submitted for our approval, and their badly written reflections upon the efficiency and abilities of the respectable and talented gentlemen charged with the administration of this important Government has always met with our most unqualified disapproval.<sup>63</sup>

Foster commented: "It is more important the public should learn of it than the Government." But the Bishop had already taken action, and was able to reply enclosing the editor's announcement of his intention of ceasing publication. Hence the Freeman, in an otherwise triumphant review of the Melbourne diocese

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61. F.J. 9 July, 1853.

62. Cf. F.J. 26 November, 1853, 1 June, 1861.

63. Victorian Chief Sec's Archives, Churches 1853 (box), C9331. The Bishop's action is recounted in a letter (in the same file) dated 29 September - giving the paper two months' life.



early in 1854,<sup>64</sup> had to report the absence of a Catholic press - and even the unlikelihood of one. But a Catholic Chronicle, monthly, ran from 1856 to 1858.<sup>65</sup> Finally, mid-1862, Gavan Duffy launched the Victorian, dedicated, under Deniehy's editorship, "to the work of mainly harmonising the views of the Irish population towards common objects for the public weal....of resisting oppression or misrepresentation and of avoiding any sectional partisanship in the Catholic community."<sup>66</sup> Though Deniehy's editorship naturally had its brilliant passages, the Sydney Freeman repeatedly complained of the Victorian's piracies.<sup>67</sup> And soon, too, the time arrived once more, April, 1863, for the Bishop to announce that the magazine had "ceased to be the exponent of the Catholic opinion in the colony."<sup>68</sup> It, too, went the way of its predecessors, leaving to the Advocate, which has run continuously since February 1868, only a memory, no files.<sup>69</sup>

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64. F.J. 4 February, 1854.

65. Launching, F.J. 20 September, 1856; last reference I have seen, F.J. 6 October, 1858.

66. F.J. 15 April, 1863.

67. E.g. F.J. 2 September, 1863, 9 April, 1864 (note that official disapproval did not kill it at all quickly).

68. F.J. 15 April, 1863.

69. See on the early Victorian Catholic press, the account by F. Mackle, reprod. in Adv. 8 August, 1957. He shows that there was a professedly Catholic paper, of no particular interest, in the early 'forties; and asserts that the Chronicle was the Tribune under a new name, and argues that it existed till 1859 at least; and that the last number of the Victorian was 2 April, 1864. R. Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia uses the files of the Victorian but cannot tell me where he found them.



iv. L'Esprit Presbyterien.

Goold was not much older than many even of the younger men who came to serve under him; Dunne, who publicly clashed with him, was only seven years younger; the Bishop could hardly use condescension as an administrative technique. At the same time, however, he was of a different generation ecclesiastically speaking. He had entered religion at the very time of Catholic emancipation; his social habits, where religion was concerned, conformed therefore rather with the more cramped style of pre-emancipation days; politics he took to be no direct concern of the clergy, and the strategy he approved, O'Connell's, and in Australia O'Shanassy's, was the blunt: "I am a Catholic - come to terms with a fact." The men now coming on, however, were of the Young Ireland generation: a clergy conscious of its political importance, while geared to a laity that sought a maximum of common ground with non-Catholics, and the same career opportunities, and social status. Temperamentally moderate and conservative, Goold held fast to early associations, above all O'Shanassy. But there were plainly these deeper reasons of education and outlook to explain why he should have proved so sensitive, and even hasty, where he thought his authority challenged - for so Dunne

represented him<sup>1</sup> in forty years retrospect.

Trouble began when he posted Dunne, McAlroy and Bermingham together on the one mission in 1854: apostles on the McEncroe pattern, as to mood and method, but with perhaps a snappier style - Dunne himself, frank, with a fatherly air, McAlroy, decidedly dashing, were all their lives to have an electric effect on Irish-Catholic morale in Australia, to engender a group pride and confidence, expressed in energetic building programs.<sup>2</sup> Bermingham, whose handsome face combined strength and finesse, was the preacher, whose eloquence did much to balance the trio's carefully kept budgets.<sup>3</sup> A sample of its dogmatic and scriptural solidity does something to explain his influence, as well (perhaps) as showing us what it was his vanity had to feed on:

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1. Adv. 7 July, 1894. - The title of this section I take from a phrase used by Polding in the context, in a letter to Card. Barnabo, dated September, 1858, S.A.A.
  2. Adv. 30 July, 1947. McAlroy, we may add, had some training as an architect. He was responsible for something like fifteen churches, convents, and other ecclesiastical buildings around Geelong and Goulburn. Cf. Adv. 19 February, 1870 (Bp. Quinn on McAlroy's work).
  3. M. O'Connor, Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Yass Mission, Goulburn, 1861, for both portrait and some well-kept accounts. Moran, who knew quite a deal of history, gives the three portraits together opp. p.72.



God the Son, consubstantial with God the Father - "the brightness of His glory and the figure of His Substance" - having taken a body like ours and a human soul in the most chaste womb of the immaculate Mary made our nature as truly the nature of the second person of the Trinity as His own nature to raise man by the merits of His sufferings "in the likeness of sinful flesh" from the depths of a sorrowful bondage to the happy freedom of the children of God -

and so through the economy of salvation down to the Church:

"not of this world" - set up by God, and not by human hands - guided by His indwelling spirit, and not by human wisdom, which "is foolishness" - preserved by the power of the immortal King of ages and not by that of Kings or Kaisers "which is weakness" - ....to embrace all those who, born again of water and the Holy Ghost, arise from "the laver of regeneration" - "a new creature, dead to sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus our Lord," and adorned with supernatural gifts, whereby they are made, as said Saint Peter, "partakers of the Divine nature."<sup>4</sup>

A far cry, indeed, from the "clerico-laic committees," and the friction with bishops both English and Irish, in which some inner je ne sais quoi involved him time and again.

At Pentridge during Goold's absence, Dunne was associated with Powell, a well-connected English priest, a refugee from Brady's fiasco at Perth, whom Goold

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4. F.J. 22 September, 1860.



put in charge of his experimental monastery, Hippo (it being an Augustinian foundation), 1851. This venture, launched by Geoghegan in a Pastoral full of sweetness and light<sup>5</sup> - and of the loyalty Goold praised in him - drew down the amused contempt of Dunne (an attitude Powell shared). Dunne's is the only narrative<sup>6</sup> of its brief, inglorious existence, terminating with Powell's departure for Sydney in 1853. There was possibly, as a result, already an undercurrent of friction when the Bishop, on his return, retired Ward and Bleasdale from Geelong and sent Dunne for a (second) term there, with H. Geoghegan as Pastor nearby as Ashby, in the same expanding district.<sup>7</sup> Then, late 1854, came McAlroy and Bermingham, and the team got to work. Their fund-raising soirees struck the key note - none of your decadent modern polkas or waltzes, but the Irish jig, reel, and horn-pipe.<sup>8</sup> They were building churches of flesh and blood, as well as churches of brick and timber. We find Dunne, of all the clergy of the period, the most impatient and voluminous correspondent of the Denominational Schools Board, alternatively indignant, caustic, bland, but never wheedling or ingratiating; defending the

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5. F.J. 20 November, 1851.

6. Adv. 26 May, 1894.

7. Adv. 16 June, 1894.

8. Adv. 16 June, 1894.

teachers (as he did to his death) whose abilities the inspectors queried,<sup>9</sup> and telling the inspector that but for the bungling of the Board he could have set up ten additional schools;<sup>10</sup> notifying the Board that having applied for funds for a school at Mt. Moriac, and hearing nothing to the contrary, he went ahead presuming his request was approved (and at once hearing something to the contrary);<sup>11</sup> boldly laying out £600 on schools not authorised by the Board, and following up - January, 1855 - when notifying the establishment of a school at Kildare, with a request for aid towards establishments at Cowies Creek, Germans-town, New Town, Batesford, Indented Heads;<sup>12</sup> and wanting to know, January, 1856, why no salary had been approved for his Superior Girls School at Geelong.<sup>13</sup> Bermingham followed suit.<sup>14</sup> But the temptation was for these missionaries to import the same cavalier tone

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9. See Childers' diary as Inspector, Denom. Schools Board, 1850-1, entries under Colac and Geelong (Dunne's first term of duty in this area).

10. *Adv.* 4 September, 1946.

11. Denom. Schools Board, In Corresp. 11 August, 1853, 22 August, 1853. (~~P.L.V.~~)

12. *Ibid.*, 22 January, 1855.

13. Dunne *to* D.S. Board, 19 September, 1856.

14. Bermingham *to* D.S. Board 31 January, 1857.



into their relations with the Bishop.

And so it fell out. There was friction when the Bishop over-ruled the local clergy and substituted an elaborate and costly plan for the Geelong church.<sup>15</sup> All four priests were removed at a week's notice in March, 1856, the grounds given as economic policy.<sup>16</sup> McAlroy, sent to scout through Gippsland, was soon back to tell the Bishop there were only a dozen Catholics in the area. A glance at the 1854 census assures us that there were well over four hundred, the number doubling by 1857; but many were Scottish, not Irish,<sup>17</sup> and McAlroy did not count them. He joined Bermingham at Mount Moriac, now a separate parish, and the pair soon received excoats and quitted the diocese.<sup>18</sup> Though

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15. Dunne, op. cit. Adv. 16 June, 1894, gives the figure £40 - £50,000. Ebsworth, Adv. 4 September, 1946, who cites no authorities, but tells me he based all his work on the contemporary press, gave £60,000, but made the very plausible suggestion that the grandiose plan was Dunne's own, i.e. he was disowning it in his reminiscences. Geelong, however, was growing more rapidly than any town in Australia, and Goold could have expected its church would serve as a cathedral (cf. St. Patrick's history at this very period); moreover, Dunne does account for the abrupt disposal of March, 1856.
16. Adv. 4 September, 1946.
17. Catholics were numerous in Gippsland much earlier: cf. S.M.H. 26th May, 1846. For the Highlands strain, Austral Light, 1895, p.15; et seq., p.202 et seq.
18. Adv. 23 June, 1894.



warned by Melbourne that Bermingham had been sowing discord between secular and regular clergy, Polding nevertheless took him into the Sydney archdiocese in the hope that youth and zeal might, with experience, become wise: to find, of course, that the defects of rawest youth survived into middle years in this man.<sup>19</sup>

Dunne saw that the departure of his comrades was accompanied by the maximum agitation of public opinion. Motivated, in Polding's view, by personal pique against Geoghegan amounting to vindictiveness, he organised a petition on their behalf (for their retention, I suppose), and the inevitable purse - all under "a delusion of justice and zeal."<sup>20</sup> This, which Dunne did not recall in his published reminiscences, explained his own abrupt dismissal from Belfast a year later. He raised the spectre of Haroldism-cum-Hoganism: priest-and-people versus bishop, and the purse-strings their bargaining lever. He was himself, we may suspect, the "one priest" who had the courage to retort Perry's charge that the Romish (and Satanic) delusion was lent a factitious vitality by state aid:

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19. Polding to Barnabo 20 December, 1861, S.A.A.

20. Polding to Gregory, 29 May, 1857, S.A.A.

the Catholic Church would flourish while the Perry-  
~~McCarthy~~ <sup>M'Cartney</sup> church "would dwindle into insignificance."<sup>21</sup>

Optime pater. But Dunne was prepared to go further, and recommend the abolition of state aid while the going was good - while, that is to say, "the grand old race of Irish Catholics was still living in Australia."<sup>22</sup>

So when Goold was promoting a petition for the continuance of state aid during the campaign against it in 1856, many Catholics refrained from signing, and those of Dunne's district, in the constituency of Villiers-Heytesbury, authorised their member (G. Duffy) to vote for abolition.<sup>23</sup> Along with this went Dunne's conscientious rendering of accounts to the "grand old race" - pleading Irish precedent,<sup>24</sup> but none too solicitous of the decree of the Provincial Council of 1844:

The legal instruments pertaining to ecclesiastical property are to be made out under episcopal supervision to preclude the possibility of any issue arising dangerous

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21. Perry's on endowing error, Argus 23 July, 1851; Dunne's retort Adv. 2 June, 1894.  
 22. Dunne in Adv. 2 June, 1894.  
 23. Dunne, loc. cit.  
 24. P. Dunne, Copy of a statement addressed to Dr. Polding, Archbishop of Sydney, Dublin, 1859, ("Statement to Polding") p.5.



to the safety and liberty of the Church.<sup>25</sup>

Only to the Bishop, as successor of the Apostles, do ecclesiastical revenues belong; not to the Christian people, the multitude of the baptised, for what these give the Church they give as a debt owed, not as a free donation. Dunne may have been right as to the best expedient to adopt, but he evoked a dangerous mood, accompanying it with long-winded self-justification; and the outcome was explicit disobedience, and public press attacks on the Vicar-General by his flock:

Hear it, you Vicar-General...Are there no considerations for the moral, the social, and religious care of the Catholics of Belfast....?....have you no idea that

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25. Original:

Instrumenta legalia bonorum Ecclesiasticorum ita sub Episcoporum cura conficiantur ut aedituis aliisque omnis praecludatur occasio aliquid moliendi quod Ecclesiae immunitati et libertati repugnare possit. (Acta, section on finances, p.23).

It is not denied that it may be tactful, even helpful, to publish accounts. But Perry, by this time, was an object and abject lesson in the matter, in his annual role before his lay-dominated synod. In New South Wales Anglicanism Forster, the future premier, was associated with a similar anti-prelatical move at this time (cf. D.H. Deniehy, Life and Speeches, (ed. Martin) Sydney 1884, p.162) See North Australian 26 February, 1861 (Perry); and Queensland Times, 2 February, 1865 and 11 February, 1865, for similar moves later on in New South Wales.



the church is now only visited by old women? 26

Moreover, whereas Dunne rather naively remarked that the Haines Ministry, reputedly anti-Catholic (as Goold pointed out, every member was also a member of the Church of England),<sup>27</sup> was "liberal and ready to grant any reasonable request made by the Catholics of Geelong,"<sup>28</sup> Goold could not ignore the rather obvious point that Haines, a mason,<sup>29</sup> and at logger-heads with Goold over state-church matters at this very time, may well have thought it to his purpose to foster divisions in the Catholic community.

It was this context, then, that gave moment to the otherwise trivial dispute between the parish of Belfast and the Bishop. Within a month of his arrival there, Dunne requested the Bishop that the £1,006 subscribed locally, plus the government pound-for-pound assistance, be placed at his disposal to begin building a church. He was told that the money would not be available till the following year (did Dunne assume that Saint Patrick's Cathedral was the interim

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26. Dunne, Statement to Polding, append. pp. xiii-xvi (letter to Melb. Herald). For Dunne's self-justification, ibid. pp. 10-11

27. See the file V57/2139 in Victorian Chief Sec's. Archives, Geoghegan's letter of 6 August, 1856.

28. Adv. 16 June, 1894

29. See Argus. 7 July, 1858

beneficiary?), and that £200 would be deducted to satisfy the claim of Shinnick, Dunne's predecessor, who had temporarily lent that amount, his farewell purse, to the presbytery building fund. The parish committee accordingly, Dunne tells us,

requested Father Dunne to write to the Bishop again to express...that they would not be satisfied that any part of the money collected and subscribed exclusively for church purposes should be appropriated to any other object...if Father Shinnick would submit his accounts re the building of the presbytery and if he could show that he was not paid in full, they would collect the money and pay him.<sup>30</sup>

Goold naturally would not recognise this lay body and its claim to supervise church accounts; and suspected Dunne, seeing he had made himself its spokesman,<sup>31</sup> of being behind it all. The committee persisting that it must begin building at once, Dunne was ordered back to Melbourne "without delay" (*sine mora*); but, he tells us,

it was just on the eve of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's election for Villiers and Heytesbury, in which Father Dunne felt very great interest, as it was at his suggestion that Mr. Duffy elected to stand for this constituency. Father Dunne remained for a week at Belfast longer than he otherwise would in order to see the election through. This delay, with other matters in connection with Mr. Duffy's election, displeased the Bishop.<sup>32</sup>

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30. Adv. 23 June, 1894.

31. Dunne, Statement to Polding, append. pp.viii-xiii.

32. Adv. 30 June, 1894.



And Duffy himself was by no means yet Sir Charles, but an Irish rebel to the backbone, with a reputation for somewhat of anti-clericalism, and a potential advocate of the National System. Dunne's complete silence on Duffy, in the apology he published later on in Ireland,<sup>33</sup> suggests that this plunge into politics was an aggravating circumstance.

Enter the press, now, with its wide, well-nigh a universal circulation: anonymity, and a specious air of impartiality, difficult to challenge from the pulpit; and no corrective, as yet, in a sound education system. The Banner of Belfast, like many other nineteenth century Australian country papers, was in impulsive, rather cantankerous Irish hands; those, namely, of Michael O'Reilly. O'Reilly was the local Denominational School teacher, had also run an evening school, kept boarders, and opened a lending library and reading room - quite a power in a small community, and quite a fanatic in his little way.<sup>34</sup> He made the Banner the vehicle of his view that Dunne "was removed because he refused to identify himself with the misappropriation of the church funds by the Bishop,"<sup>35</sup> claiming to have documentary proof. The Argus, then edited by Higinbotham, true

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33. i.e. the Statement to Polding.

34. Adv. 30 July, 1947.

35. Adv. 30 June, 1894.



to form, gave the dispute the widest publicity. Dunne, having used its columns<sup>36</sup> to disclaim any complicity with O'Reilly, but in a manner that "leaves the case untouched," as the Banner said -

As His Lordship the Bishop did not state to me his reasons....it would be unwarrantable and most uncharitable for me to impute such motives to him as have been stated in the said paragraph -<sup>37</sup>

he was asked to make a signed statement that the Banner article was a "false and malicious" libel.<sup>38</sup> Dunne refused, and retreated to Sydney, while the Vicars-General, Geoghegan and Fitzpatrick, fought it out with the Banner and the church committee in the columns of the metropolitan press.<sup>39</sup> Dunne sailed for Ireland the following May (1857), forced, of course, to leave the diocese altogether; but sailed to the music of an address signed by two thousand who were sorry to lose "not only the pious priest, but the dear and trusted friend, who took a daily interest in our concerns," and happy to subscribe (a huge purse by any standards) six hundred guineas for the pious priest's comfort.<sup>40</sup>

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36. Argus 8 November, 1856. Given in Dunne's appendices to Statement to Polding, with Banner article of 21 October, 1856.

37. Dunne, loc. cit. Also Adv. 30 June, 1894.

38. Adv. loc. cit.

39. Cf. Herald (Melb.) 21 November, 1856, the definitive statement issued by Geoghegan and Fitzpatrick. Shinnick was forced to live in a hotel at Bacchus Marsh because Dunne "declined to examine the claim" he put in at the Bishop's direction.

40. Adv. loc. cit.

According to Geoghegan his total haul was £2,000<sup>41</sup> - rather an attractive answer to the question put in the Herald by Belfast's lay committee, "Is there no sympathy, no consideration, but that of being deprived of a mission, for the man who has done more for religion and education than may ever be the lot to record of a dozen such men as Mr. Shinnick?"<sup>42</sup>

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41. Polding to Gregory, 29 May, 1857, S.A.A.

42. Dunne, Statement to Polding, append. pp.xiii-xvi.

v. "The Clerico-Laic Committee" in Action : O'Grady, 1858.

"Although 'responsible government,' in so far as regards the political rule of the country, has not been so prolific of advantage as the more sanguine advocates of its introduction were led to expect, a considerable section of our fellow-colonists are extremely anxious, just now, to see the principle of responsibility introduced into the management and control of ecclesiastical affairs....for some time past differences have existed between the clergy and laity of the Roman Catholic Church - differences in no way relating to any question of faith, or doctrine of theology, or point of morals; but growing out of the entire exclusion of laymen from all participation in what may be termed local church government, and the practical irresponsibility of the clergy to those who subscribe the funds for the erection of places of worship, and the sustentation of ministers of religion..."

The writer of the above in the Geelong Daily News, mid-1858, well-pleased at such a movement for "self-government in ecclesiastical matters," gave it concrete application:

"That unfinished pile of masonry on the Eastern Hill...is that a satisfactory representative of the £33,000 which has been expended on it? Might not the money have gone further, if it had been disbursed under the direction of a clerico-laic committee?"

At this point, the writer seems to have forgotten his cynical opening reflections on democratic processes; he proceeded to a more radical assertion -

"that the priests are not so active as they are... in Ireland, in visiting the destitute and suffering members of their flock; but prefer



cultivating the society of the opulent.... and the evil might be remedied....if some such body existed in the Roman Catholic Church in this colony, as the assembly in the Church of England."<sup>1</sup>

The proponents of this perilous line of reasoning soon showed that Melbourne Catholicism harboured the same dissident elements that had come to the surface in Hobart, Adelaide and Perth; but this time, it gave the assertions against the episcopal authority a far more formidable air of argument and just complaint. Dunne was able to make a distinct impression in Rome and Ireland in his own favour because he could muster corroboration. Powell, for instance, wrote him:

"It is high time...that the Holy Father would take as it were a scourge in his hand and expell (sic) the money changers of Victoria.... the Bishop of Melbourne and his friars have lost public confidence and you might as well think to unite fire and water as to cause a union between them and the Catholics of Victoria. Are eighty thousand Catholics to be allowed to rush headlong into infidelity? Why do not the Bishops of Ireland petition the Holy Father for the recall of Bishop Goold and his friar brigade?"<sup>2</sup>

In the same sense of antagonism towards religious, and favouring Irish-secular-priestly empire-building, another (Phelan) could write back to Ireland of Goold's £5,000 a year, of most of the clergy as "wholly unfit" friars,

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1. F.J. 31 July, 1858, reprod. from Geelong Daily News. Contrast Hayes' remark to the Bishop of Kilmore (1 May 1857, S.A.A.), "Our people here too become less religious in proportion as they acquire wealth," - doubtless a pious simplification.
  2. Powell to Dunne, 8 February, 1858, S.A.A.

of the people "fast hurrying into No-nothingism"; but "if we had a different class of priests and a different bishop...."<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, in New South Wales, at Yass, Bermingham carried on the same campaign. As Makinson put it to Polding, these raw Irishmen were apt to speak of themselves as great missionaries, while almost totally ignorant of the superhuman labours of predecessors less given to self-praise.<sup>4</sup> So Polding spoke to Propaganda, enclosing a newspaper cutting to illustrate his point: Bermingham preening himself as a Bishop, and freely criticising his former superiors in Melbourne, in front of a simple people who drank in everything he said.<sup>5</sup> The Archbishop was eventually asked to administer a severe reproof, only, in doing so, to invite the same sort of criticism on his own head.<sup>6</sup> The tone of this last is conveyed in Polding's spirited disclaimer, written to Goold when Bermingham, forced, after so many reckless assertions, to leave the country, had carried his tale to Propaganda:

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3. Powell to Dunne, 8 February, 1858, S.A.A., gives the Phelan letter.
  4. Undated Memo. in French, S.A.A., re crisis of 1858-9.
  5. 28 January, 1861, S.A.A.
  6. Polding to Talbot, 1862, S.A.A.

What can a man of straight-forward purpose mean by a "candid explanation" of downright calumnies? What explanation can mitigate such phrases as these - no charity amongst the clergy - the whole system is rotten - no schools for the better classes or some such expression - hence infidelity fast spreading - and much of the same character -

All this, as the Archbishop remarked, of "men who had almost a year of toil for every month of (Birmingham's) existence as a priest," and at last taken to Rome as a formal complaint.<sup>7</sup> No wonder Goold's "curt note" to Polding on the question "did not abound in civility," seeing that the latter had, in effect, favoured the calumny by accepting Birmingham's services.<sup>8</sup>

But relations between Goold and Polding underwent graver strain: the Archbishop interfered with unsolicited advice to both Dunne and Goold, made an unauthorised report on the affair to Propaganda,<sup>9</sup> and proceeded, influenced by Willson's opinion,<sup>10</sup> to offer the more politic - and therefore more dangerous - Dunne faculties in the Sydney archdiocese. "I believe the Archbishop is no party to this unpleasant business," was Goold's comment on a similar piece of interference earlier,

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7. Polding to Goold, 27 August, 1861, S.A.A.
  8. Polding to Geoghegan, 17 August, 1860, S.A.A.
  9. Polding to Propaganda, 9 April, 1857, S.A.A. He took it for granted, of course, that he would be asked in any case.
  10. Polding to Geoghegan, 20 June, 1859, S.A.A.



for which he blamed Gregory.<sup>11</sup> But as to Dunne, Goold blamed the Archbishop. Polding was too ready to forget the past and look for the silver lining. He soon realised that he had virtually invited a cabal of practised intriguers into his diocese, and took steps to revoke his offer.<sup>12</sup> But not before Dunne had made use of it: he returned, briefly, to Australia, as chaplain to a party of migrants, 1858, and assumed, in 1859, presidency of a preparatory seminary at Tullamore, feeding Carlow and All Hallows with aspirants for the Australian mission - "what a pity such an Institution is in such hands," Polding exclaimed to Goold.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, Bermingham used his exile to take out his doctorate, with a treatise De Sacramentis.<sup>14</sup>

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11. Goold to Willson, in Hobart Archives. The point at issue was Goold's authority over land-grants and state-aid stipends. Mgr. Cullen puts it in the context of the 1858-9 disputes, but I prefer to date it earlier, in view of 50/223, dated 24 April, in Victorian Chief Sec's Archives, which settles these points in Goold's favour. Obviously the issue could not arise after separation.
  12. He expressed his fears to Gregory, 29 May, 1857 (S.A.A.); and warned Dunne off through Heptonstall - see Goold to Geoghegan (in S.A.A.) 9 September, 1858, 28 December, 1858, 9 April, 1859.
  13. Polding to Goold, 10 January, 1861, S.A.A. Cf. F.J. 23 November, 1859.
  14. Copy in S.A.A. I have leafed it over, but not examined its doctrine. Note, incidentally, that Dunne, as president of Tullamore, refused to admit twelve clerical aspirants brought him from Australia by Bermingham: see a letter from Gregory to Polding, 23 July, 1861, in S.A.A.

Corroborated by Magganotto, and possibly Barry, in Rome, and by agitation in the colonies, their representations were the immediate prelude to complete Irish predominance in the Australian Church; and both returned to this country by grace of a cause they had gravely compromised.

Among the laity, the leader of the campaign against the Bishop, and more particularly against Geoghegan, was the suave O'Grady, a Young Ireland associate of Duffy's,<sup>15</sup> who had arrived in 1855 to found an Australian branch of the People's Provident Society of London.<sup>16</sup> He not only assisted Dunne to compose his libels against Goold for overseas consumption,<sup>17</sup> but helped him get them into the Tablet (London).<sup>18</sup> He used his position as chief promoter of the Victorian Donegal Relief Fund (eviction was now succeeding famine there) to propose the question to the authorities - if at Hawthorne they raised money to bring out a priest - "Would the contributors be recognised as the rightful selectors of their Pastor?"<sup>19</sup> But above all - while the Sydney dissidents were holding up Melbourne as

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15. Duffy, My Life, vol,ii, p.128.

16. Adv. 8 January, 1876 (obit.)

17. Geoghegan to Polding 2 September, 1858. S.A.A.

18. F.J. 21 August, 1858.

19. Geoghegan to Polding, 2 September, 1858. S.A.A.



the model to follow - he wrote in the Freeman how the southerners envied Sydney its hospital, St. John's College, its religious order of men, its two convents of nuns (actually there were three), its secondary schools:

"We have at last got a small body of nuns, and a failure called a college; we have only one good chapel completed; we have no guilds, no confraternities, and but one charity, the orphanage, which has been all but ruined by mismanagement; we have no retreats....no preachers of the least note....our temporal affairs are in chaos.... because we raise our voices against this....<sup>20</sup> state of things, we are branded as lawless."

Here was the Young Ireland sophistication, the pleasure in sending the clergy about their business, transferred roughly to another society, and turning up there as this naive and captious anti-clericalism. But Goold and the other Bishops were not concerned with O'Grady's antecedents. The point for them was that his manner of attack coincided with that of the Sydney Freeman's Journal. They issued, therefore, the severest of warnings,<sup>21</sup> and Goold embarked post-haste for Rome to prevent any further deterioration of his, or his colleagues', reputation with the Propaganda administration.

Geoghegan, therefore, had to face out the final stages of the campaign alone. The democratisers had

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20. F.J. 21 July, 1858.

21. The Monitum Pastorale - see Chapter 7, section xi below. In S.A.A. For Goold's departure, and Melbourne's presentation, F.J. 7 August, 1858.



sent a deputation to Goold, who refused to see them. Geoghegan had informed them, however, that many of their points had been "anticipated and realised," that for the rest "his Lordship will be guided by the discipline of the Church."<sup>22</sup> A meeting followed at Keeley's Hotel, which resolved that properties invested solely in the bishop should be vested in lay co-trustees, and a statement of accounts published. The resolutions were forwarded to Propaganda; Geoghegan was the prelate most aspersed by name,<sup>23</sup> but the criticisms were vague and reckless: "the miserable and cold formality of what is called Catholicity, as practised here" - "wretched schools - a useless college - priests and people unknown to each other - no guilds - no confraternities - no retreats - even the beautiful ceremonies of the church almost unknown."<sup>24</sup> Geoghegan was apprehensive about these accusations. Goold, not worried on this score, very shrewdly judged the laicism to be spilt politics: the key question was simply, would Duffy (and therefore O'Grady) pull with O'Shanassy where revealed truth was at stake (on education, in a word), fostering Catholic

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22. F.J. 10 July, 1858.  
 23. F.J. 12 November, 1859.  
 24. F.J. 22 September, 1858.

unity under the Bishop? Cullen was pessimistic, naturally enough, but Goold's hopes that Duffy would prove "a zealous co-operator with O'Shanassy in sustaining the true interests of the Church,"<sup>25</sup> were justified by the event: when Michie's One Board Bill of 1859 was before the House, while O'Shanassy threatened passive resistance by the Catholics, Duffy denounced the "gross violation of religious liberty and equality."<sup>26</sup> But Duffy, like Archer,<sup>27</sup> felt that the most the Catholics could do in education was spin out an uneasy compromise a little longer, ere the secularists closed in; while O'Shanassy's intransigence closed his political career,<sup>28</sup> Duffy's had a generation to run, O'Grady<sup>29</sup> in his train.

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25. Goold to Geoghegan, 3 December, 1858, S.A.A.

26. F.J. 14 December, 1859.

27. See Archer on O'Shanassy in Austral Light, 1893, p.7 et seq.

28. Now it was he took to squatting, in New South Wales; but his changed views on the Upper House probably owed something to its uses in blocking secular national education.

29. For his nomination, F.J. 31 July, 1861. For Duffy and O'Grady, Duffy, My Life, vol.ii, p.49. For O'Grady's appointment to replace Archer as Catholic representative on the Board of education, see Minutes in the Board's archives, P.L.V., 3 October, 1867. For O'Grady's very edifying laymanship, see obituary Adv. 8 January, 1876.



vi. Church and State and Education.

Goold's relations with the civil government were never smooth. Before the new Constitution came into force (1856), his chief concern was lest the Anglicans in any way establish themselves whilst they had de facto control of the government. For example, when the Bill was proposed "to enable the Church of England in Victoria to regulate the affairs of the said Church," Goold made the rare concession of inditing a petition in his own hand, to be forwarded with the Bill to London; he considered that the Anglicans were taking advantage of the Eureka disturbances (it was January, 1855) to make a bid, covertly, for a quasi-establishment.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in Melbourne as in Sydney, fear of Anglicanism hid from view the nascent secularism really more to be feared. As for state aid, many Catholics, Dunne very emphatically, opposed it as an irritant of inter-denominational feeling; as a departure, so far as Catholics were involved, from the tradition and deliberate policy of the Irish; while as long as they accepted it they laid themselves open to Perry's taunt.<sup>2</sup> O'Shanassy

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1. Chief Sec's Archives <sup>Victoria</sup> ~~55/237~~. 55/237. 4 January, cf. F.J. 28 May, 1855.

2. F.J. 14 February, 1857. The taunt that Catholicism was kept alive by state aid.



fought a long delaying action to retain state aid, however, in the first assembly under responsible government, and at one stage, 1857, stalled off the evil day by one vote, thus protracting assistance till 1861.<sup>3</sup> But the fact that Haines and O'Shanassy, elsewhere so opposed, were at one on this point, did nothing to recommend it either to many secularists, or to many Catholics.<sup>4</sup>

But such direct state finance was of marginal interest only; education was the heart of the matter. At separation, Victoria of course inherited the New South Wales side-by-side scheme, twin Boards, Denominational and National. The Catholic schools got off to a scratchy start, like everybody else. Childers,<sup>5</sup> doing a thorough tour of inspection in 1850, found the school at Boroondara (modern Camberwell-Nunawading) "bark and rough boards; no windows...no flooring." Of the children at Warringal, "many had no shoes or stockings, many were dirty." Lavatories were few and

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3. F.J. 15 August, 1857. It was not, of course, finally abolished till 1870.
  4. Cf. A.G. Austin, George William Rusden and National Education in Australia 1847-1862, pp.114-7. Hence it was the Denominational System received more than twice as much aid as the National.
  5. The following details are from his diary as Inspector for the Denominational Board, in D.S.B. Archives, P.L.V.

primitive; at Williamstown, nearly the longest established of the Catholic schools (eight years), there was none at all for twenty-four boys and thirty-five girls, and Childers "noticed great indecency in approaching." The teachers were in keeping only too often. Of two for whom Dunne had high praise, Childers thought one "backward" and given to drink, the other "not competent." One sure index of low efficiency was high staff turnover. Most of the schoolrooms were ill-equipped. There were brighter patches, especially where the quality of the teaching was concerned. But the whole picture is of a dismal makeshift, strengthening Childers' main argument, reinforced by T. Arnold's reports from Tasmania,<sup>6</sup> that the Denominational system could not meet the needs of the country districts, that the number of schools must be proportioned to the number of children; since "to admit any other principle is to depart from those maxims of wholesome economy"<sup>7</sup> which as the century wore on were to over-ride considerations of conscience and philosophy.

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6. Arnold to Childers 8 March, 1851, 19 May, 1851. They, like Rusden, wanted a National, but not precisely a non-religious, system.

7. Childers' report on the denominational system, D.S.B. archives. But it is reported in Argus, 11 December, 1851.

The Argus was already an advocate of outright secularisation:

"What shall I do to be saved?...This every man is at liberty, in the exercise of an inalienable right, to judge of and answer for himself.... But the other question, in which the working classes are also deeply interested, is - "what shall we do to provide wholesome food, comfortable raiment, pleasant dwellings, and the harmless luxuries of life for our wives, our children, and ourselves?" This is a question that none of our catechisms answer, and yet it is the only question worth asking, with reference to any system of education."<sup>8</sup>

The all-important assertion I have underlined might be adjudged a very bold one for this early period; but events in South Australia were already providing ammunition for the secularists. There, the Denominational Board was abolished by the first legislature; Stawell had made a similar move in Victoria's first assembly, but afterwards withdrew; O'Shanassy prepared for future struggles by a careful analysis of the South Australian legislation.<sup>9</sup>

The next crisis came in the first half of 1854, following the 1853 parliamentary committee on education, at whose hearings Geoghegan had retracted the approval he had previously given the Irish system.<sup>10</sup> Rusden

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8. Argus, 30 September, 1851.

9. Argus, 20 November, 1851, 18 December, 1851, for Stawell. F.J. 15 August, 1852, for O'Shanassy (and Geoghegan) on South Australia.

10. 7 August, Austin, op. cit., gives an account, pp.97-8.



had been prominent, both before the Committee and in the columns of the Argus, arguing for a uniform national system, and aspersing his opponents; to which Geoghegan had replied in a vein of sarcasm concerning the "vastly over-rated publication" of this "smooth-shinned genius."<sup>11</sup> Now (March-April, 1854), a very determined effort to institute a single national system, with the exclusion of the clergy from the schools, elicited a Pastoral from Goold condemning it as "fraught with danger to the independence of the Church and to the Faith and Morals of our children;" Catholic counter-petitions were received "with studied disrespect."<sup>12</sup> At a meeting called and chaired by the Bishop the Catholics reaffirmed their opposition, and took further measures

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11. F.J. 9 April, 1853, 16 April, 1853, 30 April, 1853. The articles in question were a build-up preceding the publication of Rusden's National Education in June (by the Argus!). The work, we should particularly note, was dedicated to Plunkett (see Austin, op. cit., p.31, p.87 et seq. for an account of it). But as Rusden's History reveals, he wore blinkers where the Church was concerned, e.g. (Vol. iii, p.334):-

"If less detail be given of the polity of the Church of Rome than of others in these pages, the explanation that it is derived from abroad might be sufficient, even without the addition that an Englishman might erroneously describe that which has its foundations in a foreign land."

12. F.J. 1 April, 1854.

to make their opposition heard, including a memorial to the Queen.<sup>13</sup> O'Shanassy, maintained in the House that the government was determined to "thrust the measure on an unwilling people;"<sup>14</sup> and Latrobe, though very soon to retire, took this view, and refused to give the measure his sanction.<sup>15</sup> The key clause, in the Freeman's view, was that which vested all Denominational schools, along with National, in one common Board.<sup>16</sup>

The general administration of education, despite the fact that the Denominational System got the lien's share of the grants, brought little comfort to the Bishop; the anti-clericalism intimated in Curr's initial appointment to the Denominational Board coloured proceedings throughout. "The Regulations of the Board," Geoghegan wrote Pohlman, the worthy and popular chairman of the Denomination Board, "were actually published in the form of law, before the Right Reverend the Bishop had any opportunity afforded him to exercise a rightful judgment on their ecclesiastical compatibility."<sup>17</sup> The text books chosen

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13. Ibid.

14. F.J. 15 April, 1854.

15. F.J. 29 April, 1854.

16. Ibid.

17. D.S.B. In Corresp., 1 March, 1849.

for use were those of the Irish system, leaving the Denominations no choice, "contrary to the spirit of rule the tenth," Coffey complained to the Board on the Bishop's behalf.<sup>18</sup> It was difficult to get teachers of quality for the salaries offered. Meanwhile, the state system threatened to gain favour in the eyes of the Catholic people because, partly from the very fact that it was based on the Irish model, it employed a number of Catholic teachers, in particular the Principal of the Model School set up for the training of teachers in 1854, the Irishman Davitt.<sup>19</sup> When in 1859 a correspondent of the Herald alleged discrimination against Irishmen and Catholics on the part of the National Board, Kane was able to reply in the Board's defence that nine of twenty-five appointments to the model school were Irish Catholics. "This risk was incurred to the general success of the system, in order to conciliate the Roman Catholic part of the population to the principles of National Education." Rusden denied this "in order to"; but it is of some interest that he did not deny the next phrase of Kane's letter, which <sup>the</sup> manuscript reveals to have been an afterthought: "but as it has turned out without effect."<sup>20</sup>

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18. D.S.B. In corresp., 22 March, 1849.

19. There is a file on his appointment, unanimously recommended by the Irish board, in D.S.B. Corresp. 54/157, 387, 499, 521.

20. D.S.B. Corresp. 59/1180. The original shows these differences.



One is not altogether surprised to find Davitt summarily dismissed from the end of March, 1859, and succeeded by Orlebar, a preacher connected with a very different "Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church" of his own contrivance. The grounds given for Davitt's dismissal were grounds of economy, which apparently had a lot of work to do for the secularist thesis.<sup>21</sup>

Energetically promoted by the clergy, the Catholic schools system, though far from adequate, was in fact expanding at least as fast as the colony: the thirty-odd schools of 1853 were trebled by 1857. The teacher/pupil ratio was good by modern standards, seldom had a school of more than forty children only one teacher; though the teacher, of course, had to conduct lessons at many levels simultaneously. But we can too easily forget how primitive things were. At Warrenheip in 1860 the inspector complained, among many other things, of pigs, dogs, and fowls in the schoolroom. And still the high turnover in teachers - eight, for example, at Brighton between 1852 and 1864; nine at Wangaratta up to 1867; the same story at Castlemaine, Kyneton, St.

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21. Dismissed by letter of 25 February, 1859, as from end of March. See the file 59/1489 for Orlebar's appointment, and Pohlman's weighty dissent. Orlebar had brought himself to notice by attacks on Davitt, 56/2193. Pohlman considered him "disingenuous."

Kilda.<sup>22</sup> This strengthened the argument of the Denominational School Board's critics. And when pressure of business, not to mention politics, forced O'Shanassy to resign from the Denominational Board in June, 1856, with many a flourish of compliment to Pohlman, like the flourish of O'Shanassy's handwriting,<sup>23</sup> a long dispute over his successor indicated what was coming. Asked by Haines, according to custom, to name a replacement, Goold named Archer. Macarthur and the Council refused to sanction this, "as it is not desirable that a Gentleman holding a subordinate Office in a Public Department should be appointed a member of a Board of Education." Any Board? Goold pointed out that Rusden, the clerk of the Council, was on the National Board. When Rusden himself signed the reply, denying the parity of the two cases, it looked to the Bishop, who was not to know the strife between Haines and Rusden,<sup>24</sup> like a piece of Ascendancy ganging up. Neither side would give in; the Bishop feared that to make another nomination might be to expose himself to

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22. Adv. 22 October, 1947, 24 September, 1947, 2 July, 1947, 20 November, 1946, 8 October, 1947. For the livestock, 30 April, 1847. (All Ebsworth).
23. The file ~~was~~ 57/2139 in the Victorian Chief Sec's Archives, covers the narrative that follows. O'Shanassy's resignation was 18 June, 1856.
24. Austin, op. cit., p.81.

humiliation once more; while there was sharpness in Rusden's note of August 25 (two months had elapsed, and the Catholic interest was apparently suffering meanwhile):

.... as His Lordship appears to consider that the appointment itself is vested in or has been delegated to him and that he is the proper judge of the validity of the objection taken, thus assuming an authority and responsibility which the Government cannot admit that he possesses, no common grounds exist for further discussion in the matter.

The dispute dragged on, Goold insisting on the duties of the Episcopal office, the Executive "not prepared to admit that Members of the Denominational Schools Board are representatives of the Heads of the various denominations to which they belong;"<sup>25</sup> till the defeat of the Haines ministry the following year enabled the incoming O'Shanassy to write (I imagine with a broad smile):

The Government do not concur in the objections taken by their predecessors to Mr. Archer's appointment.

But the real point of the dispute was not the office or personality of Archer, but the consideration intimated in one of Rusden's carefully vetted letters: "Looking forward also to changes in the manner of conducting Public Education, which are rendered necessary under the system of Government established by the New Constitution." A trial draft of this letter is even more



revealing:

Under the system of government established by the New Constitution it will be necessary to determine whether the Administration should be responsible for the education of the people or not. If it be determined that it should be, the two Boards at present conducting the business of education should be dissolved and their functions transferred to a paid Department under the direct control of the Executive....A board composed partly of independent Members and partly of subordinate Government officials would in this case be perfectly inadmissible. <sup>26</sup>

And in the margin someone had written:

Some change in the present system must take place in the ensuing session in the mean time the Government must decline making any appointment which is not in accordance with the views now expressed.

Whatever the Bishop made of the guarded phrasing in which the Executive had actually written to him, with the moves for abolition of state aid to religion he probably thought the writing was on the wall. The next development was "Mr. Fawkner's Act," as it was called, a questionnaire on the teaching of religion in Denominational Schools, and the clerical supervision exercised over them;<sup>27</sup> though ostensibly following the pattern of a similar move by Plunkett in New South Wales, it was somewhat slanted by its focus on the bye-months, over the mid-summer period. Though many of the Catholic clergy filled it out in a routine fashion -

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26. Some date in August.

27. 61/A2744 in Victorian Chief Sec's Archives.

Slattery of Warnambool, whose arrangements were later considered sadly deficient by some of his fellow-clergy, stated that he "frequently" visited his schools, and "mostly" gave religious instruction,<sup>28</sup> - others obviously sensed a hostile purpose in the legislation. Bleasdale quoted the Order setting up the Denominational system, on the exclusive right of the clergy to regulate the religious instruction in state schools, and made it clear that for Catholics this meant exclusively the Bishop.<sup>29</sup> Backhaus was evasive, and gave his sense of humour an airing for the occasion in the course of a long delaying action, "most respectfully" requesting that they contact the Bishop; then, "not remembering the purport of question Nos. 4 and 5" (there being only four questions); finally, six weeks late:

In reply to your letter of yesterday's date, allow me to say, that the returns which I had the honour of furnishing you with, a short time ago could not be certified by trustees of the resp. schools, or a member of school-committee, because none of them exist, and the reason, why no school-committee exists, I can hardly say to be any other, except that none have been found necessary, and that it has been thought proper to act upon the well-known maxim, that the simplicity of the machinery is the best guarantee for its durability as well as efficiency.<sup>30</sup>

There was irony, perhaps even poetic justice, in the fact that the Denominational Schools Board should

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28. 61/R2988

29. 61/R3210 (23 April, 1861)

30. 61/R4068 (15 April, 23 April; 15, 21 May - the final quote).



have been dissolved during the term of O'Shanassy's final ministry (1861-1863), the Bill being brought forward by a private member, Heales, the main argument being sound economy; O'Shanassy not taking the matter as one of confidence, and using his position to put Archer on the new Common Schools Board (1862) and keep Rusden off it. The political circumstances were peculiar.<sup>31</sup> O'Shanassy was at the head of a highly unstable coalition, including his old foe Haines at the Treasury, plus one member of the defeated Heales ministry to which his had succeeded. Before resigning, Heales had informed the National Board of its share of the estimates for the following year. If one wanted to be indignant, one could begin with Heales' indecent attempt to commit his successor. But, as Rusden tells it, "Mr. O'Shanassy resolved to repudiate his predecessor's act; and his breach of faith hastened the abolition of the denominational schools which he wished to serve."<sup>32</sup> O'Shanassy's appointment of denominationalist zealots to the Board

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31. I take them from Turner, A History of the Colony of Victoria, ii, pp. 162-3. See also Queensland Times, 27 May, 1862 (failure of O'Shanassy's bill); 6 June, 1862 (an open question in cabinet); and the North Australian 14 June, 1862 for Heales' Bill. The unity of the colonies was by now a political factor, favouring secularism; hence this up-to-date Queensland interest.

32. Rusden, History, iii, p.279.



administering the Common Schools, so as "to warp the measure from its purpose," also helped to provoke the subsequent nationalisation of education by Francis in 1872: "his temporary success would lead to a measure still more odious in his eyes."<sup>33</sup>

The Bishops gathered together for the second time in eighteen years in 1862 to sound the alarm; divorce and the abolition of state aid were in the air, and the Bishops therefore dwelt on the dangers of mixed marriage, and the obligation of supporting the Church and its charities; but the greatest stress was put on the education question. Describing "National Education" as a manifest misnomer for a system "in truth sectarian", and even a "persecuting sectarianism" so far as it tended to force Catholics to use a system "vitally defective," Polding, Willson, Goold, and Quinn went on to state their own aims.<sup>34</sup>

"....subjects taught, the teacher and his faith, the rule and practices of the school day, all combine to produce the result which we Catholics consider to be education....the day with its work and devotions, arranged on a plan consistent throughout our faith, will mould one form of character, the day not so arranged will produce quite another....."

There is the Polding touch in the homely metaphor with which the argument was clinched:

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33. Ibid. p.380

34. Moran, p.770 et seq., for this document. See F.J. 20 December, 1862.



"It would be as wise to take away one of the constituent elements of common air, and think to maintain the health and vigour of human beings, living in that unnatural medium, by restoring afterwards the withdrawn element, as to make up a Catholic education for children by adding at one time the religion which has been scrupulously banished at another."

But here was an argument addressed to believing Catholics, designed to make them see that everything was at stake. The ens rationis called public opinion was already probably inaccessible to argument in this matter: "it is hard to persuade men actuated by no irreligious motive that their acts have an irreligious tendency."<sup>35</sup> The ideological community of the colonies in terms of secular liberalism, it is plain, anticipated, rather than grew from, their economic and political integration. And the concomitant fetish of national unity laid the Protestant majority open to the insinuations of the small clique of ardent rationalists; while, claims Rusden, "there were also, in populous places, many who drank in eagerly, as liberal, any doctrine savouring of repugnance to authority, law and religion."<sup>36</sup> Rusden's name belongs to the history here on a double count; he saw clearly what the great issue was in nineteenth century Australia, and prophesied truly a posterity "plunged into moral

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35. Rusden, op. cit., p.386.

36. Ibid. p.382.

disorders because their fathers would not see,"<sup>37</sup>  
(there is acumen, and sound history, in that "would");  
but he himself would not see secularism as what  
indeed it was, the nemesis of Protestantism, its  
subjectivism and libertarianism; and he now faded  
from the scene, disowned by either side. It was  
not now Denominational versus National, but religious  
versus secular, education. And education and civi-  
lisation are the same thing.

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37. Ibid.



vii. Hibernicisation.

The union of priest and people, Irish fashion, Goold came to see as the proper counter to the education challenge.<sup>1</sup> This was true enough in Victoria, where the immigrant Catholics swamped the native.

On his 1858 trip, Goold had sought priests<sup>2</sup> (including a Chinese<sup>3</sup>), Mercy Sisters,<sup>4</sup> Old Masters,<sup>5</sup> the authorisation of Catholic chaplains for the immigrant ships<sup>6</sup> - he described the Commission, "opposed to Confession,"<sup>7</sup> with dry humour as "thoroughly Protestant from the Commissioner down to the sweeper in the office of the Irish Agency in Dublin (perhaps this last important official belongs to the "old faith")."<sup>8</sup> - But he was abroad, above all, to represent the views of the Australian hierarchy at this crucial juncture. So he recommended that Serra be recalled to give an account of affairs in Perth, whilst a Visitator (though -

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1. Adv. 16 January, 1875.
  2. Goold to Geoghegan, 22 October, 1858 (S.A.A.), reporting success.
  3. Adv. 16 July, 1949, for Ebsworth's account of Father Ah Lee's work in Australia. Not more than a dozen of the Chinese were Catholic.
  4. Moran, p.763. The diary here is very full and informative for the reader with background knowledge.
  5. Ibid., p.762. Also a mention of Rossi's work.
  6. Moran, p.762.
  7. Goold to Geoghegan, 14 December, 1858, S.A.A.
  8. Goold to Geoghegan, 14 October, 1858, S.A.A.

jealous of the episcopal prerogative - Goold made this conditional on Serra's consent) make an independent report (and Goold bluntly refused to be the Visitor).<sup>9</sup> There was the see of Adelaide to fill, the question of a new see in Queensland, and of splitting up New South Wales. But when Polding wrote him, "I bless God again and again for having so arranged that you should be in Rome just at this time,"<sup>10</sup> Polding had in mind the entire situation begotten by the sudden institution of manhood-suffrage democracy. Perhaps there was a note of fatalism in Polding's remark to Goold in October, 1857, that "the education question is one which cannot fail to be marred by infidel unconscientious hands;" while in the same letter he had still to deplore the Therry-Willson dispute.<sup>11</sup> Soon came his own trials, "those discussions in the public press," as Moran so gently put it, "in which laymen set themselves up as judges of the Bishops of the Church, and sought to bring into discredit the administration of ecclesiastical affairs."<sup>12</sup> It was, said Polding,

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9. Moran, p.762.

10. Moran, p.784.

11. Moran, p.754.

12. Moran, p.768. The Cardinal's material on this crisis is excellent, but he leaves the detective reader to solve the case for himself.

"the critical hour for us."<sup>13</sup> So we find him writing to Goold in Rome, February, 1859, assuring him that he was not handing on the recommendations of the Campbelltown Conference just as a matter of form, while really opposed to them:

A great effort will be made next session of Parliament to do away with what is called State aid; and an attempt will be made to bring in a Bill to give the Church of England a status which other denominations have not. I want the Bishops, my dear Lord; perils without, perils within; the Episcopal authority is wanted to hoop up the body, and to make it strong in its unity. <sup>14</sup>

For all practical purposes, now that Murphy was dead, the big decisions rested with three men: Polding, Willson, Goold. Now "my esteemed friend the Bishop of Hobarton" was opposed to Benedictinisation; so in effect Goold held the whip hand. For Adelaide, Polding, characteristically vague and casual, had recommended "an old friend of mine" (the "old" was thoroughly justified), MacDonnell, an Englishman; though later he favoured Geoghegan. For Brisbane, he had recommended, first Gregory (with the astounding argument that "there is not so much to be done as in the larger Diocese of Maitland"); later Lynch; the Marist, Popinal; and Sweeney, another English Benedictine. For Maitland, Gregory; for Yass, another

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13. Moran, p.784.

14. Moran, p.785.



Englishman. He thought to reinforce his advocacy by sending it per favour of Frederick Weld, his trusted friend.<sup>15</sup> All to no avail. For Brisbane, Goold had set his sights on Quinn, the head of the school that supplied Newman's university, the general supervisor of several bold enterprises of the Sisters of Mercy (their hospital, their Crimean campaign),<sup>16</sup> who was a kinsman of Cullen, and a former student under him at the Irish College in Rome. He was the thin end of a great wedge, and his consecration was a great gathering of the Irish bishops.<sup>17</sup> Moran, whose active concern with Australia dates from now,<sup>18</sup> leaves us in no doubt that Goold's intervention was decisive: "specially recommended by Dr. Goold as alone suited" - while Goold "requested Archbishop Cullen's sanction to present the name of Dr. O'Quinn" - and "wished himself to be the bearer of the Pontifical Briefs."<sup>19</sup>

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15. Moran, pp.784-5.

16. Moran, p.600 et seq.

17. Moran, pp.606-7.

18. B. Doyle, art. on McEncroe headlined "A priest who gave Church in Australia its Irish tradition," Catholic Weekly, 7 November, 1957. One of a series entitled "Catholic Men of Mark," 1957-58. Mr. Doyle's historical work, while not polished in its argument, is frequently replenished from the primary sources.

19. Moran, p.598, p.606.

Geoghegan, on whom all were agreed, was promoted to the Adelaide See - and so removed from his Victorian critics only to learn how

timor et minae  
scandunt eodem quo dominus.

What is of no small moment, considering the criticism then being levelled against Polding, in Sydney, is that no new sees were created because Quinn, in particular, but also Willson and Goold, refused to give their sanction.<sup>20</sup>

If, therefore, Cullen was the architect of empire, Goold was the chief factor in the realisation of his design in Australia. True, one cannot ignore McEncroe; Moran's history could hardly have done more to preserve his name from oblivion. Nevertheless, he had more than once compromised himself. At this very juncture, though he had free entry among the Irish elite in Rome, he was under a cloud by reason of his declared association with a near-schismatic journal, as Goold's diary hints:

Feb. 6th. (Sunday). - Dined at the Irish College; Cardinal Barnabo was one of the guests. Before dinner he spoke to me of Father McEncroe, alluding to the article and letter from Duncan signed "Isidore," that appeared in the Freeman, in reference to the Monitum Pastoralis....He said

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20. Moran, p.785.

that they disclosed their foolish designs.<sup>21</sup> McEncroe had, no doubt, sympathisers among the Irish hierarchy; he knew where to draw the line in his own conduct; he was, as they say in Ireland, as right as he was wrong. But Goold was out to neutralise his influence at this stage. He and Cullen shared another mind. Goold, no friend to direct Irish interference in Australia's affairs, nevertheless has a dozen or more references in his diary to letters and conversations between himself and Cullen during this trip.<sup>22</sup> Much later, 1873, Goold gave succinct expression to the argument that drew them together:

As regards the objection that the Bishops of Australia are all Irish...Everyone will easily understand that to successfully govern a people, even in spiritual matters, it is expedient to be acquainted with their disposition, their inclinations, their habits, their customs, and their language, and especially to secure their affection. If this holds good for all nations in general, it is in a special manner true as regards the Irish who, as a rule, are more docile to their own countrymen than to others. It must be added that the purport of the aforesaid objection is to introduce English instead of Irish Bishops into the Australian Church, and hence the expediency of appointing Irish prelates becomes the more apparent, for everyone is aware of the special antipathy of the Irish towards England. Hence I am convinced that

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21. Moran, p.761. I repeat that Moran is candid and penetrating on this whole crisis provided one cross-indexes.
22. I have noted such in the diary for 4, 8, 11 December, (1858); and in 1859, 2, 8, 13 February; 8, 9, 13, 29 June; 9 July. There are no doubt others.



in order to avoid grave unpleasantness it is altogether expedient to give Irish Bishops to Australia. <sup>23</sup>

Moreover, Cullen, who had similar troubles, shared Goold's contempt for the "clique."<sup>24</sup>

By consequence, the contest over the next few years for the ear of Barnabo, was not so much one between Benedictine and Irish-secular, as one between responsible and irresponsible Hibernicisation. This, as much as any fear of offending Polding, delayed the appointment of new bishops. Bermingham, indeed, took it on himself to urge the more likely Irish candidates for Australian sees, in almost hysterical terms, to accept the mitre in order to save it from degradation.<sup>25</sup> But they were by no means disposed to take such onerous duties so lightly. McEncroe, however, reinforced Goold's views during a long stay at All Hallows, one more circular letter, a generous benefaction.<sup>26</sup>

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23. Moran, pp. 786-7.

24. Goold to Geoghegan, 3 December, 1858, S.A.A. Cullen, in fact, was at this time involved in "similar troubles" at the hands of Miles, the president of the Irish College in Paris. Cf. F.J. 18 August, 1858, 16 October, 1858.

25. Dr. E.M. O'Brien has noted two letters from Bermingham to Moran in Dublin Archdiocese Archives, one 15 June 1863, the other c.1864, to this effect. It was however, Mr. A. Cahill, of Sydney Uni. history department, who drew my attention to them.

26. R. Wynne, Archdeacon McEncroe, A.C.R., 1956, p.118.

While travelling abroad, Goold, in a voluminous correspondence with Geoghegan, was able to follow closely the rise and subsidence of the wave of anti-clerical feeling. He did so without a moment's self-doubt, or self-reproach. For as Polding remarked of Melbourne to Gregory, "far greater activity here than with us," "every available site for school or Church.... keenly looked out for and applied for"<sup>27</sup> - the Cork merchant in Goold made him a good pioneer bishop. "What do they want?", well he might ask it:

The Jesuits and the Redemptorists and other religious communities cannot meet the demands made upon them at home - The Brothers have been applied to. They have invariably replied that they cannot spare any of their body for the colonies. I have asked them to open their Novitiates to us and they have declined....with regard to the management of the temporal affairs that will never be taken out of the Bishop's hands. If there is any mismanagement let them prove it - assertion is not proof. <sup>28</sup>

Well, "I forgive them from my very heart"<sup>29</sup> but anxiety was kept alive by Geoghegan's disconsolate report of O'Grady's campaign and the "revd. libellers" behind him, and "the August manifesto of the malcontents."<sup>30</sup>

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27. 29 May, 1857 (S.A.A.) For Goold's estimate of his attackers, as unscrupulous calumniators, there is evidence in a letter to Geoghegan of 12 November, 1858 (S.A.A.)

28. Goold to Geoghegan, 28 December, 1858, (S.A.A.)

29. Goold to Geoghegan, 12 November, 1858 (S.A.A.)

30. Ibid.

He bade Geoghegan "be a little more hopeful and cheerful" -"you have nothing to fear from any statements made to the Propaganda by Dunne and Co."<sup>31</sup> And shortly, "rejoiced that the clergy and laity have at last noticed the low intrigues of this wretched party,"<sup>32</sup> he went to Pius armed with names and dates. The Pope, he reported, alluded to "the libellers of our good name....in terms of bitter reproach:" no enemy of religion so insidious as he that persecutes in religion's name.<sup>33</sup> Presumably Pius listened to his counsel not to appoint "foreigners for English missionaries."<sup>34</sup> While a dinner at the Irish College gave him a chance to express his opinion "on the countenance given by the heads of that establishment to such men as Dunne,"<sup>35</sup> though he vigorously maintained it was Polding's fault.<sup>36</sup> - And from whatever distance, he directed, as well as observed, diocesan matters. "I hope Smyth is more obedient,"<sup>37</sup> he might remark; then:

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31. Goold to Geoghegan, 15 November, 1858 (S.A.A.)  
 32. Goold to Geoghegan, 25 November, 1858. (S.A.A.)  
 33. Goold to Geoghegan, 3 December, 1858. (S.A.A.)  
 34. Moran, p.762. Goold was thinking of Serra. Griver, however, another Spaniard, succeeded.  
 35. Goold to Geoghegan, 3 December, 1858 (S.A.A.)  
 36. Goold to Geoghegan, 28 December, 1858 (S.A.A.)  
 37. Goold to Geoghegan, 30 March, 1859 (S.A.A.)



Don't let Kennedy remain at Beechworth - it is not the place for him. Tierney is too young a man to be alone. If Moore cannot be spared from Melbourne let Mr. Lordan be placed with Mr. Tierney. Lordan is a useful working man. <sup>38</sup>

One disposition, however, he did not make. He had gone hoping "to obtain a clever man from the converts" to run his seminary, but finding this tribe had "prejudices not easily over-ruled or managed," suggested a temporary arrangement with Bleasdale and Farrelly.<sup>39</sup> But the Vicars-General (Fitzpatrick and Geoghegan worked in happy concert) ~~insisted on appointing~~ appointed Barry, an able and prominent priest, who preached at Geoghegan's consecration.<sup>40</sup>

Willson brought an end to the rumblings against Geoghegan with a characteristically emphatic defence.<sup>41</sup> When Goold returned late in 1859, he met the wrath of his assailants with a soft answer - also an extremely pedestrian one, a sample of his flattest oratory: "He (the Bishop) was therefore proud of the College, and he was quite sure they were all proud of it"<sup>42</sup> -

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38. Goold to Geoghegan, 5 August, 1859.

39. Goold to Geoghegan, 4 August, 1859.

40. F.J. 17 September, 1859.

41. F.J. 30 November, 1859.

42. F.J. 31 December, 1859.

this, of the "failure called a college." And again, when the Richmond Catholics met to plan a church, "His Lordship expressed himself much pleased with the unanimity and good feeling manifested at the meeting."<sup>43</sup> Yet their priest, Madden, had not long before been a focal-point of his troubles.<sup>44</sup> - Into the early 'sixties notwithstanding the Banner thundered on - how, it declared, it had trampled clerical influence underfoot before, and would do so again.<sup>45</sup> But already such rhetoric had had its day.

Barry, however, dealt a last, shattering blow. In vain did Goold hope that "the accounts of the College are regularly audited:"<sup>46</sup> Barry rendered false accounts, to conceal a debt that quickly mounted above £4,000. Along with this, as executor for a number of wills (an office Goold had forbidden his clergy to discharge in any case) he practised systematic fraud, mainly on widows and orphans.<sup>47</sup> At length, January, 1862, he absconded to Ceylon. He sailed, appropriately

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43. F.J. 18 July, 1860.

44. Madden (Goold to Geoghegan, 3 December, 1858, S.A.A.) had abetted O'Grady. For his energetic constructive work, a la Dunne-McAlroy, see Adv. 22 January, 1947. Powell assisted him. For the presence of Duffy and O'Grady at his farewell, F.J. 9 July, 1864.

45. Adv. 13 August, 1947.

46. Goold to Geoghegan, 14 October, 1858, S.A.A.

47. Goold to Polding, 16 January, 1862, S.A.A.

enough, by the Venus:<sup>48</sup> for here, too, as with Gourbeillon, there was a mulier subintroducta. When he returned, it was only to dispute the liability with the Bishop in a published pamphlet.<sup>49</sup> The creditors backed him, refusing the trifling dividend offered by his personal estate lest they lose their claim on the College and the diocese.<sup>50</sup> The institution, therefore, was bankrupted. Barry from first to last made the most of the fact that the Bishop would reveal nothing of his more scandalous shame to an already deeply shocked public.<sup>51</sup> Goold warned Propaganda, Cullen, and others, for Barry had already imposed on the confidence of the Bishop of Brisbane.<sup>52</sup> Notifying Polding, he added the bitter observation:

Perhaps the Irish Archbishops and Bishops will try their benevolent experiments upon this.... (letter torn)....they may see in his case another grievance to be redressed, (an) other complaint against the Bps. in Australia.<sup>53</sup>

Two more priests, ignorant of Barry's unchastity, but implicated in his other misdemeanours, had to be dis-

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48. Q.T. 28 January, 1862.

49. F.J. 21 May, 1862.

50. N.A. 28 October, 1862.

51. Q.T. (i.e. as an example of public reaction), 28 January, 1862, 21 March, 1862, 26 August, 1862. For the meeting of the creditors, *ibid*, 21 October, 1862.

52. Goold to Polding, 16 January, 1862 (S.A.A.)

53. *Ibid*.



missed.<sup>54</sup> The phlegmatic Goold confessed to Geoghegan:

I am sick to the heart of Episcopal care -  
I cannot apply myself to anything.<sup>55</sup>

The grave hurt to the diocese was matter for the Synod of the Bishops called at the end of 1862; but again Barry's luck held, there was no will to try the case in Australia on account of the scandal, even though it meant sending Barry home with much of his influence intact.<sup>56</sup> All Goold could do was cut his losses, including the seminary itself. He made sure, though, that no more itinerant priests, collecting for one good cause and another, pass through his half-crippled diocese.<sup>57</sup>

He threw himself into missionary work once more. Occasional sermons, Hayes, or Shiel, would still preach for him;<sup>58</sup> but a specimen of his pastoral instruction survives, a confirmation at Heidelberg, with just a

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54. Goold to Geoghegan, 13 January, 1862 (S.A.A.)  
One of these was "Madden," but not, I think, Madden of Richmond, who did not resign until 1864 (Adv. 29 January, 1947).
55. Ibid.
56. Polding to ? (Geoghegan?), 21 November, 1862, S.A.A.  
For influence, cf. Barry's letter reprod. in N.A. 10 October, 1863.
57. N.A. 16 July, 1864. The same paper, 23 July, reported another R.C. scandal at Geelong, from S.M.H. 15 July, 1864.
58. E.g. F.J. 30 June, 1860, 27 March, 1861, 21 July, 1866.

touch of cliché and stiffness:

Bear in mind what this sacrament has done for the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and the many saints who have adorned the Catholic Church. Remember how pure and innocent your souls ought to be to receive worthily this ~~morning~~ the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost - you will leave the Church fortified to fight the battle against the world, the flesh, and the devil. If you permit yourselves to fall, the greater will be your disgrace. The Cross, the banner of Jesus Christ, will now be placed in your hands. You will have publicly this morning sworn allegiance to that old standard, and, therefore, fidelity on your parts must proclaim to the world your belief in that glorious ensign of victory. May God in his goodness and mercy this morning inspire your hearts with those noble feelings, and when you have passed your earthly pilgrimage, may you all who are here today, when you stand on the awful boundary of eternity, be transfigured into the ranks of the heavenly army for ever and ever to chant the praises of Jesus Christ in the angelic chorus above. 59

"Non in persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis"; but the thought that alone kept him going. Others could find the fine words - especially the "ever-obliging" Shiel, till (Goold reluctant) he succeeded Geoghegan in Adelaide. Above all, however, the Irish Jesuits. After some uncertainty, recorded in the diary of Goold's uncle, Bishop Hynes, five of them sailed for Melbourne with Murphy, the new bishop-coadjutor of Hobart, in

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59. F.J. 19 March, 1864. F.J. 27 May, 1863 praises the active missionary in Goold, F.J. 11 July, 1863 and 5 September, 1863, his effective preaching.

February, 1860.<sup>60</sup> They were the first religious congregation of men to set up, as such, in Melbourne. Among them, Kelly, who arrived in September, 1866, became the preacher of the Irish-Australian church - but that belongs to the story of another generation.

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60. Adv. 29 January, 1947. Cf. F.J. 6 January, 1866.



CHAPTER 7: NEW SOUTH WALES 1851-1865

Inasmuch as the Church, which continues among men the life of the Word Incarnate, is composed of a divine and a human element, the latter must be expounded by teachers and studied by disciples with great probity. "God has no need of your lies", we are told in the book of Job. The Church's historian will be all the better equipped to bring out her divine origin .. the more loyal he is in extenuating nothing of the trials which the faults of her children, and at times even of her ministers, have brought upon the Spouse of Christ down the ages. Studied in this way, the history of the Church constitutes itself a magnificent and conclusive demonstration of the truth and divinity of Christianity.

Leo XIII on the priesthood.

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|-------|---|---|
| i     | : | The Pastor : a conspectus                                   |
| ii    | : | The flock   |
| iii   | : | The first disturbances: Farrelly, 1851-2, and Moore, 1853-4 |
| iv    | : | Polding overseas, 1854-6                                    |
| v     | : | McEncroe in the saddle                                      |
| vi    | : | Various shades of green                                     |
| vii   | : | Sheridan Moore on the <u>Freeman</u> , 1856                 |
| viii  | : | Heydon foments lay dissidence, 1857.                        |
| ix    | : | Plunkett agonistes.   |
| x     | : | Duncan triggers an explosion.                               |
| xi    | : | The <u>Monitum Pastorale</u> , 1858                         |
| xii   | : | The Lay Address and the Campbelltown Conference.            |
| xiii  | : | McEncroe as catalyst, 1858-9                                |
| xiv   | : | The rationale of voluntarism versus simony and state aid.   |
| xv    | : | The Orphanage Board outcry, 1859.                           |
| xvi   | : | The Saint Vincent's Hospital <del>affair</del> incident.    |
| xvii  | : | All Passion spent. a A surprising denouement.               |
| xviii | : | Gregory's recall, 1861                                      |
| xix   | : | The hungry sheep fed.                                       |
| xx    | : | The two Boards system and its faults                        |
| xxi   | : | Saint John's College and Lyndhurst.                         |
| xxii  | : | Adult education societies.                                  |
| xxiii | : | Religious self-dedication.                                  |

(i) The Pastor: A Conspectus

As occasion, formal but personal, late in 1862, brought out Archbishop Polding's conception of his pastorate, The Bishops had just issued their joint Pastoral on education, looking forward as it did to a new phase in ecclesiastical development, and writing finis to the internal strains of the receding decade when the Sydney clergy presented him with a life-size portrait of himself, and so gave him an opportunity to **reminisce** and sum things up. What did he consider the three major consolations of his episcopate? First, the coming of political liberty; second, the full celebration of the liturgy; third, the fact which dominated his first years as a missionary, and which, when others forgot he never forgot, "That this Church in Australia<sup>1</sup> has been especially the Church of the penitent!" His other remarks, on the Church as the Mother of Art, the need for a school of Christian Art in Australia, made explicit his persistent secondary objective, unchanged since 1839 when he spoke of "the object I have most a heart - after the propagation of religion the diffusion of sound taste and a love of the fine arts."<sup>2</sup> Whether by skill or chance, the

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1. FJ 20th December 1862.

2. Birt, i, p. 114. Compare also M.L. mss A 3071, letter of Anglican minister, H. Elliott to friend, 10th August 1849: Polding very pleased about the sculpture class at the monastery,

painter Anderson, left us with a Polding in a finely significant pose<sup>3</sup>; in civil costume, holding a breviary, his hand on the altar rail as if about to ascend the altar after giving an exhortation. Ecce homo, missionary, monk, bishop, caught somewhere between talking to his people and talking to his God; the painter catching, as a contemporary said, the "gentleness and calm energy", the "erect and intellectual head".<sup>4</sup>

Yet a rather pathetic photograph<sup>5</sup> survives of him. Taken in the mid-seventies, after Melbourne had become a metropolitan see, it depicts Polding as Primate - he holds, not a crozier, but a primatial cross; a dignity<sup>6</sup> never in fact accorded him. He was, by then, eighty; his mind had decayed, though his physical vigour remained. Yet the very relics and fragments of a Polding are full of significance; it seems to me he always saw himself as the father of the Australian Church. He would beget it in his own image. You may have many teachers in Christ,

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3. See the Great Hall of Sydney University which, by a **curious** circumstance, it rather dominates.
  4. North Australian 20th December 1862.
  5. S.A.A.
  6. Canon 280 of the Code reads: A Patriarch has precedence over a Primate, a Primate over an Archbishop, and he over Bishops.



as Paul told his converts, but you have only one father. Polding entered the 'fifties a patriarch, with a patriarch's mind, stayed by a sense of privilege, the conviction that his was a happy lot, come what may, to restore true hierarchy under the British Crown.<sup>7</sup>

Now we know, as against this, that Australian Catholicism has been modelled on the Irish pattern: a Catholic population remarkably homogeneous, removed from the Old World, passing quite suddenly from extreme paternalism in government, and depressed social status, to political liberty and economic betterment, was, under the leadership of the liberal and nationalist post-famine Irish clergy, a generation ahead of the Catholic community elsewhere in its O'Connell-conceived adjustment to citizenship within a parliamentary democracy religiously indifferent.

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7. This I suspect, is of some importance in understanding Polding. To him it was given, he told the Provincial Council of 1869, to head the first hierarchy, and preside over the first ecclesiastical council, under the British Crown since the forcible subversion of religion in the sixteenth century ("Luctuosam Religionis eversionem, quae seculo decimo quinto" - surely an error - "accidit": Acts 1869 p.44). Here was a motive for never declining from his first enthusiasm - "primaevo sille spirituset alacritas quibuscum pastoralis nostri officii executionem suscepimus. . .ne vel minime relaxaretur": whatever the difficulties - "in tanto difficultatum et contradictionum discrimine quibus versabamur" (ibid.). Contradiction, as his hearers knew, was Polding's lot.

Here was a concentration on the first of Polding's consolations - political liberty - at the expense of the other items, liturgy, civilisation and repentance; and here **was** an elite - priests pouring into every diocese - who scarcely felt the direct impact of the old man's personality, as the pioneer clergy and laity, almost to a man, had done.

Does then, Polding's apostolate reduce to a dream of Benedictine peace foredoomed to frustration? Far from it. His very personality was a standing inquisition into the motives and aims of the Irish ecclesiastical empire: were they supernatural and universal, not the egotism of the tribe?. He was a brake, and a necessary brake. In Canada there were the French, in **England** the English, in the U.S. and **Argentine** the Poles, Germans, Italians, South Slavs, Spanish, to inhibit the elements of chauvinism and priestly careerism, that occasionally threatened to disfigure the Irish clergy's apostolate. In Australia, there was only a series of strong personalities, Ullathorne, Polding, Duncan, Mrs. Chisholm, Goold, Mary McKillop, in particular, and of these Polding was by far the most important.<sup>8</sup> It takes a people - the

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8. There are other names, of course, in the first generation: Geoghegan, Willson and M. Scholastica Gibbons, Serra and Salvado, for instance. And I

descendants of the victors - a hundred years to learn to be grateful for this sort of service.<sup>9</sup>

It is well to trace out the broad outline of the 'fifties in advance.

Trouble brewing in the monastery came to a head in 1853, when Gregory resumed control after his long trip abroad; this precipitated Polding's departure (with Gregory) for Rome the following year, with the express intention of resigning. While they were away, Davis died, and McEncroe had charge; the Freeman's Journal, which the Archdeacon had given over to D'arcy, was, on its own profession, a rabidly Irish organ at this time, and only therefore, and to that extent, Catholic. Polding returned in 1856, harmony more or less restored; the establishment of a fund for £20,000 to provide a university college was the sign and fruit of peace. But the Freeman's Journal

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have elsewhere sought to bring out the Romanitas of England and Cullen, reflected in Quinn (chapter 9 below)

9. Mary McKillop had a phrase, with which she generalised rather freely, "the Irish Bishops"- meaning, in the main, Cullen's men - who uniformly, 1879-1890, opposed her on what she (and eventually Rome) considered an essential feature of the Josephite institute. It is, I think, a propos, that one such remark of hers, made in this context, was considered by Archbishop Kelly reason enough for terminating certain inquiries, with the presumption hostile, relative to her canonisation as a saint. That was in the 1920's - Moran, I should add, composed his History - so far as it is a picture, and not



Where McEncroe had temporarily resumed control, in order to remove the scandal occasioned by the editorship of the apostate monk, S. Moore, now passed into the hands of J.K. Heydon, an English convert convinced he must risk his reputation in order to rouse the Catholic conscience to its opportunities and dangers in a rapidly secularising society. He instituted a systematic criticism of both popular and official Catholicism in the Archdiocese, coming to a climax in mid - 1858, and terminated only when a severe warning was issued by the three eastern bishops; the excitement of public opinion which this gave rise to, was all the more dangerous, so far as it provided an opportunity for a clerical cabal, centred round Dunne and Bermingham, to spread its particular evangel, that the soggarth aroon, rather than the bishop, was the mainstay of colonial-Irish Catholicism. Now, however, the same theme of decentralised church government, but this time in the lay interest, was taken up by Duncan with something like cold determination. And the following year, feeling flared up in two public meetings radically critical of the whole diocesan administration, and of Gregory in particular; the Catholic politicians, the veteran Plunkett no less

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just a collection of sources - in the same sense: Hibernicisation is the main line of ascent in Australian Catholicism, those who opposed it got little honour, those who degraded it, little blame.

than the novice Deniehy, playing a prominent role. The fire, fanned by a small faction, was damped by threat of excommunication; but in the end, Rome insisted that Gregory return to England.

Amid the indignant speeches, New South Wales remained, on the whole, well-provided for, ecclesiastically; Polding's ordinary missionary activities were scarcely affected; between his two long absences abroad, Gregory sandwiched an 1100-mile country visitation as the Archbishop's companion; throughout the crisis of 1858-9 Polding kept up his program of visitation - even while (late 1858) Duncan was attacking him from Brisbane, Polding was in the same township preparing for the proposed new bishop. Since his management was so radically and noisily challenged, he did not ignore the challenge in his pastoral instructions, pointing out the moral hazards of his assailants' course, such as nationalist faction, intellectual pride; but more often spoke in a vein exclusively theological of the general economy of redemption. His cherished projects, however, hardly flourished; the monastery was at the centre of his troubles; the secondary schools at Lyndhurst and Subiaco,

which he thought of as fountains of light and grace in a rude age, were looked on by many as strongholds of class privilege. A happy contrast was the growth of the order of nuns he founded for charitable and educational work, the Good Shepherd; but two of the Charity nuns were unfortunately implicated in the assault on his authority.

With Gregory's departure, the tranquility of order descended on the Church, guaranteed by this scapegoat, this sacrifice. The various religious orders grew stronger in discipline and numbers, the Freeman entered a moderate phase. But the threat to the being and well-being of the Church from an often unintended society at large was graver every year, as each session of Parliament marked an advance by secular liberalism - the abolition of state subsidies to the ministry of religion, divorce legalised, a powerful current of opinion in favour of a state-administered education which could not meet Catholic requirements. We shall treat of the internal **strains** first, the external stresses last.



ii. The Flock

In 1851, the Catholics of New South Wales numbered about 55,000, half of them Irish born, most of the rest native.<sup>1</sup> They were distributed among twenty-three parishes, served by thirty-five clergy; there were thirty churches; and there were about forty monks, nuns, and ecclesiastical students.<sup>2</sup> By 1861, there were a hundred thousand Catholics in the reduced territory, somewhat less than forty percent Irish born. We can say a little concerning the shifting composition of this population: not exact integers, but accurate enough in indicating trends and problems. Children (under 15) predominated, relatively speaking, among the native-born - already, we learn, a distinct type "pale and slight, though healthy, and with very light hair and eyes ... long and often lanky ... just the same nasal twang as many Americans"<sup>3</sup> These, who had the most lively interest in education, had least

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1. See Statistical appendix.
  - 2.. See Gregory's report to Propaganda. Birt ii, p. 169 et. seq.
  3. Port Phillip Patriot 23 January 1846. As to age-grouping, I have the following figures by courtesy of Professor D.W. Barrie. In New South Wales in 1851 39% of the total population was under 14 years of age; of free immigrants to New South Wales 1829-1850, 25% only were under 14 at the time of immigration, and were certainly very few of them so by 1851.-At the other end of the scale, only 12% of the population was over 45.

say regarding it.- Among the Irish immigrants, the age-group between childhood and middle-age predominated. Circumstances classified them. Of those that famine expelled in panic from Ireland, Australia got few, by reason of distance and cost: few landlord-assisted good-for-nothings, few cottiers that paid their passage, few families; but many state-assisted, many female orphans (Earl Grey long since a Chisholmite on the need for a sexual balance) who found their way in the main to New South Wales; the great majority young, rootless, traditionless, with neither skill nor capital, but perhaps grateful enough (unlike America's half-voluntary exiles) to be here<sup>4</sup>. These, then, were powerful out of proportion in favouring Catholic public opinion;

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4. On Irish emigration to Australia at this period, in its home setting, consult Edwards and Williams, The Great Famine, p.352 et. seq. Well documented at the Irish end, its treatment of Australian public opinion is too dependent on Madgwick to avoid over-simplification: Polding, indeed, (South Australian 29 February 1848) flatly contradicted the thesis Madgwick favours-general hostility to Irish immigrants. On age-composition, See p.351: "a disproportionately high number from the child-bearing age-groups". Compare T.J.Kieman's estimate in The Irish Exiles in Australia, p.153, that of the 1,100,000 who left Ireland 1851-1861, three-quarters were young. We know from the N.S.W. Statistical Register of 1858 that Irish immigrants at public expense 1849-1858 inclusive were 29,000: Catholic immigrants, mostly Irish we must presume, over 24,000; Of these, if we follow

and had a vested interest in establishing civil equality, bending them to take the line of least resistance in the matter of religious education, which they might be prepared to sacrifice for the sake of solidarity with the liberals who offered them universal suffrage and free selection.

Economic insecurity their most vivid fear, husband-hungry girls perpetuated the tendency of the *Australienne*, in Ullathorne's phrase much earlier to "marry in haste and without affection" - and without religion either. Having no ties, these

4. cont'd.

Famine p.388 two-thirds were part of the Famine Relief Programme, who could, therefore account for most of the Irish-born accrual to New South Wales in this period.

5. Madgwick, Immigration into Eastern Australia 1788-1850, pp.234-6, too easily assumes that the Irish immigration was overwhelmingly and solidly Catholic, and perhaps forgets his own evidence (*ibid.*p.207 et seq.) as to how many of them were orphan girls of tender years little likely to resist either mixed marriage or religious dictation by their partner within that marriage (cf. F.J.leader 20 August, 1853) "The state of the country, the sort of persons they have to associate with, and the length of the voyage" were, Father Mathew told the Lords, reasons why Irish Catholics thought Australia a less suitable field for emigration than the U.K. or the U.S. (See T.W. Freeman, Pre-Famine Ireland, Manchester, 1957, p.40) The contrast between the demoralisation of the Irish poor in London and New York and the smaller and not so hopeless leakage in Australia provides an odd comment on the human wisdom of this.

In the period which affects us, roughly, four



young people (as later statistical cross analyses, after 1880, confirm) scattered rapidly and evenly through the colony; with a slight preference, very natural in a peasant race, for the country districts, which more than counter-balanced the other proclivity, evident here as in America, to concentrate in urban depressed areas. It is a pardonable guess that their whole instinct was for assimilation, for equality; so far did this go that free immigrants were even known to claim to have come out as convicts.<sup>6</sup> Their pastors had to learn to swim with the tide, to swim against only where absolutely necessary.<sup>7</sup> Statistics, then, throw light on the Archbishop's trials. He had to

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5. cont'd.  
in five Irish assisted migrants were Catholic (38,000 of 48,000 between 1832 and 1858, I compute from the New South Wales statistical register.) 1858 marks, I think, the turning point, after which unassisted migration was of greater importance.
  6. W.H. Suttor, Australian Stories Retold, p.144. For the scattering, consult particularly the New South Wales census for 1891, and the Victorian Year Book of 1881, as indications of the long-term trend of Irish immigrants to settle in country areas rather than the metropolis. The Federal Census of 1911 confirmed these.
  7. Cf. De Tocqueville, Democracy in America, p.307, and Edwards and Williams, The Great Famine p.386 (the U.S.)

protect family life and the education of the native-born from a voting, talkative Irishman with no personal stake in the education issue and a great one in the remainder of the liberal program. And Polding was strongly predisposed, by training and by sanguine temperament, to swim against the stream at one fatal point : the maintenance of humane culture and scholarship. Here, however, great the Catholic community's needs, he could expect little backing, considering that an immigration report of 1855 could argue that "it is preposterous to suppose that it can be beneficial to pay £141,926 for the importation of 6,951 souls from Ireland, two-thirds of whom have not the intellect guaranteed by the ability to read and write".<sup>8</sup>

Though the ecclesiastical organisation did not quite keep pace with the growth of the colony, there were by 1861 some sixty or so priests in thirty-five parishes, with about seventy churches and eighty or ninety schools;<sup>9</sup> while with the

8. Rusden, History of Australia, Vol ii, p.653
9. For these and following figures, see Catholic Almanac for 1861, Sydney 1860. The Statistical Register for 1862 gave 64 Catholic "ministers" of religion and that for 1863, 73. See S.M.H. 8 October 1863. I am not sure, however, that all these were priests, though certainly nearly all were.

establishment of the Good Shepherd, and the reinvigoration of the Benedictine and Charity congregations between 1857 and 1861 there were more nuns, though fewer monks and students. True, the smaller colonies were better staffed with priests: Tasmania had sixteen among some twenty thousand Catholics, Western Australia had ten among four thousand, and South Australia fifteen among perhaps fifteen thousand Catholics. Only the West, however, thanks to the Spaniards, had a comparable strength in religious. And Victoria alone challenged the mother colony's lead in the building of solid churches, having a larger and more concentrated population, more closely united by ties of nationality and recent immigration; but Victoria still lagged far behind the six-fold increase in its Catholic population, both in buildings and staff. The provision of Catholic schools was still mainly a state matter; consequently it was as adequate, and as inadequate, in one colony as in another; here again New South Wales had an advantage in its numerous English-speaking religious, probably offset by its high comparative ratio of natural increase to immigration.



The years 1851 to 1853 in New South Wales were, in the sort of thing that is covered by statistics, merely an extension of the 'forties. The rate of growth of population slowed up very slightly, since the drain-off, and diversion of immigration, to Victoria more than counterbalanced the comparatively small attraction of the New South Wales diggings. The country news, which had in the past been a dull routine of weather and crops, relieved by an occasional murder and a little bushranging, was now a dull routine of weather and crops and gold, with the same relief.<sup>10</sup> But the egalitarianism of the diggings, the rise of wages, and the contagion of Victoria's rather raffish mood, did affect the tone of Sydney society, many new-rich, much high life below stairs.<sup>11</sup> An English immigrant to Sydney in this period could not but be struck by so many fine buildings in the city, and villas along the fore-shore, side by side with makeshift, squalor, and decay; crinolines, yes, but sweeping along rutted, filthy thoroughfares.<sup>12</sup> Yet he must forgive every deficiency for the sake of the harbour's beauty, and the perpetual spring from April to

10. Cf. F.J. 24 November 1855. purely for the sake of example.

11. On the diggings, F.J. 11 December 1851

12. A good impression of Sydney at the time was Woolley's: F.J. 28 May 1853. For the crinoline, see David Jones' advertisement F.J. 20 August

October.<sup>13</sup> Surely it was the lost Eden of L'homme moyen sensuel; nature here did not demand much of human nature; amid wars and rumours of war, and the transformation of Pinchgut into Fort Denison,<sup>14</sup> the worst that happened was the fire at Tooth's brewery.<sup>15</sup> A writer in the Freeman took it all rather cynically:

No fear of an exuberant growth of the fine feelings, or the young heart's best affections; no fear of an overflow of the ultra-religious feeling, or of an ultra-patriotic enthusiasm... Sydney is a splendid city for the young mind's discipline. Within her irregular boundary men must learn wisdom - bitter worldly wisdom - the young may learn to eschew fancy and folly - the middle-aged to get married and settled in life - the old to make money and die. 16.

And writing to Serra more solemnly, Polding gave much the same report.<sup>17</sup>

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12. cont'd.

1853.- I doubt if Sydney was any worse than most of the English cities (cf. S.M.H. 5 April 1855, 10 May, 1955)

13. Woolley, loc.cit.

14. On the fear of Russian invasion, apparently more lively in 1854 than in 1954, see the Freeman's Journal leaders of 22 April 1854 and 6 May 1854.

15. F.J. 20 November 1853

16. F.J. 19 January 1856

17. Moran, p.314

But there was another side to it. Little in Polding's Lenten Pastorals reflected the hurly-burly actuality of the Sydney mission. That of 1851<sup>18</sup> was on the communion of saints, and the need for a holy hatred of sin; that of 1852<sup>19</sup> emphasised the reality of damnation. But perhaps that of 1853,<sup>20</sup> while remaining at this general level, carried something of local colour between the lines, like the hum of a city heard far off in a quiet garden. He saw the faithful performance of the duties of one's state in life as the essence of Christianity; and the solemnest duties for most are their duties as parents, to teach religion and morals, by example as well as precept; which means systematic catechising, maturing with the child, who must learn "not only to believe, but to hold fast the solidity of his beliefs in the face of the deluder and the scorner". The Bishops (Davis cosignatory) therefore recommended the constant reading of the Scriptures, of Butler's Lives of the Saints, of works of Church history

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18. F.J., 27 February 1851  
 19. F.J., 26 February 1852  
 20. F.J., 12 February 1853



like Fleury's: most had money enough for these books now, they were not free to spend it at the pub. By such formation, children should be guarded against the maxims of the world, habituated to walk in the presence of God; the home is a miniature ecclesia, "which contains...souls redeemed by the blood of Christ", whose purity is not to be corrupted by silly or irreverent talk, immodesty, or other bad example: "your habits - good or bad - will become their habits". (Though to speak to the parents was often much like speaking to children.<sup>21</sup>) During Lent, therefore, the faithful should "retire from the world, so far as circumstances permit", and "in Church - in your chamber - in the solitude of the Bush - meditate on the Great Eternal Truths".

This was the Pastor speaking, who had spoken his heart years before: "I cannot but consider myself as called upon to cherish, with peculiar parental love, the native-born of Australia".<sup>22</sup> The bread of doctrine, thus cast upon the waters, comes back in the form of a flourishing Church; the routine familiar catechesis of pastor and

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21. Birt ii, p.162

22. Moran, p.214

and parent is the instrumental cause of Catholicism, here as elsewhere, then as now, the proper organ of tradition. So young Robert Coveney, going to England with Grandfather, T.S. Mort in 1857, on his way to school, was told by his mother:

Remember, dear Robert, to say your prayers every morning and evening. Also to read a chapter in your Testament or Imitation of Christ every day. Try and be up every morning in good time. 23.

And he would die, a captain, during the Sudan campaign of 1885, "his little Catholic prayer book in his pocket".<sup>24</sup> His name is Legion; it could have been Therry or Duncan or Heydon or O'Connor or O'Shanassy; or even Deniehy. A more illustrious example in the colonies around this time was Frederick Weld, of the old Catholic county family that had been befriended by (of all people) George III; Frederick himself, after prominence as Minister of native Affairs in the infant New Zealand democracy, was later Governor of Western Australia and Tasmania, the one oasis

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23. C.J. Duffy, Morts and Covenys, Catholic Historical Society Archives.

24. *ibid.*

in the whole desert as far as Archbishop Vaughan was concerned.<sup>25</sup> During the Maori wars we find him expressing to his family the conviction that

Our Lady, who has brought me so far safely ... will not desert me now...It is this confidence that makes one look forward without fear to the chances of a sudden death. 26.

We hear the same echo of an older chivalry in his remark years later, on receiving the order of Saint Michael and Saint George, that "at all events the Order has one member of the third class who has a devotion to, and daily invokes, its patrons for many years".<sup>27</sup> - Keep in mind, then, this aspect of the 6410 Catholic marriages contracted in New South Wales from 1837 to 1852,<sup>28</sup> the serene friendly landscape of the spirit against which the storms beat and pass and are forgotten.

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25. Gathered from transcripts by E.M.O'Brien of Archbishop Vaughan's letters to his father.  
 26. Lady Weld, Sir Frederick Weld, Catholic Historical Society Archives.  
 27. Ibid.  
 28. Statistical Register of New South Wales, 1854. From 1853-1858 inclusive, there were 4732 Catholic marriages registered, nearly 30% of the total. Non-religious marriages were a negligible quantity up to 1860, thereafter not.



iii. The First Disturbances : Farrelly  
1851-2, Moore 1853-4.

On the surface, the years 1851 to late 1853 were an unspectacular mixture of rain and shine for the administration. Davis's second grave illness,<sup>1</sup> while Polding was on his way to Perth (April, 1852) was unsettling; and it followed all too close on the death of Sconce.<sup>2</sup> Both groups of runs were weakened; Gregory's sister, Scholastica, in charge of the tiny Benedictine community, had died in 1850; among the Charity, Ignatius Gibbons, (the Superioress), Walsh and Marum, all died of influenza within a month or so, March - May 1853.<sup>3</sup> Among the clergy the elderly Murray, a veteran of the Peninsula campaign, died at Wollongong later the same year.<sup>4</sup> But Sydney had no trial of this kind comparable with that of Melbourne after 1854. Polding's most concrete anxiety was probably the completion of the Cathedral; there was a meeting in August 1851 to push it forward, with much mention of

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1. F.J., 29 April 1852
  2. F.J., 1 April 1852
  3. F.J., 24 March 1853, 21 May 1853
  4. F.J., 3 September 1853

J.J. Therry, and much motioning and seconding by prominent laymen, Davis, Sconce, McEncroe, Heydon, Plunkett, Dalley, Lenehan, and Castilla (soon to succeed Callaghan, Longmore and Savage as Catholic representative on the Denominational Schools Board).<sup>5</sup> When he returned early in 1853 from his two years abroad, Gregory professed his astonishment at the progress made during his absence;<sup>6</sup> but others thought differently; and in July 1853 Polding expressed himself with a note of urgency on the matter.<sup>7</sup> A Catholic Association, launched with sanguine anticipations that it would at once raise funds for Saint Mary's and raise the intellectual tone of the Catholic community,<sup>8</sup> failed to do either; there were few members, fewer still prepared to give or attend lectures; there was much "obstinate conflict of opinions" at the meetings.<sup>9</sup> And there were hints in all this of popular feeling against

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5. F.J. 21 August 1851. Callaghan, S.M.H. 8 January 1848; Longmore, S.M.H. 20 January 1849. Savage, perhaps because he was R.N., served only a brief term: F.J., 16 September 1852.
  6. F.J. 10 March 1853
  7. F.J. 17 July 1853
  8. Report of the Inauguration of the Catholic Association, Sydney, 1853
  9. F.J., 26 November 1853

the Benedictines.

Within the monastery, a weakening of discipline was now evident - Gregory's absence had the double effect of relieving tensions and permitting pent-up feelings to declare themselves.<sup>11</sup> At the centre were Farrelly and Sheridan Moore. Initially, Farrelly was the chief instigator; Moore was a junior accomplice, his applause a prop when Farrelly's courage melted; but at least one of the "foreign priests", Gourbeillon, was willing to act as Italian translator, and at least one of the Irish secular priests, M. Kavanagh, gave Farrelly material assistance.<sup>12</sup> Farrelly himself was an experienced priest; he had succeeded Lovat in charge of the seminary in 1841; his was some of the initiative which brought the Good Shepherd Institute into being; his latest exploit of note was a trip to

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10. My reading of the account of the Association meeting reported F.J. 19 November 1853
11. Polding, for instance, asking Farrelly, why had he not spoken out while Dr. Gregory was still in the colony? - Farrelly to S. Moore 12 December 1851, M.L.mss. A.M. 38
12. The following fragments among the Moore papers, M.L.mss. Am 38, having never been published should perhaps be given here:
- (a) A letter of 2 December 1851. "Father Kavanagh was here yesterday and took a copy of the two "ukases" that on Saturday morning were put under my door."
- (b) Brother Lawrence.

Now is the time for action. If you can lay hands on an Italian grammar give it to Father John. Prepare at once the document



the Bathurst diggings, where the plateful of nuggets given him<sup>13</sup> possibly tempted him to repine at his vow of poverty. He enjoyed a considerable influence over some of the younger monks, forming a group among whom the bond was decidedly sentimental; when secularised, Ryan Sheehy wrote Moore of "lonesomeness from leaving you loving and loved", or "dear friends within (Saind Mary's)

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12. cnt'd.

you spoke of.

P.S. Farrelly.

(c) Dear Lawrence,

The pastoral about the monies collected at Easter two years ago.

The following Easter one about it

Leave no stone unturned to get these.

P.S. Farrelly.

The rest of my narrative at this point comes from this same collection.

13. On Farrelly's earlier career, cf. Moran, p.229, p.239. His work in organising a Female Refuge is mentioned in the Good Samaritans' Centenary brochure The Wheeling Years, Sydney 1957 (not for publication). Note his advocacy of the freedom of the press Australian Chronicle, 19 March '42. I learned of the plate of nuggets from Mgr. T. McGovern.
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walls"<sup>14</sup> A cosy little conspiracy, with an air of urgency and efficiency and self-righteousness: "Besides, my dear Moore," Farrelly assured his echo, "I contended for a great principle."<sup>15</sup>

What was at stake? Benedictinisation.

But the reason a man has may not be the reason he gives, and this was the case with Farrelly. Friction was high between Gregory and Farrelly, men of an age and of equal experience, but the Irishman subject to the Englishman's rule, and to his assumption of superiority.<sup>16</sup> Farrelly was one of those who had taken vows as a Benedictine at the height of the Archbishop's enthusiasm;<sup>17</sup> frequent contact with his brother, a layman, and with Irish secular priests who stood outside the charmed circle of Saint Mary's, made him feel like a trapped bird. An intelligent man, but not a strong enough personality to front the Abbot's formidable presence, he set to, to reason his way

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14. Moore papers. Sheehy-Moore, 3 December, 1850.  
 15. Ibid., Farrelly to Moore, 12 December, 1851.  
 16. The line of argument is summarised in the petition of the monks that followed Farrelly secularisation, Birt ii, 216-222.  
 17. Ibid., p. 75.

out. His frustration and resentment took the form, on the one hand, of speaking behind the Abbot's back against the use of his authority - "will not his Holiness say, that it is absolutely unsafe for such absolute powers to be in the hands of a Prelate who could write such letters"<sup>18</sup> - and on the other, of making out a case in law against him. For the former course, he was suspended by the Archbishop (that is, from the use of his faculties as a priest), a sharp humiliation to a man of his age and standing; but he saw himself as a martyr in the cause of ecclesiastical law. Three times remonstrating against his suspension in impatient tones - "Your Lordship is well aware that they have nothing to allege but trifles, nothing I repeat but trifles"<sup>19</sup> - he was finally brought to trial for detraction (against Gregory); but still saw himself as standing for the principle of parochial residence:

The principle of concentrating the whole of the ecclesiastical staff at Saint Mary's is contrary to the express decree of the Ciuncil of Trent -

dwelling particularly on a Rescript of 11 march 1579:

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18. Moore papers. Farrelly - Moore 2 December 1851  
 19. Ibid., Farrelly-Polding 12 December 1851.



The Parish Priest must dwell where the Church is, and in a presbytery: which must be erected, if there be none, the priest meanwhile to live in a house in the parish as near the church as possible. 20.

There was something in this; but there was the danger in it, too, of exalting the secular priesthood over the regular, as though it were intrinsically superior; Ryan Sheehy wrote Moore of "poor Oswald" Connery:

Ogh! a monk - good job if he were away fr (meaning from) there and over here with us as a good secular priest. 21.

"Over here" meant Tasmania, where not only Sheehy's bruised spirit, but his criticisms of Saint Mary's, were sympathetically received by Willson.

But de facto, Farrelly was a religious bound by a vow of obedience. As the Archbishop claimed a Papal Rescript authorising him to build his diocese around his monastery, Farrelly was forced, in logic, to query the authenticity of this document; writing to Moore how he had "four new links" in the chain of circumstantial evidence against".<sup>22</sup> He determined to appeal to Rome;

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20. Ibid. My rendering of the Rescript.  
 21. Ibid., Sheehy-Moore, 3 December 1850  
 22. Ibid. Farrelly-Moore 12 December 1851

whether against Gregory's person, or the scheme of Benedictinisation, was probably no clearer to him than it is to us. Two peremptory letters by the Abbot would "afford evidence of the abuse of power and of the disregard of the laws of the Church, in this part of the world":

I rejoice that I have them. Having refused me travelling expenses he tells me that if I apply to friends for assistance all my faculties will at once cease. Here is the "censura comminatoria"...What will they say at Rome of a Prelate that regards it as a grave and enormous crime to apply to friends for the means of making a canonical appeal?<sup>23.</sup>

He was in a very painful position; and it tempted him to a deliberate evasion of religious obedience, when he instructed the Post Office to forward all his mail to the presbytery at Park Street, where it would not come under the inspection of his superiors.<sup>24</sup> He took ship sua sponte at the end of 1851, carrying to Rome his tale of arbitrary rule in the absence of written regulations, and was in the event dispensed from his vows. As a later decision showed,<sup>25</sup> this dispensation was given rather because the flesh was weak than because the cause was just. But in many such cases, I think, we find a certain ambiguity; and in this one,

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23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. See section iv below.

Farrelly's dispensation was followed within two years by Rome's winding up the experiment in Benedictinisation. Farrelly's virtues neither exceeded nor fell short of the ordinary, the human average; nor did his self-will; his very forgiveable pride and prejudice irritated beyond endurance by the Abbot's tone and policy, he was a misfit in the monastery. Striving to justify himself by appearing in the role of a reformer, he perhaps forgot that the religious life is a gift, not an achievement; but had the luck in the process, to voice a general discontent, and so indicate some real objections telling against the Benedictinising scheme in the circumstances of the Sydney mission.

When Gregory returned, anyway, it was Moore who played the central role in the moves against him. Moore was of altogether poorer moral calibre than Farrelly - "emphatically a mountebank of the very first water",<sup>26</sup> in the estimate of Henry Kendall, though not without his redeeming traits (Kendall had "known him to do many kind things"):-

One whome no sense of modesty abashed  
Though speculations by the dozen smashed --

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26. M.L.mss.Papers of W.H. Traill (B1459), p.63



And if no coin attends his toil misplaced  
 He damns his public for their want of taste.<sup>27</sup>

His intellect wore the perennial hectic flush of an

Ecstatic dreamer, the aurora's glow  
 Which flouts the shadows of the mystic night -

In his own words, whatever they may mean.<sup>28</sup>

But he had considerable powers of mind, and was, from the foundation of the Lyndhurst Academy in 1851, supervising the studies there. Basically, he was, like Farrelly, simply restless, in the wrong place. It took shape first as vague re-primations to Davis, against O'Connell, the Australian-born Benedictine, who always enjoyed the authorities' confidence. Moore spoke of O'Connell's "improper conduct"<sup>29</sup> towards himself; the phrase could mean anything, and was obviously meant to; Davis, with his customary sweet reason, reminded him that the very concept of obedience dissolves if the authorities' every act is subjected to the subject's scrutiny. Moore, however,

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27. F.J. 10 February 1866

28. The Freeman's Journal opened 1866 with this most unferial Carmen Feriale

29. Our knowledge of this incident comes from some papers of Sheridan Moore which the attentive sleuthing of Mgr. McGovern has finally lodged in the Sydney Archdiocesan Archives.

went on to commit himself to a series of very erratic actions, through which the corrosion of monastic discipline was brought into collusion with the general brouhaha outside against the Benedictines. In March 1854, Polding issued an unusually severe Lenten Pastoral,<sup>30</sup> in which the faithful were "impressively warned" lest they "become the victime of foolhardy presumption", lest they be found nominal Catholics whose "will is insincere and ineffectual". Comparing this with the serener Pastorals of other years, it is reasonable to read his own black mood into it; the following week, he embarked for Europe.<sup>31</sup> Two circumstances of his departure elicited comment: he left suddenly, unfaREWELLED; and Gregory, back only a year from a two-year absence, went with him. Melbourne, as they called through, speculated;<sup>32</sup> Roger Therry, at a meeting held in the Cathedral itself (the Host having been removed) informed those present that the Archbishop had resigned.<sup>33</sup> And in September, the monks, or those

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30. F.J. 11 March, 1854  
 31. F.J. 25 March 1854  
 32. F.J. 29 April 1854  
 33. F.J. 1 April 1854

of them in doubt whether their vows were valid, despatched Curtis and Corish to put their uneasiness before Propaganda.<sup>34</sup>

The meeting at which Therry presided assured Rome of its "unlimited confidence" in Polding.<sup>35</sup> It provided evidence of random, anonymous criticism of his rule, and provided also a common-sense rejoinder. Polding, Therry said, had resigned because report of word and deed had persuaded him that he no longer had the confidence of those he governed. It was said that the Archdiocese was in a state of destitution because he would not have "Irish or secular" clergy, they must become Benedictines; Therry pointed to the Irish clergy working in New South Wales, to the Irishmen appointed bishops on Polding's recommendation, and challenged the critics to name any properly accredited priest who had been refused faculties. Again, it was said that he gave his favour to institutions ill-designed to serve the interests of religion, and that he kept three residences for himself at ecclesiastical expense; Plunkett pointed out that when granted £2000 by the State to provide himself with an episcopal residence,

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34. F.J. 23 September 1854

35. F.J. 1 April 1854. This report needs supplementing from the S.M.H. report of 28 March 1854.



Polding had spent the money on the purchase of Lyndhurst, where forty boys were now being schooled; and Therry noted that he had only one room exclusively his own, sharing everything with the monastic community, though keeping also, at Subiaco, a "rude iron bedstead" with a hard pallet.

There were echoes of Coyle's calumnies in all this; but we now know that the particular anonymous slanderer who precipitated the Archbishop's resignation was Sheridan Moore. At the meeting, Therry recounted how "persons had been base enough to break open desks and steal papers and private letters...make garbled extracts... distribute copies...amongst members of the community and elsewhere".<sup>36</sup> But Plunkett made it clear that "the delinquent was unknown"-otherwise he would prosecute. What in fact happened was that Moore had chanced on a (private) letter from Gregory, when in Rome a year or so before, to Davis, in which the doughty Abbot followed "to your Lordship, I send my love" with the somewhat brusque "my toe" (underlined so) to McEncroe and Magganotto. This, apparently, was the material Moore had made semi-

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36. S.M.H. loc. cit.

public; for he now wrote to the Herald a letter (which Granny in her wisdom declined to publish) defending his procedure - how the Gregory-Davis letter "by mere chance fell into my hands" and how "I and others looked upon such papers as public documents of the monastery" in view of the current uneasiness about Gregory's use of authority/ 37

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37. Moore papers in S.A.A.

iv. Polding Overseas, 1854-1856

The Archbishop, though dissuaded from resigning, stayed away for nearly two years, a long furlough, considering that he now had the use of fast steam transport. In Rome, he and Gregory began badly. When given two separate tickets for their Papal audience, they failed to interpret the Pope's wish, so signified, that they have separate audiences, each alone with the Pope. Pius, therefore, was already displeased with them when Gregory, the strong man unnerved, suddenly knelt down and began to assert his innocence of the many charges made against him, "in a tone and manner which (Polding) felt to be most unsuitable"; Polding, to calm him and as if to shield him from Pius' anger, crossed over and put his hands on Gregory's shoulders, expostulating with him; and the Pope mistook it for approval and support, while at the same time misconstruing their appearing together as a calculated irreverence. Gregory "never ceased to lament his want of self-control", but was ever after as it were sub iudice.<sup>1</sup>

1. Our source for this remarkable interview, itself a document of the highest value, is a transcript by Gregory of a letter from Polding to Talbot (the English-speaking priest in the Papal household, one more of Pius's somewhat unhappy choices, well known to students of Newman). It would date 1862, ~~to judge from a~~ reference to the canonisation of the Japanese martyrs. S.A.A



The Canon lawyers consulted on the reclamation had returned verdict in favour of the validity of the vows: "the profession of the postulants bears no mark of ignorance or error; it necessarily follows that the (plea of) nullity of the profession, of which so much has been made, would seem to be wholly out of the question, with no arguments to support it".<sup>2</sup> Corish, and apparently Curtis, accepted this verdict with equanimity. The lawyers' lengthy disquisition stressed the advantages of monarchical rule; in particular, and here they put their finger of the quick of the discontent, it discourages jockeying for place. Nevertheless, there is a suggestion that there had been some irregularity in the early professions; for years later, when explaining to Rome why he had admitted some to renew their vows and had debarred others, Polding conceded "all the things that were done in error from the beginning in the Sydney monastery", and spoke of the consequent scrupulosity and re-sipiscence of the monks.<sup>3</sup> And Rome now, 1854, ruled definitively against the plan of an abbey-diocese.

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2. S.A.A. (my rendering). Here we learn that Curtis and Corish went as delegates.
  3. Polding - Propaganda of 18 December 1863.

However, the report which was published in Sydney, passed on to the Freeman by his intimates, spoke of the Holy See's confidence in the Archbishop;<sup>4</sup> and so it was, we have Polding's letter to Pius, expressing his overwhelming consolation at the Pope's kind reception of him the summer of his arrival.<sup>5</sup> And in a happy frame of mind he passed over to England before returning to Rome for the promulgation of the definition of the Immaculate Conception.

Here was one of the supreme happinesses of his life; in the final stages of the discussion - a hundred bishops, over several days - on the definability of the dogma, he played a prominent part. It was a belief that had long meant a great deal to him, as it did to the Irish Catholics; during Davis' illness in 1852 he had vowed, should his coadjutor recover, to recognise it in the litanies;<sup>6</sup> here, when he rose and came forward with

Thou art Pius, we are they children. Teach us, lead us, confirm our faith, -

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4. F.J. 16 December 1854

5. See Moran, pp.447-8; letter of 8 July 1854. Under the circumstances the Freeman's Journal could follow his movements only haltingly - cf. F.J. 18 November 1854, 26 May 1855, 1 December 1855. In particular, it reported the collapse of the building where the hierarchy assembled in Rome, F.J. 11 August 1855, without

"the bishops became of one mind", "shed tears of joy", and "a Jesuit present said he had never realised the visible action of the Holy Ghost as he did in that last half-hour."<sup>7</sup> "What a glorious triumph for the faith was the ready submission of certain Bishops...", Polding wrote.<sup>8</sup> When the definition became known in Sydney (where it was not altogether anticipated, although it should have been), some of the theological explanations in the Freeman (signed S.) lacked the professional touch, there was a suggestion, an interesting vestige of Gallicanism, that a General Council could reverse the decree;<sup>9</sup> and there were some acrid letters of dissent in the Herald;<sup>10</sup> but on the whole a welcome gradually warming, complete when A.J. Therry laid a foundation-stone for a church at Parramatta South, invoking the Virgin

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5. cont'd/  
knowing that Polding was there. While in England and Ireland, he obtained the services of three missionaries (F.J.20 July 1855).
  6. F.J.27 May 1854. Mary was patroness of Ireland under the title of the Immaculate Conception, F.J.30 January 1851 (on Synod of Thurles).
  7. Birt ii, p.201. On the more general theological consultations, F.J.26 May, 1855.
  8. Ibid. p.223
  9. F.J.14 April 1855. The news was made known in F.J.31 March 1855. The details FJ 28 April 1855.
  10. Through April-May, 1855 - see F.J. 12 May 1855. The Catholic apologist, "S.", neither priest nor bishop, was conceivably Moore.



under the title of this privilege;<sup>11</sup> while Coffey of Parramatta printed all the documents connected with the decree as a pamphlet, the proceeds to go to his parish building fund.<sup>12</sup> Australia was very particularly honoured when a gift by the Victorian miners to the Holy See, gold nuggets forwarded through Polding by Goold, was the sole material used in striking the medals for the occasion.<sup>13</sup> On his return, Polding arranged thanksgiving celebrations which were characterised by unusual fervour.<sup>14</sup> To the Good Samaritan nuns, he spoke with prescience of the dogma as the forerunner of other developments in mariology; and this, his new order, compensation for his shattered dreams, whose foundation the Holy See had sanctioned during his visit, incorporated a blue braid in its habit in honour of Mary's privilege.<sup>15</sup>

The definition was promulgated only ~~four~~ five years before Darwin published his Origin of Species.

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11. F.J. 22 December, 1855  
 12. F.J. 14 July 1855  
 13. Birt ii, p.201, tells of the medals.  
 14. The Wheeling Years (see Section iii, note 13) collects this information. Elaborately produced, it has no pagination.  
 15. Ibid, Cf. the article on the Assumption, F.J. 18 August 1855.



It is noteworthy that contemporary Australian comment on the definition did not animadvert on the Church's reaffirmation in 1854 that the human race has its origin in a single highly-privileged delinquent married couple, Adam and Eve; though the conflict between the Mosaic cosmogony and the geological discoveries of Lyell and others was by now a lively issue, there was as yet no anti-creationist, polygenistic, or anti-supernatural account of the origins of the human race to undermine the Christian doctrine of the Redemption. Indeed, one could still hear talk of 4004 B.C.:<sup>16</sup> But we must give McEncroe some credit for stressing in 1854, again in 1860, the way the doctrine of original sin illuminates the whole course of human history:<sup>17</sup> for as long as Genesis i-iii commanded assent among the learned and the unlearned, as true history, secularism could never prevail. What was chiefly debated a propos the 1854 definition was the implied Papal infallibility.<sup>18</sup>

16. F.J. 28 July 1858. For local publication attempting to reconcile Genesis and geology, at this pre-Darwinian date, see Rudder reviewed in F.J. 3 February 1855. Cf. ibid., 17 February 1855.
17. F.J. 1 September 1860. His reference to the "curse of Adam", F.J. 25 November 1854, could be taken as a figure of speech, were it not for this later passage.
18. This was raised in the Sydney Morning Herald's first report, 3 April 1855, using the British press, of course, and much made of the

18. cont'd.

Archbishop of Paris's opposition. When Wiseman's Pastoral was given, *ibid*, 3 May 1855. Ex Dissentitions developed this theme, 7 May 1855, 8 May 1855, 14 May, 1855, 17 May, 1855. Father Hallinan's reply in S.M.H. May 10 pointed out that "it is one thing to dissent before the decision, and quite another thing to dissent after its promulgation" Later (*ibid*, May 18) be underscored the implication of Papal infallibility.

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v. McEncroe in the saddle, 1854-1856

Even with two bishops in the city, McEncroe had remained as prominent and as influential as ever. He purchased the types and presses of the defunct Chronicle to set up the Freeman's Journal at the beginning of the decade, with the Augustinian motto, cited in his own Wanderings, and very serviceable in the liberal era:- In certis, unitas; in dubiis, libertas; in omnibus, caritas.<sup>1</sup> It would be called on to sanction some very dubious liberties before the decade was out. On numerous occasions, appealing for subscriptions - despite its professions, the paper fell in with the still nearly universal practice of subscription without payment in advance<sup>2</sup> - McEncroe reiterated that his determining motive was his conviction of the need for an organ of Irish and Catholic news and views; a conviction strong enough, he averred, to overrule considerations of inevitable financial loss, and his own want of time and talent.<sup>3</sup> The

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1. See J. McEncroe, Outline of the Freeman's Journal, Sydney, 1850, in Mitchell Library: a prospectus dated June 17. The motto runs: Unity in matters certain; liberty in matters doubtful; charity in all matters.
  2. Cf. F.J. 26 November, 1853
  3. F.J. 9 December 1854.

combination of Irish and Catholic viewpoints, though bound to be, if only to boost circulation, helped promote the confusion of two sets of values concerning which Polding was so apprehensive; but there was no room for doubt about it,

our anxiety and our efforts to keep alive in the hearts of Irishmen in Australia the recollection and the love of their native land, and thereby to animate them to revere and to practice the principles of that Religion, in defence of which Irishmen have endured longer and more cruel sufferings than any other nation. 4.

We could perhaps underscore that "thereby". Consistently, the paper long remained the out-and-out advocate of temperance and total abstinence, critical of the numerous (336 in 1852) liquor licences of Sydney despite the growing Catholic interest in these.<sup>5</sup> But the most ticklish application of the mystique of Ireland was purely political.

The same failure to make formal distinctions, the same pragmatic approach to his business as owner-editor of a newspaper, made McEncroe jump into politics with a splash. The agitation about the revival of transportation was still on when the "journal" (it was in fact a weekly) was born; Suttor, still the most sympathetic voice in the

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4. F.J. 23 April 1853.

5. F.J. 29 April 1852. Cf. 16 October 1851

Council - "Australia has reason to glory in having given birth to that honest and honorable gentleman" - was given per longum et latum on the subject.<sup>6</sup> But thereafter, with the new constitution, politics was a much rougher melee, in which McEncroe thought he should give a personal lead to the Catholics. Given the statements of the Pope, and of the Irish Bishops at Thurles, he took it that education was the political question of questions; he backed with all his vigour the avowedly Catholic candidature of Longmore in 1851, and diagnosed that he was defeated precisely because personifying the denominational system.<sup>7</sup> McEncroe proceeded to take up the inevitable, uncomfortable position in relation to public opinion that Australian Catholics have occupied ever since; he took the popular side on issue after issue, transportation,<sup>8</sup> the squatter oligarchy,<sup>9</sup> coolie importation and Chinese immigrants,<sup>10</sup> Fitzroy,<sup>11</sup> the composition

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6. F.J. 12 September 1850, (quotation,) 10 October 1850.
  7. See especially 31 July 1851 and 7 August 1851, also 4 September 1851.
  8. F.J. 30 January 1851.
  9. F.J. 14 January 1854.
  10. F.J. 29 May 1852 and 10 Juen 1852
  11. F.J. 16 September 1854. Sharper, 13 January 1855, on Fitzroy's library: "The sporting Magazine, the Book of Beauty, and other similar scientific and philosophical worke".



and powers of the Upper House;<sup>12</sup> but had to oppose the popular party tooth and nail so far as it was dedicated to the cause of secular education, and to the abolition of state aid to the ministry of religion, as to an anti-clerical ideal.<sup>13</sup> Parkes was singled out from the first for his "rancorous hatred of Catholicity",<sup>14</sup> and his well advertised views on education.<sup>15</sup> The Lang-Parkes "bunch" however, continued to command a solid share of the Catholic votes, and the Freeman had more than once to publish excerpts from the Doctor's publications to make its point that there could be nothing better than armed truce with him.<sup>16</sup>

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12. F.J. 12 November 1853

13. F.J. 31 July 1851, 3 March 1853. The S.M.H.'s eulogy of 16 November 1858 accords with my estimate of McEncroe. "In every respect an Irishman...But underlying and governing all these views and sympathies in his mind, there reigned sound common sense - a just view of the means by which reforms are to be accomplished - a detestation of every kind of disorder - a generosity towards those who differed from him in opinion." Hence, "our impression of the tendency of his authority, acting upon large masses of colourists, is in the highest degree favourable": a happy balance of uncompromising candour with freedom from bitterness, innuendo, and so on. "No one can doubt of ARCHDEACON McENCROE that the extension of social and political freedom was an object dear to his heart"

14. F.J. 17 July 1851

15. F.J. 3 March 1853

16. e.g. F.J. 18 July 1850, 31 July 1851, 9 February 1856.

This diversion of votes to a group of politicians decidedly anti-Catholic in tendency was one symptom of a potentially serious division within the Catholic community on political issues, education the chief among them. There were three prominent Catholics committed to a sharp separation of the sacred from the profane, and carrying their reasoning through, logically enough, to the advocacy of secular education, and the abolition of state aid. Hawksley, the last editor of the Chronicle was now the editor of The People's Advocate, chartist in tone;<sup>17</sup> he would resist to the utmost the attempt "to give to the Catholic Church in this colony any political bias";<sup>18</sup> but when he extended this policy to deny the Church's rights over education, a complete volte-face for him, he exposed himself to attacks from the Freeman which, together with a libel suit from Fitzroy junior, contributed to the ironic demise of the Advocate, bought up by the

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17. See F.J. 25 November 1854: a meeting of working men that decided a working men's paper would be superfluous, with the Freeman and the Advocate already in existence
18. F.J. 8 December 1855

squatters.<sup>19</sup> - Near the other end of the political spectrum, Plunkett lent the same basic principle an air of solid respectability; the separation of religion and politics was almost a fetish with him; he could not give his name to the promotion of the Catholic Association or even of the Choral Society, without publicly insisting on it as his great guiding principle;<sup>20</sup> though it did not prevent him from piloting a new marriage Bill through the legislature with atact and skill which protected the Church's discipline in the matter by giving the ecclesiastical marriage ceremony civil status,<sup>21</sup> it exposed him to conflict with McEncroe, above all over education, where he saw the Freeman's making common cause with the Church of

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19. F.J. 25 October 1856. The Fitzroy libel,  
F.J. 15 April 1854.
20. F.J. 6 February 1851: "He himself desired most heartily to see the entire banishment of exclusiveness both in principle and practice" Cf. Report of the Inauguration of the Catholic Association, p.15 on "my practice for the last eighteen years".
21. F.J. 11 August 1855, 29 September 1855.



England and Cowper as something "unholy and unnatural",<sup>22</sup> though he himself was prepared to make common cause with Parkes and Martin. But the liveliest conflict arose, funnily enough, over the Upper House question; Plunkett rather hopefully supported Wentworth's titled senate; while McEncroe, in his leading articles, or perhaps Deniehy wrote these?- sharpened the weapons of sarcasm that that smooth-chinned Demosthenes used so memorably in the Victoria Theatre.<sup>23</sup>

"A very excellent and good priest might be a miserably bad politician", said Plunkett with all judicial gravity in the Council.<sup>24</sup> McEncroe, in a public letter "To the Roman Catholics of NewSouth Wales", gladly owned his political incompetence, and welcomed the Attorney-General's reflection that it was natural for the Archdeacon to side with the people. He could not claim the Archbishop's sanction for his political undertakings, it was true; but equally he had not come under the Archbishop's censure.<sup>25</sup>

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22. F.J. 16 July 1853

23. F.J. 13 August 1853, 20 August 1853. See Clark, Select Documents, ii, p.341-2

24. F.J. 27 August 1853

25. F.J. 3 September 1853.

There was far more bile and far less principle in the dissidence of James Martin. When he defeated Longmore for Cook and Westmorland in 1851, McEncroe had still a hope that he might, "notwithstanding his past vagaries, become a credit instead of being a reproach to the Catholic body, to which he still professes to have the honour to belong".<sup>26</sup> He had once had the Archbishop's confidence,<sup>27</sup> and Catholic feeling towards him was still friendly.<sup>28</sup> But his anti-clericalism had passed the point of no-return. He accused the Catholic clergy in the House of "Disaffection and turbulence";<sup>29</sup> and followed it up, in due course, by intemperate abuse of the Freemans and the Denominational System, as well as the clergy, during the 1853 debates on education.<sup>30</sup> When the Constitution Bill debate came to new climax in 1854, he clashed angrily with McEncroe, though from the safety of his parliamentary immunity. The Archdeacon considered that "my status as a clergyman impelled, rather than kept me back" in meeting the

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26. F.J. 2 October 1851

27. F.J. 9 December 1854

28. Perhaps, rather, prepared to be so: F.J. 3 October 1850.

29. S.M.H. 21 September 1850; F.J. 3 October 1850.

30. F.J. 16 July 1853

politicians supporting Wentworth on their own ground; the whole scheme savoured too much of Irish Ascendancy to him. A racy piece of popular oratory at the Victoria Theatre, he clinched with sarcasm:

Without taking into account that the population is made up to a great extent by Chinese and Coolies, the impression seems to prevail that where there are so many sheep and cattle, there ought to be so many members. 31

In the immediate sequel, Martin, committed to the big pastoralists' cause, had the press expelled from the Council, singling the Freeman's Journal out as the arch-offender; and sought to pass a motion of censure on the Attorney-General, Plunkett, for failing to prosecute the paper when it described Denison, rather happily, as the "Gaoler-General of Van Diemen's Land".<sup>32</sup> McEncroe's reply was a short history of Catholic journalism in New South Wales, including Martin's part in it; not failing to draw the moral when he attributed Martin's religious instability to the want of a Catholic secondary schooling.<sup>33</sup>

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31. F.J. 4 November 1854

32. F.J. 11 November 1854, 2 December 1854.  
Memories of the Irish exiles burned in Irish minds at this time, with the release of Smith O'Brien from Van Diemen's Land.

33. F.J. 9 December 1854.



This particular clash was all the sharper and more significant in that McEncroe was at this stage in charge of the Archdiocese. Davis had died (May 17) soon after Polding's departure;<sup>34</sup> the clergy met and elected McEncroe as Vicar-capitular pending the Archbishop's return, or the appointment of a new Bishop or Vicar.<sup>35</sup> Murphy arrived in June.<sup>36</sup> At this unfortunate juncture of Sydney's history, he put the greatest emphasis on the episcopal dignity:

If I hold this crozier, it is to show that I am a Delegated Pastor over the Fold of Christ; if I am clothed with the mitre and the sacred robes...it is only that you may forget the insignificance of the man, and consider only the majesty of that God;

Whose instrument the man is.<sup>37</sup> Murphy administered confirmation in the archdiocese, city and country; and urged on the completion of the Cathedral.<sup>38</sup> When he left in September, McEncroe reminisced over their student days together in Maynooth thirty-seven years before; Murphy prayed "that we may hereafter be united in that happy country where no melancholy separations ever occur",<sup>39</sup>

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34. F.J. 20 May 1854

35. Moran, p.142

36. F.J. 24 June 1854

37. F.J. 29 July 1854

38. F.J. 8 July 1854 (Cathedral); 2 September 1854 (on tour)

39. F.J. 9 September 1854

and left McEncroe in sole command. It was a great day for the Irish, and McEncroe lost nothing of his opportunity. When Fitzroy proclaimed a fast at the outbreak of the Crimean War, he and Murphy had declined to join at the behest of the civil power in this "Evangelical Rhamadan" (as the Freeman put it)<sup>40</sup> along with Protestant ministers who declared that the war was a punishment on England for Catholic Emancipation;<sup>41</sup> but issued a circular describing the war as a punishment, and prescribing a liturgical fast for the Vigil of the Assumption.<sup>42</sup> During the following summer, he issued a pastoral suggesting that the drought then on was a punishment on the colony's drunkenness;<sup>43</sup> and before the first elections under responsible government, took occasion to warn on the importance of the education question, one question where he insisted the clergy as clergy were bound to give a lead of a political colour.<sup>44</sup> Meanwhile, he pursued the routine of administration with vigour, especially in his correspondence with the executive.<sup>45</sup>

40. F.J. 19 August 1854

41. F.J. 26 August 1854

42. F.J. 12 August 1854. McEncroe mentions consulting Murphy in a letter in S.A.A of 14 August 1854.

43. F.J. 16 December 1854.

44. F.J. 1 December 1855: a pastoral "advice relative to the approaching General Election."

45. Transcripts (typed) in S.A.A.

The signal constructive achievement of McEncroe' period in charge was the foundation of Saint Vincent's hospital by the Sisters of Charity. The preoccupation of the new Superioress, Scholastica Gibbons, who succeeded her sister, Ignatius, on her death in 1853, left Sister de Lacy in effective charge of the Sydney convent from that date. Numbers were seriously depleted, they had neither stable habitat nor stable apostolate, but odd jobs, and seventeen moves in twenty years.<sup>46</sup> De Lacy, in a position to appeal to Irish loyalties, resolved to rally public opinion to rescue the Institute. She had the sympathy of Davis, who authorised the setting up of a fund to purchase a hospital; and when his death left McEncroe, whose half-sister was one of the three recently dead, in charge of affairs, the loss was gain to her. In October, 1855, therefore, an Appeal was begun to start a Charity hospital on the model of Mother Aikenhead's in Dublin: support to come from voluntary donations, not fees, and physical need the one and only title to admission.<sup>47</sup> Sir Charles Nicholson offered his home, a site unexcelled for beauty or (as the city grew) for convenience, for £5000 down plus £5000 in installments.

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46. F.J. 21 April 1858

47. F.J. 27 October 1855. Meeting 1 December 1855.



A meeting was called at once to raise the money; part of the haste, probably, was to ensure that the purchase would be a fait accompli before the Archbishop, known to en route, returned; he was, in fact, slow to applaud the venture, being convinced other works were more urgent.<sup>48</sup> Plunkett was the leading spirit of the design, co-"trustee" with McEncroe and de Lacy;<sup>49</sup> to emphasise the hospital's character as pure work of mercy, the medical superintendance of the institution was put into the eager hands of a Protestant doctor, Robertson.<sup>50</sup> The trials and triumphs of the Charity nuns were a standard theme of Irish forensic and eulogy, an integral part of the disciplinary crisis in the Archdiocese, from this point on. The same orators and agitators were almost entirely insensitive to the rather severer trials of the Anglō-Benedictine nuns at Subiaco.

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48. Polding to Geoghegan 20 June, 1859. SAA.

49. On early St. Vincent's, cf. Austral Light, 1900, p.466 et seq. Here, Gregory testified, there was a startling irregularity; the property was vested in these three absolutely, not as trustees - see Gregory in S.M.H. 7 June, 1859.

50. See below section Xvi.

vi. Various Shades of Green.

J.J. Therry was now much in evidence again. He had turned up unexpectedly, as perhaps he delighted in doing, early in 1854.<sup>1</sup> His welcome, when he presided over the weekly meeting to forward the erection of Saint Mary's, left him overwhelmed, unable to speak. And the Freeman could not see "why this good and aged priest should be kept, as he has been for some years past, like a prisoner in his own house".<sup>2</sup> The Archbishop, however, showed no disposition to treat him with anything but friendliness; and after one more brief visit to Van Diemen's Land,<sup>3</sup> he was home to stay. The very issue of the Freeman which announced the Archbishop's departure also announced, in print of unwonted size, the coming sale of a vast property of the pioneer's at Concord, which in the event realised more than £3000 for the Cathedral fund.<sup>4</sup> Therry was by now Australian Catholic history as noone else was, and a page of his former corres-

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1. F.J. 11 February 1854
  2. Ibid.; These meetings to judge by F.J. 3 February 1853, constantly needed whipping up.
  3. F.J. 11 March 1854.
  4. F.J. 25 March 1854, results (£3465 for 33 acres) 20 May 1854. The sale on May 3, marked the 34th anniversary of his arrival in the colony.

pondence<sup>5</sup> with Goulburn, Macleay and Deas Thomson reminded the new generation of his trials and tenacity nearly two generations before. Therry, too, both in his person and his doctrine, fostered the dual loyalty, Ireland and Rome. Thus a sensible commentary on extra ecclesia nulla salus - "they were only acting as a sober person would when he tells a drunkard that if he continued such, that he would not obtain salvation" - went with: "They were Irishmen, and they gloried in the title"<sup>6</sup>. Yet he did not address himself as bluntly to political problems as his old comrade did, but rather to the exposition of doctrine. He reprinted Sixty Reasons in Favour of the Old Religion, "offered to thy candid consideration by one once a Protestant, but now happily a Catholic".<sup>7</sup> The hymns he favoured the people with at this time were, if execrable prosody, excellent theology; on the Assumption, for example:

This most amiable mother, who from her conception  
Had not ceased to advance in perfection and love,  
Was received by her **son** with filial affection,  
At her introduction to God's mansion above.- 8

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5. F.J. 19 August 1854. This was in effect propaganda for government aid to the building of Saint Mary's.
  6. F.J. 28 July 1855.
  7. Cf. F.J. 20 August 1853, 27 August 1853.
  8. F.J. 19 August 1854.



Yet note how the one(a reprint)<sup>9</sup> on Michael the Archangel, reducing the Breviary's grandest metre to doggerel, had its analogical sense, equating Ireland with Israel:

Through thy angelic ministry  
God his people from bondage freed,  
Of seventy years captivity,  
According to what had been decreed,  
For them obtain prosperity,  
Of which they are now much in need. 10

It is a mistake to see the nett effect of Therry's long missionary career in any other terms; he tapped a store of orthodox piety in the traditions of a depressed, uprooted and passionate people.

At the extreme of aggressively Irish Catholicism stood McEncroe's nephew, Michael D'arcy. As with the Chronicle, so with the Freeman, McEncroe held it for a few years, then handed it over to his nephew; one suspects pressure from Polding in both cases, but there is no evidence of it in D'arcy's ill-tempered account of the transaction. "You can make it pay you", McEncroe had told him. D'arcy came over from Adelaide to find the paper "absolutely insolvent", "ill-conducted", and "badly edited"; but he worked hard on it, and trebled the circulation.<sup>11</sup> The result was,

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9. See F.J. 23 December 1852

10. F.J. 7 October 1854. The theme is perhaps summed up in a letter to Therry given by O'Brien Life and Letters, p.358 (append): "Truly the Irish are here, for the Cross is exalted".

11. F.J. 17 January 1857.

however, that while the Archdeacon was threading his clear-sighted way through the shifting labyrinth of politics and public opinion, the Freeman became more and more the outspoken organ of an Irishman's-eye-view of all things English. When Davis died, McEncroe's own brother, the tobacconist, another trenchant character, introduced a harsh note in his criticism of the "miserably impotent account furnished to your journal":

To say, then, that an Irish Ecclesiastic is not to be found in our Diocese, qualified to govern it, is a foul calumny, and is nothing more than a repetition of the Saxon lie! 12.

In the same spirit, the "ENGLISH GOTHS"<sup>13</sup> who burned Washington in 1812 were properly classified;

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12. F.J. 3 June 1854. On E. McEncroe's authorship of this letter, see F.J. 19 March 1859. He seems closely to have resembled his more famous brother. A characteristic incident at this period concerned the visit of the singer, Catherine Hayes - "Green Erin's gifted daughter", as a local poet put it (F.J. 14 October 1854): E. McEncroe was removed for hissing an artist who sang a song calumnious to Catholics; but successfully sued for damages (F.J. 9 December 1854). He had arrived in 1837, and done well as a grocer and later as a tobacconist. His referee in an advertisement FJ. 1 July 1854 was J.D. Lang.

13. F.J. 26 January 1856

and "Saxon churls" to whom "no Irish need apply" were condemned to be advertised by name in the classified columns.<sup>14</sup> The Crimean War helped crystallise this bitter post-famine-immigrant opinion. The Archdeacon might circularise the clergy to order thanksgiving for the victory at Sebastopol;<sup>15</sup> the Czar might be the enemy of the Church, the man whom Pius rebuked to his face;<sup>16</sup> but the comparison between Poland and Ireland remained irresistible,<sup>17</sup> and the disasters of the war were a fitting punishment on the Anglo-Irish oligarchy<sup>18</sup> (Cardigan and Raglan were acquiring their incongruous immortality). In a new format at the beginning of 1856, the Freeman saw itself as "still doing battle for old Ireland out of Ireland", and asked: "Shall we here, in this land of gold and golden hopes, forget in a momentary affluence all the noble struggles of our youth for evergreen Erin?"<sup>19</sup>

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14. F.J. 3 January 1857

15. F.J. 15 December 1855

16. F.J. 9 September 1854.

17. F.J. 10 June 1854

18. F.J. 8 September 1855. Catholics felt that the endemic bias of English civilisation against Catholicism was discernible in the wartime arrangements, both at the front (*loc.cit.*), and at home (see Willson, whose name gives the charge weight, in F.J. 31 March 1855) - Cf. F.J. 10 November 1855.

19. F.J. 5 January 1856



There was a rational core to their complaint - when the Freeman asked, "Must our children be taught to call England a home?"<sup>20</sup> It was all very well to transfer one's patriotism to Australia, but why must Australia be so exclusively a reproduction of British, as against Irish, civilisation? Hence, there was a centre position. Thus, M'Curtaigne, during the controversy over the Crimean War fast, proffered a "dark catalogue of national crimes" on England's part in Ireland:

England has systematically laboured for nearly three centuries, by rapine, murder, penal laws and confiscations, to root out Catholicity from the United Kingdom - a sufficiently long time you will admit to test the practicability of the experiment;-<sup>21</sup>

but the same man could also insist that the Catholics of Appin had no business mixing up "religion and national feelings with the political questions of their adopted country".<sup>22</sup> So compelling in reason was this middle position - a critique of British civilisation, using Irish experience, but from an Australian point of view - that even D'arcy made several gestures of such moderation; while it deplored "the apparant dislike

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20. Ibid.

21. F.J. 26 August 1854.

22. F.J. 20 August 1857

which the children born of Irish parents in Australia have to everything Irish", the Freeman had never, it said, "advocated the formation of an Irish party", it merely wanted all, native and immigrant, to be "thoroughly Australian" without having therefore to curse what their ancestors had blessed.<sup>23</sup> A warning was given which might well have been from McEncroe himself: "We (Irishmen) are apt to think and act out of Ireland exactly as we were wont to think and act in it";<sup>24</sup> which being interpreted meant, do not give your confidence to advocates of extreme liberalism, because they suit our national aspirations, when they may also be ~~intent on~~ destroying denominational education, religious liberty, and other essentials of civic order. This was the O'Connell tradition; and D'arcy made his own a sanguine prophecy of the Liberator's:

We had once the pleasure of hearing DANIEL O'CONNELL say, - at a time when New South Wales seemed hardly worth the honour of the remark, - that in it his policy for Ireland would soon be understood - "they will", he said, "have English law fairly administered".<sup>25</sup>

Taking it all in all, here was an explosive mixture of political and ecclesiastical aspirations;

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23. F.J. 14 July 1855  
 24. F.J. 20 January 1855.  
 25. F.J. 7 July 1855.

the Archbishop's absence had done something to hasten its formation. And there was a Utopia behind and beyond all the politics of it, a Lost Atlantis of the Western Wave, lost in some ~~Dream-~~Time neither future or past ... Erin, a theocracy, under the Primate, its entire soil vested in the Church; yet tenant-right, with fixity of tenure, and the clergy on the voluntary system; the priest administering justice, the monk replacing the medical profession. Coal everywhere, and steamers and locomotives; but no factories, no cities; no shops, but open markets; every house on its own plot of ground, every man working a six-hour day. Irish the language of the land, and a harp in every home, but the foreigner welcome, and Christian Ireland once more the University of Europe; her mountains once more timbered, the potato, and alcohol with it, banished from the land. No army, but each citizen versed in arms, and Palestine recovered thus for Christendom ... Certainly no nineteenth-century dreamer outside Ireland dreamed in these terms. When, however, Phelim awoke and told "my Cleevin" of his dream, she: "Till this minit, Phelim avic, I never thought you were cracked out and out wid the larnin'".<sup>26</sup>



What, certainly (to sum up) held the foreground was no dream, but a fact, the fact of a minority Catholic conscience not yet educated to the subtleties of Church-state relations in the new society.

Strictly moral questions may be involved in political decisions, notably education; and the very presence of so many Catholics imagining that the Church should remain neutral in this discussion was itself eloquent testimony of the need for a positively Catholic education of the conscience. But McEncroe, despite his boldness and energy, his influence over the people, his control of the press and for a time of the Archdiocese, could not secure unanimity. Not that his adversaries among the Catholics were in any sense united in principle; Hawksley and Plunkett were at opposite poles; the moderate M'Curtayne was associated with a class, the publicans, who were alarmed by Plunkett's stringent liquor legislation; Martin could conflict with Plunkett even on the Marriage Bill.<sup>27</sup> Hence it was that the group directing the Freeman after 1854 made their strong appeal to Irish loyalties to cement these factions. This, however, was but to create one more faction; and

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27. Cf. F.J. 19 January 1856 and 26 January 1856 (publicans); 29 September 1855 (Martin)

a dangerous one, too, so far as the sense of grievance of the Irish might, by extending its antipathies beyond English rule to English law and civilisation, make them poor citizens of the colony, and resentful subjects of an English Archbishop. It was, was it not? the nationalist cul-de-sac in which so many democratic movements ended. M'Curtayne summed things up shrewdly when he attributed the failure of one Catholic paper after another to Catholic disunity, meaning in practice every Irishman expecting to have his way in all things.<sup>28</sup> Yet the cures proposed might be worse than the disease: an Irish-Catholic political bloc could only play into the hands of bigoted Protestant opinion, such as M'Curtayne saw at work in Fawkner's opposition to O'Shanassy;<sup>29</sup> while the course taken by the Freeman, to this sage eye, was fraught with the gravest risk:

What has induced its owner to throw himself rather upon the national sympathies of Irishmen for support - than upon the patronage of the Church? 30.

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28. F.J. 13 September 1856. M'Curtayne organised the dinner to Charles Gavan Duffy, we should mention.

29. Ibid. Cf. issue 4 October 1856

30. F.J. 13 September 1856

The dangers of this last decision were brought nearer realisation when, within a short period, Polding returned and Sheridan Moore, apostate from his monastic vows, became associated with D'arcy in the editorship of the Freeman. The next five years were probably the critical years in the development of Australian Catholicism.



vii. Sheridan Moore on the Freeman, 1856.

Polding, convinced of the Holy See's confidence in him, and of his duty to return, was not convinced the trouble was over and done with. To a message of condolence on Davis's death, from the Guild of Saint Mary and Saint Joseph, he had replied from abroad in terms weighted with melancholy and reproach:

This bereavement has filled to overflowing the chalice of affliction. It hath seemed meet to the all-wise Disposer of all things thus to try us. We will submit with unqualified resignation to His Adorable will, and thus enter into the dispensation of His Providence, (sic) we know that every chastisement is intended for our good.

And if there has been any want of correspondence with His Holy Grace, let us be more faithful in future. Sydney has been favoured beyond very many cities, and there have been those among her inhabitants who have made light of and condemned the spiritual blessings imparted to her. 1

He came back, February 1856, whiter haired <sup>2</sup> indeed, but less melancholy than determined. Again a royal welcome, Plunkett in charge; the Archbishop, however, spoke with some point, hoping

that henceforth dissension should be banished from amongst the clergy, and that the wicked intentions and machinations of designing people would be effectually overcome. The past should be lost in oblivion, and only remembered as a warning... He hoped that in future there would be no intermeddling in the affairs of the Church. 3

1. F.J. 10 February 1855
2. F.J. 6 September 1856
3. F.J. 2 February 1856

Curtis and Corish, who had returned with the Archbishop's party. lent colour to his hope for peace within the monastery; at the public welcome they were glad to

embrace this earliest opportunity of publicly expressing to you our deep regret for the disedification which may have been caused by our departure from Sydney...we did wrong in taking that step...Being now firmly convinced of the validity of our religious vows, our daily desire is to observe them faithfully. 4

In his Lenten Pastoral a fortnight later, the Archbishop sought once more to excoriate the evil:

Crosses, contradictions, trials, afflictions, will be welcomed as bringing with them more ample means to satisfy for your past sins.. it is no less necessary to practice interior mortifications of the spirit, than to comply with the ordinances of Holy Church regarding fasting and abstinence... In vain, dearly beloved, are our fasts and external austerities, if we permit pride, vanity, vindictiveness, unmortified curiosity, to assume the form of an uncharitable, criticising censuring, spirit... 5

And here once more he expounded what he conceived to be the goal of his pastorate:

Before everything else we are Catholics; and next, by a name swallowing up all distinctions of origin, we are Australians... that man is a pest and a domestic traitor amongst us, who, by naming the name of nation, or race, or class, or past injury, stirs up by word or pen one bitter feeling. 6

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4. Ibid.  
 5. F.J. 16 February 1856  
 6. Ibid.

At this somewhat delicate point, Sheridan Moore moved from the Lyndhurst Academy to the Freeman's office. When the decision of the Roman lawyers was made known, Moore constituted himself a higher court of appeal in his own case, and concluded that on May 17, 1850, he had taken "externally what appeared to be vows, but which I afterwards found were invalid"; his grounds being the provision of canon law that solemn vows are valid only if the cloister has the protection of the state.<sup>7</sup> So on April 1, a date well-chosen, 1856, he quitted the monastery without further formality; McEncroe offered to defray his passage to Ireland, where Cullen could help him regularise his position, but he decided rather to take an offer from D'arcy, to edit the Freeman. Thus the Catholic press was put in the hands of an ipso facto ex-communicate who declared in court (when, twelve months later, on this sole ground, McEncroe sued his nephew to recover control of the paper) that he "knew of no newspaper published in Sydney for the last twelve months" the object of which was to advocate ~~the~~<sup>and</sup> support the principles and

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7. For the account of S. Moore's movements 1856-7, see the Court report in F.J. 28 February 1857. For an attempt to set up as schoolmaster, F.J. 4 October 1856; for the circumstances of his resignation as editor of the Freeman, F.J. 24 January 1857.



discipline of the Roman Catholic Church'".<sup>8</sup>

Moore was quite correct, so far as the Archbishop publicly disowned the Freeman (in the columns of what the Freeman called "the godly Empire")<sup>9</sup> as long as Moore was connected with it. To this, D'arcy and Moore responded with an acerbity which revealed how much Polding's prolonged absence had favoured the growth of organised opinion far more openly hostile to his government than ever before.:

From the first day we took the responsibility of the paper on our shoulders, we distinctly and emphatically stated, that, whatever the FREEMAN might have been while the Venerable Archdeacon McEncroe was its Proprietor, it was no longer the organ of any denomination whatsoever. We again and again said that our journal was an Irish journal - a journal solely devoted to the cause of Ireland in Australia, 10.

and only therefore carrying Catholic news: "we do not do it to win patronage from His Grace the ARCHBISHOP or the Right Reverend the VICAR-GENERAL, neither of whose names has been on our subscription list for nearly three years". And they carried the personal animus against the Archbishop a step further, with some sarcastic reflections on the

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8. Ibid.

9. Empire, 22 April 1856. Freeman's comment, 26 April 1856.

10. F.J. 26 April 1856.

Lenten Pastoral, making the assumption (and Moore may well have known the truth of the matter) that Gregory and Makinson shared in its composition:

It seems that our articles on "Irish Australians", our comments on the war. . . our out-and-out Irish qualities - aroused the delicate English susceptibilities of his GRACE. . .the following paragraphs are the product of their tripartite exacerbation,-<sup>11</sup>

proceeding to quote the passages, more or less, we gave above. While the next issue denied with energy that their anti-English articles were a revival of dead animosities: it was England to-day was the villain - the meanness of the Maynooth grant, the Convent Inspection Act, the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, the Church of Ireland's establishment, the land question in Ireland, the famine administration. . .<sup>12</sup>

The Freeman kept true to these principles and passions during the confusion of the months that ushered in responsible government. But the difficulty in New South Wales was to find an acceptable champion of the Irish cause. Deniehy, despite his youth, was an eloquent contender who made a point of refusing to stand up for 'God save the Queen';<sup>13</sup> but he had just disqualified himself by a lawsuit against the paper.

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11. Ibid.

12. F.J. 3 May, 1856.

13. F.J. 21 July, 1856. (disapproving, we should note). Cf. F.J. 17 March, 1856.

A somewhat scurrilous satire on a "Mr. O'Dinny" as "the logical and philosophical pismire of Goulburn" was climaxed with the harsh couplet,

Behold a sample of the convict race,  
Hell in his heart and malice in his face. 14

Deniehy's subsequent legal proceedings nearly ruined the paper;<sup>15</sup> so that though the Freeman itself was consistently conciliatory towards its persecutor,<sup>16</sup> the suspicion was voiced that it was part of a plot of Martin's against the paper,<sup>17</sup> and a fund was set up to indemnify it.<sup>18</sup> For the present, accordingly, Irish feeling in Sydney had to be satisfied with Plunkett as its political objective correlative. The way was not easy; there was not only the education question to be got over, but the Old Whig's remoteness from radicalism and the plebs, his judicial handling of political causes, and finally, his old-world refusal<sup>19</sup> to stand for Northumberland against his Jewish friend Nichols (who died, let us add, a

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14. F.J. 3 March 1856, 10 March 1856; apology  
14 April 1856.

15. The types and presses were seized at his instigation, F.J. 17 March 1856; Deniehy withdrew his case, F.J. 16 June 1856; but sued for costs, F.J. 7 July 1856

16. loc. cit.: "not the slightest ill-feeling towards him".

17. F.J. 10 November 1855

18. F.J. 8 December 1855

19. F.J. 17 November 1855 - When Plunkett finally took his seat, Parkes described him as the only genuine cross-bencher in the House - taking every question on its merits. See Emp. 6 September, 1856.



Catholic two years later).<sup>20</sup> Hence the younger men, Deniehy included, and most of all Dalley, rallied officiously round Duffy when he visited Sydney,<sup>21</sup> as a prospective leader who comprehended the virtues and shunned the vices both of the anti-Catholic democrat, Parkes, and the scarcely democratic Catholic, Plunkett. They were disappointed, of course. But now Plunkett rose to the occasion, with a speech full of "tender and affectionate allusions to his native land", which was "the means of converting many who were before then the infatuated followers of Lang, Wilshire, Parkes and company";<sup>22</sup> only to suffer the humiliation of defeat in Sydney at the hands of the "quadruple alliance", the popular party, Lang, Parkes, Cowper, Campbell, with Martin (safe elsewhere) actively supporting and Hawksley their campaign secretary.<sup>23</sup> The campaign had been full of feeling on the Irish question - Lang labelling Plunkett quite ridiculously as a "Tipperary Boy",<sup>24</sup> Martin attacking him

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20. F.J. 19 September 1857

21. F.J. 5 January 1856, 10 May 1856. Against Parkes, as the heir-apparent to Langism,

F.J. 12 January 1856, 19 January 1856

22. F.J. 19 January 1856

23. F.J. 22 March 1856; 2 February 1856 (Hawksley)

23 February 1856, 1 March 1856 (Martin)

24. F.J. 9 February 1856.

bitterly.<sup>25</sup> But what defeated Plunkett was the absence of a "Catholic vote" : the publicans came out against him; McEncroe, for whom the education question was paramount, published a letter in support of Cowper's claim that he was not illiberal towards Catholics;<sup>26</sup> while Parkes drew strength from his friendly relations with Duffy, while he was in Sydney during the campaign, and indeed ever afterwards.<sup>27</sup> Plunkett eventually got in for Bathurst; but had in conscience to refuse the Attorney-Generalship, his post for the last quarter of a century, under Cowper (they differed on education, among other things!).<sup>28</sup> Barney Maguire, "late edithur o' The jupither tonans", some sample of whom merits preservation, was a regular commentator in the Freeman de re publica:

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25. F.J. 23 February 1856  
 26. F.J. 22 March 1856 (McEncroe denying he spoiled Plunkett's chances by doing so).  
 27. F.J. 8 March 1856. C.G. Duffy, My Life in Two Hemispheres.  
 28. Plunkett in 5 April 1856 (Bathurst), for clerical backing in Argyle, see F.J. 10 May, 1856. Re attorney-Generalship, F.J. 28 June 1856, 6 September 1856.

My Dear Plunkett,

No litherary or pollytical jintleman ever escaped such a terrible bit o'v declamation in print than you, my Honourable friend, did by declinin' to take office undher thim spalpeens, Mess-sires Cowper And Company. I have half a mind to get a couple o' the spiciest bits o'v it put into print for your partiklar ediffication and the counthry's amellioration...it would be A different matther altogether, my good Sir, if I thought anny Jerrycho musick o' mine would shatter a portion or that Korinthisian bronze which so bravely fortifies the face And Karracter of the jintleman, that by such a sudden frake o' fortune, has stepped into yer shoes... 29

The "Korinthisian bronze" was - Martin's!  
But on the dissolution of the first Parliament in the same year, the Freeman, unabashed, proposed Plunkett as the only logical premier. 30

Thus the position in the Archdiocese at the end of 1856 was no better than it had been at the beginning. The people composed a raucously divided electorate, who looked on Polding much as they would on a candidate. The columns of the Freeman carried, not only commentary designed to foster this sort of mind - like the protests against Corish for flying "a flag we certainly do not love" (the Union Jack) above the cross on

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29. loc. cit

30. F.J. 27 September 1856



Saint Benedict's spire<sup>31</sup> - but items suggesting the troubled, confused background of colonial society: a cry of "We've crushed the Irish"<sup>32</sup> at the declaration of a poll; discussion, commonplace but all too real, of the indifference of the times, and of the proximate threat of the secularisation of all national schools, notably (how small a world it was) in some letters signed A. McKillop.<sup>33</sup>

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31. F.J. 20 December 1856, 27 December 1856. Corish, the priest in charge at Saint Benedict's was an Irishman passionately devoted to the Archbishop. Molony, the organiser of the Catholic Teachers' Association, later apologised for taking part against Corish in this occasion, F.J. 21 March 1857. From this place we learn that Sheridan Moore was involved.
32. F.J. 11 October 1856
33. F.J. 18 October 1856.

viii. Heydon foments lay dissidence, 1857

During Holy Week (mid-April) 1857, Sydney once more saw the Benedictine liturgy in all its perfection; an overseas visitor present had not expected "such exactness and perfection could be found in the Rubrician, or such exquisite skill be displayed in the beautifying or ornamenting of the sanctuary". This, of course, was to be credited to "the indefatigable exertion and good taste" of the meticulous Gregory; the Archbishop's part was to reach the hearts of his hearers by his explanation of the symbolism; and the people did their part, too many for the Cathedral to hold on Holy Thursday, more than eight hundred communicants on Easter Sunday.<sup>1</sup> But it was the Indian summer of the monks. During Lent, Polding had issued a Pastoral on the recent assassination of the Archbishop of Paris, "stabbed to death in the path of duty"; Christians should sorrow and rejoice together in a world where "Satan clothes himself as an angle of light".<sup>2</sup> Did he see a parallel with his own position? In the issue of May 16, the Freeman contained the first of a series of letters signed Icolmkill

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1. F.J. 18 April 1857  
 2. F.J. 4 April 1857.

which, as they proceeded, gathered all the forces of discontent into one thrust at the very heart of his administration.

During January and February McEcnroe, in the course of various legal manoeuvres, first forced Sheridan Moore to resign the editorship of the Freeman, and then regained control of it from D'arcy.<sup>3</sup> At the end of March he called in Jabez King Heydon to assist in the management of the Freeman, as he had formerly done for the Chronicle.<sup>4</sup> Polding was a good deal less than just to Heydon when he described him to Rome as a "half-converted sectarian Independent", "a man of some talent but illiterate".<sup>5</sup> He perhaps had in mind that Heydon's wife was not than a Catholic, and it was fair enough to speak of his "low origin and social class"; while the Independency in the background meant, in fact,

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3. See F.J. 24 January 1857, 28 February 1857.

4. F.J. 28 March 1857. A year later, 31 March he took over sole control, F.J. 8 May 1858 and 31 March 1860.

5. The first phrase in the letter (undated) to Talbot, which we have in Gregory's transcription, the second in a letter to the Cardinal Prefect, 12 April 1859. S.A.A.



a sternly Puritanical childhood.<sup>6</sup> But the man was an omnivorous reader; interested, as legend has it, in the Church, in the first instance, when Polding's convict servant tried to pawn his mitre,<sup>7</sup> Heydon followed the Oxford movement from a distance, importing the books direct from England, and "thus maturely embraced the Church as our guide until death",<sup>8</sup> the same year as Newman (1845). He was then thirty. His success as an auctioneer, and as an agent for Holloway's pills,<sup>9</sup> bought him a house on the Parramatta river, on the site of the present-day Ermington wharf.<sup>10</sup> He was within the parish of the Marist Fathers, who represented a viewpoint neither English-Benedictine nor Irish-secular; and, one suspects, not without some faint tinge of Gallicanism, in tune with the centrifugal tendency of the various dissidents in the Archdiocese. Heydon became the intimate of these men,

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6. M. Collingridge, Jabez King Heydon (edited by J. McGovern), in Catholic Historical Society Archives. The authoress Heydon's granddaughter.
  7. Mgr. McGovern, *viva voce*. The incident, which intimately concerned Gregory, is in Birt i, p. 304.
  8. F.J. 26 May 1858
  9. Cf. S.M.H. 2 January 1843, 5 January 1848
  10. M. Collingridge, *op.cit.* Father gave son's trip to school in France a good deal of publicity - cf. F.J. 14 March 1860.

and his son entered their society. Behind the pseudonym "Icolmkill" was the astringent mind of W.A. Duncan,<sup>11</sup> but the Scot said nothing Heydon disagreed with. To Heydon, it was the charity of Christ that was pressing him on; the cup of Christ he found so sweet, he wanted all men to taste, and the Benedictines "stood as a wall between Catholicity and the country".<sup>12</sup> He was probably sincere in saying he had no wish to set up as a leader; but he was so profoundly uneasy he felt he must "put the complaints into plain English phrases... to test them".<sup>13</sup> So, "at the opening of the dispute... we besought the Source of Light, through the intercession of the glorious and Immaculate Virgin Mary, to illumine our mind".<sup>14</sup>

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11. See the Barry-Icolmkill correspondence of 1867 (A.N.L. pamphlet vo. 179, No. 3445); the A.N.L. copy has Duncan's signature on the title page. Note the coincidence is argument with Duncan's Second Letter to Broughton, 1843, pp.7-8. R. Daly writing on The Founding of Saint John's College, A.C.R. 1958 asserts the identity (p.299)
12. F.J. 26 May 1858
13. F.J. 31 March 1860
14. Ibid.

His subsequent life, we may add, bore out his honesty of purpose. A grandson (fittingly enough) entered the English Benedictines.<sup>15</sup>

The first letter was an assault on the Irish party, so direct that the Freeman, where Heydon was not yet in sole charge, refused to print portions.<sup>16</sup> We have heard too much, Icolmkill argued, about our numbers and political influence, and the glories of Celtic culture. "As to our clergy, hyperbole is exhausted; if they perform their most obvious and indispensable duties", they are lauded to the skies. And the Celt will not merge himself into Australian society; nor face the real facts, the census evidence of Irish illiteracy, the instability in the Archdiocese, indicated by the Archbishop's resignation and the apostasy of some of the monks.<sup>17</sup> It was the Church he was concerned for; and in his third letter he stressed yet once more "the utter impossibility of doing anything for the Catholic body in these colonies until they shall have transferred their patriotism to their new country".<sup>18</sup> This was met by a Hibernian chorus, arguing to extremes: "when the faith fails in Ireland the

15. Collingridge, Heydon Heydon's wife became a Catholic in 1866.

16. F.J. 16 May 1857

17. Ibid.

18. F.J. 20 June 1857





Papacy shall fall" - "there is not - there never was - a body of men superior to the Irish priesthood".<sup>19</sup> These defenders of Erin's faith, we observe, spoke in close harmony with the "esprit presbyterien" introduced into the Archdiocese at this period in a more virulent form as Dunne, Bermingham and M'Alroy transferred their field of operation from Melbourne to Sydney. But in his second letter,<sup>20</sup> Icolmkill, sounded a fresh note: it is time for clergy and laity to "look into the causes of existing evils", some of which were lodged amongst the clergy: the "accursed thirst of gold", "no catechetical instruction", the "proverbial" ignorance of the Irish poor which exposed them to unbelief when shallenged by an ascendant, contemptuous Protestantism, as U.S. experience had proved. He had once hoped for great things from the Order of Saint Benedict; hope was gone, the need was now for an order of teaching brothers, for a University College and an ecclesiastical seminary for secular priests, for a clear promulgation of the laws of the Church as they affected Australia. This line of argument elicited not merely an editorial protest, that no,

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19. F.J. 13 June 1857, 30 May 1857.

20. F.J. 6 June 1857

the real evil was too few priests,<sup>21</sup> but a devastating sermon from Polding, described rather cheekily in the Freeman as " a regular hailstorm chorus with thunder and lightning accompaniment".<sup>22</sup> There was talk talk talk about the need for catechetical instruction, said the old man sternly, but the parents themselves neglected it; talk about want of schools, but no funds forthcoming, and the children sent to Protestant schools: "Let those of the laity from whom we may reasonably look for cooperation, come forward...we have hitherto been almost always deceived". With this, discussion died away for the time being, one maintaining the Irish were persecuted specifically on account of their religion, another that their religion was nothing but a cloak for their nationalism. Perhaps, if there was consensus, it was that Lyndhurst and Subiaco were bastions of privilege, sterile in religious vocations.<sup>23</sup> This must have struck those responsible for these struggling but so fruitful institutions as a fine piece of irony. Subiaco, indeed, knew only too well that to be Polding's pet meant little more

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21. Ibid.

22. F.J. 13 June 1857. Polding's text was: "Can the blind lead the blind?"

23. Cf. correspondence by Eringobragh in F.J. 13 June 1857.

than that more was expected of you;<sup>24</sup> a desperate financial position was only retrieved <sup>who had been the first priest ever ordained in Australia — one</sup> by the delicate intervention of Sumner, in whom kindness, perseverance, and modesty of demeanour, amply compensated in the long run for the want of the more striking virtues.<sup>25</sup>

The outcry had probably done some good; there was a great burst of enthusiasm when Polding issued a Pastoral<sup>26</sup> calling on the Catholics to subscribe some £20,000 towards a Catholic College with the university, the state promising to match it £ for £. There were meetings for the purpose throughout the country areas, as well as the city;<sup>27</sup> within a fortnight, £13,000 had been subscribed, the Archbishop, J.J. Therry, and Lenehan topping the list with £500 each;<sup>28</sup> and though many of the subscribers later defaulted, Lenehan among them, within two months £7,000 had actually been paid in.<sup>29</sup>

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24. Birt ii, p.401 et seq  
 25. Ibid., p.368 (Polding to Gregory on Sumner's death, 1871)  
 26. F.J. 1 August 1857. Moran give it in full, p.449 et seq. By its insistence on theology as "Queen and mistress of all the Sciences" it shows Polding's mind.  
 27. F.J. 1 August 1857 and 15 August 1857  
 28. F.J. loc cit.  
 29. R. Daly, The Founding of Saint John's College, p.305 speaking from familiarity with the College records, tells us that £22,805.16.0 was subscribed, a little under £17,000 realised. I take the occasion to commend Mr. Daly's useful articles on Australian Catholic history.



The election of Fellows, prescribed by the University statutes, was looked forward to with unusual interest; only in this initial instance would the subscribers have the power of election, as all subsequent vacancies were to be filled by the Fellows themselves.<sup>30</sup> But it proved, in the event, the trigger to a chain explosion. For Heydon, now in sole charge of the Freeman (but no doubt many others thought with him) made it the occasion to raise the standard of reform, to transfer discontent from the correspondence to the leader column.<sup>31</sup> The Legislature had entrusted the management of the Catholic college to the Catholic people, by way of the election of Fellows; there was probably anti-clerical malice prepense in these provisions, and Polding, as Visitor, contested them stubbornly from the standpoint of Canon Law, as an indirect attempt to subject the Ordinary to lay supervision.<sup>32</sup> But Heydon welcomed them; let the laity consider the ecclesiastical wants of the colony, avoid choosing "our so-called liberals and pseudo-Catholics", "however high in society"<sup>33</sup> - a hit at Dalley, Deniehy, and others. He went on to put

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30. F.J. 30 January 1858 (fn 30:-)
31. F.J. 23 January 1858 the leader of this issue  
~~issue a key document.~~ a key document.
32. There exists a letter by Polding (in Italian) 19 August 1866, to Rome, pointing out how the Act contradicted Canon Law.
33. F.J. 23 January 1858

his criticisms of the administration in terms unmistakable, if guarded - in terms of self-reproach:

if our Orphan School exhibits none of those peculiar traits which evince the tenderness of the Catholic Church ... no doubt it is because, though we have had the opportunity, we have not enlisted in our behalf the sweet influence of Saint Vincent de Paul,- 34

(The Society of that name was already at work in Melbourne; but McEncroe took it he meant the Irish Sisters of Charity, remarking<sup>35</sup> that they might well take charge of the Orphanage in time; but to proceed: -)

if our schools have in so many instances been left in charge of schoolmasters who are only such because they can find no better employment, no doubt it is because we have rejected the services of the Christian Brothers;

if young men have abandoned their faith, they were ill-instructed; if priests have left the diocese, if the Maitland See has not been filled, "no doubt the fault, in some way, lies with ourselves," "we of the laity... have leaned too heavily upon our clergy". McEncroe protested at once in print<sup>36</sup> that a program of reform was not the business of the Fellows of Saint John's, and corrected some assertions of fact (for example, about the Christian Brothers). Willson in turn, privately, took up McEncroe's assertions of fact - he blamed Gregory alone for the departure of the Christian

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Brothers and of the three Irish Charity nuns.<sup>37</sup>

But the facts scarcely mattered.<sup>37</sup> The die  
was cast.

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34. ~~Ibid.~~ FS January 30 1858.

35. F.J. 6 February 1858

36. Ibid.

37. In the Hobart Archdiocesan archives. The  
contents known to me through correspondence  
with Mgr. J. Cullen, V.G.



ix. Plunkett Agonistes

The eighteen months' fracas that ensued was greatly complicated by political alignments and realignments which in truth pointed to nothing of more substance than careerism among the politicians. But one manoeuvre deserves more particular notice, for the momentum it lent the whole process: after a decade of steady devotion to the cause, Plunkett was abruptly dismissed from the National Schools Board.<sup>1</sup> The circumstances roused considerable feeling in the community, not only among the Catholics: Plunkett's standing, Cowper's acting without consulting the Executive against one who was possibly a dangerous rival for the premiership; the suspicion that he was striking an underhand blow for denominational education, that he had, in naked cunning, postponed the step till after the elections.<sup>2</sup> After an unusually heated debate, not without some odium theologicum,

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1. The main documents are all given in S.M.H. 23 April 1858. The Freeman announced the "indignity offered ... to every individual Catholic ... more especially to Irish Catholics" on February 13.
  2. James Macarthur's diagnosis, see F.J. 20 February 1858. See leader, F.J. 28 April 1858.

the House gave Plunkett its moral support.<sup>3</sup> A small consolation, by no means a substitute for reinstatement; having resigned every public office in order to make his protest as resounding as possible, he found out the hard way how little memory or gratitude a democracy possesses; only very slowly did he come back into any sort of public prominence - "difficulties beyond the control of your government"<sup>4</sup> would not permit him to accept the Attorney-Generalship, or restoration to the National Schools Board when Forster shortly afterwards ousted Cowper.

Now nothing can be more nuisance to peace in Church and State than a humiliated Elder Statesman on the loose with a grudge. The sage M'Curdayne probably drew the correct moral for Plunkett: cease looking for favours from the powers that be, espouse the popular cause.<sup>5</sup> And equally for the Catholic liberals: do not be deceived by a political trimmer like Cowper.<sup>6</sup> Both Plunkett and Deniehy seem to have groped their way to the same conclusion. Plunkett sought to

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3. F.J. 1 May 1858; cf. 21 April 1858. The vote went 28/23.

4. Cf. F.J. 3 December 1859; and 18 February 1860. (quotation).

5. F.J. 13 February 1858. The evidence, we may mention, is all against any direct link between McCurtayne and the Freeman's management.

6. Ibid.

return to the Lower House; he loosened up in his public address, for instance at McEncroe's farewell.<sup>7</sup> Deniehy, - though at one stage, in a period when no politician looked, and perhaps none was, consistent, he was in de facto alliance with Cowper, - was critical of the premier, and of Dalley's dalliance with him (and it was rumoured, with Miss Cowper).<sup>8</sup> There was now a real possibility, not without its dangers for the Archbishop, of Plunkett and Deniehy rallying behind them a solid block of opinion, fusing Irish - Catholic and radical elements; Gavan Duffy had a clear program for it, a wide franchise to be followed up by opening the lands to the little man. The two Sydney men did, in the event, form a coalition for West Sydney, March 1859, a racy affair, as the Empire described it,<sup>9</sup> remarkable chiefly for Plunkett's wine-inspired description of Deniehy as "a giant intellect".<sup>10</sup> It failed, Deniehy

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7. F.J. 11 September 1858
8. Dalley, alone of the Catholic members, voted against Plunkett in the house, F.J. 1 May 1858. He went on to propose divorce legislation, F.J. 8 May 1858, and the ballot as a check on clerical influence, 12 May 1858 (and here, mention of Miss Cowper). A year previously, ridiculously enough, he had identified himself with voluntarism and national education (F.J. 3 January 1857).
9. Empire 31 May 1859. F.J. 25 May 1859 (on their campaign).
10. F.J. 19 March 1859. S.M.H. 18 March 1859, does not include the phrase "giant intellect", but was fulsome enough.



not being elected,<sup>11</sup> Plunkett being defeated the following year.<sup>12</sup> The explanation of its failure lies, in my diagnosis, not in political factors; far less in what Deniehy alleged at the declaration of the poll, that he was voted out because he was a Catholic;<sup>13</sup> but in the fact that they did not command the confidence of the Catholic community. Exactly why this was so, we shall see; Deniehy was under sentence of excommunication; while of Plunkett the Freeman argued rather sharply that he had never ceased to be a Trinity College (Dublin) man, honest, sensible, frank, maybe, but -

What has he done as a Catholic for Catholics? When did he ever, heart and soul, go with them in any movement? 14.

Here again then we have the *rara avis*, evidence of the influence of Catholic opinion as such on politics; it is noteworthy that it was exercised in the negative sense, against the germ of a

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11. F.J. 15 June 1859. Suttor helped Plunkett's return later that year, F.J. 15 September 1858; and it was his resignation the following year that opened the way back for Deniehy (next note).
  12. F.J. 22 December 1860. By this stage, Deniehy was back in by a piece of luck (F.J. 16 May 1860), but committed (as suited himbest) to no party. His liberalism was described, aptly enough, as "transcendental in the extreme" (F.J. 14 February 1857).
  13. Empire. 16 June 1859
  14. F.J. 12 October 1859

Catholic centre party, which might well have hoped to rally rudderless pols like Dalley, Hart, and even Martin,<sup>15</sup> to its standard, as the O'Shanassy-Duffy axis did for a time in Victoria. In the main, however, the Catholic voters and the Catholic candidates in Sydney showed no such sense of direction; and the causality ran all the other way, the confusion and inconsistency and personalities of politics disturbing the unanimity of the Church.

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15. Martin's least expected manoeuvre of this period was the centre of interest early in 1859; see below, Section xiv. For a good brief picture of the unmoral politics of the day, see Clark, Select Documents, ii, p.539 et seq.

x. Duncan Triggers an Explosion

Polding's Lenten Pastoral for 1858 warned against intellectual pride, called for penance to satisfy for the great sins with which New South Wales had been stained; clergy and laity "should for the future work in harmony within the limits of their respective functions and rights".<sup>1</sup> But the same issue of the Freeman, where Heydon was now in sole charge, carried report of a meeting where pride, not penance, seems to have been the theme, and lay rebelliousness was manifest. Scene: a meeting of the subscribers to the Saint John's College fund in Saint Benedict's parish. Enter sixth villain<sup>2</sup>, R. O'Connor, clerk of the Legislative Council. O'Connor noted that the authorities had given the very minimum notice, tolerated by the law, of the meeting which was to elect the fellows; the meeting, furthermore, coincided with the Sydney election date, and few turned up; there had been an attempt to get blanket approval of a list of official nominees, the clergy being the far from impartial returning officers in each district. Did Dean Summer of Parramatta speak of a clique active against the Archbishop, an "Irish party"? Well, he would

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1. F.J. 20 February 1858

2. Farrelly, Moore, Darcy, Heydon, Duncan



confess his weakness, his love of country; but "he (Mr. O'Connor) stood there in the face of the colony, and of his God, with his hand upon his heart, to declare that such a statement was untrue". "Catholicity", however, "is synonymous with freedom", hence "it is our duty to vote tonight for those only who have been proscribed by Doctor Gregory". When Makinson attempted to defend Gregory's action in recommending his friends, someone from the body of the meeting asked: "What right has he to dictate?" Moore, the bookseller, " would ask were we going to have a close-borough system in religious as well as in civil matters."

Re-enter Duncan, this time in propria persona. In the Freeman of the following week<sup>3</sup> he criticised the official ticket, which by-passed stalwart pioneers like Lovat, Lynch and Kenny, because they were posted too far from Sydney; he could testify that there was dissatisfaction with the ecclesiastical administration from Sydney north to Maitland; no doubt such dissatisfaction was general. In the course of an angry legalistic discussion the next week,<sup>4</sup> Judge Therry conceded that Duncan's criticisms had "much force", the country returns would provide

3. F.J. 27 February 1858

4. F.J. 6 March 1858

"a moral index of the sentiments" of the people; nevertheless, the election must take place at a meeting in Saint Mary's hall as the Act required. The "Act", however, which had a long and troubled history on more than one count, was the cry, not only of the moderate lawyers, Fawcett and Therry, but of the immoderate bush-lawyers, Heydon and O'Connor, who argued (what the Archbishop had no objection to) that the laity must have the election of the clerical Fellows - "they too had their rights as laymen", and "they must maintain them". O'Connor continued to hold that "the Legislature imposes a duty in the matter on the laity;" and once more lost his temper - "He would tell Mr. Justice Therry that there was more courage and self-sacrifice required in the service in which he (Mr. O'Connor) was then engaged than could have been needed to write an anonymous pamphlet twenty years ago". The country votes must have consoled him; along with Plunkett, Fawcett, and Makinson, he received over four hundred votes.<sup>5</sup>

Heydon took the thing a step further in his issue of April 14, when he published the first of a series of letters by Duncan under the pen-name "Isidore". The tone was learned and judicial; he

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5. F.J. 6 March 1858

argued from the early apologetes and historians, the election of bishops by the people in the early Church, for lay participation in ecclesiastical government, especially getting and spending. Further, though "assuming the truth of the facts referred to in the excellent articles from which I have quoted" - the leader of January 30 - "the inefficiency of our primary schools; the indifferent state of our Orphan Institution, the absence of religious culture in our leading Catholic youth; the absence of all religious orders save one, and the failure of that one; the desertion of some of our best clergy in the absence of episcopal visitation and control" - "assuming the truth of the facts referred to "from his splendid isolation in Brisbane, Duncan called the laity to arms, to form a Catholic Association with purely ecclesiastical terms of reference, binding all its members "to strict conformity with ecclesiastical law", "the Church's blessing and pride".<sup>6</sup>

Harmless enough? Gregory did not think so. "The Freeman's Journal must be put down " he told Heydon to his face; it has forfeited any claim to be considered the Catholic organ in the colony.<sup>7</sup>

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6. F.J. 14 April 1858

7. F.J. 21 April 1858



McEncroe, who had precipitated the crisis by handing control over to Heydon,<sup>8</sup> tried to pour oil on the storm's petulance; he censured, in his turn, what he thought Isidore's "unmerited censure on the Ecclesiastical Administration";<sup>9</sup> but came out in the open in a typical defence of the paper against Gregory's peremptoriness - you do not "set fire to a house in order to destroy the cobwebs."<sup>10</sup> "Fidelior" - one wishes one knew who he was - while conceding the need for a Catholic Association (to distribute Catholic literature, promote education, combat drunkenness), deplored the attempt "to browbeat our ecclesiastical superiors", this last addition to history's list of "plausible and ambitious intermeddlers."<sup>11</sup> After all, the comparison with Rome and Pius in 1848-9 was rather strong ! But more warlike counsels prevailed. Heydon was resolved "to promote an open discussion of our wants and defects, and try what virtue lay in a free press", for "that purpose was my principal object of joining you" (McEncroe, that is) "in the conduct of your paper : the hope of being able thoroughly to carry it out alone influenced me to accept the uncon-

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8. F.J. 20 February 1858  
 9. F.J. 21 April 1858  
 10. F.J. 28 April 1858  
 11. Ibid.

trolled management." Here was light in retrospect over the past year's asperities. He was willing to return the paper to the Archdeacon, but meanwhile:

I cannot consent so far to recede from my own belief of what is right, as to become now a party to the stifling of the legitimate voice of complaint. We of the laity may, some of us, be rather rough; but when our statements are founded in truth, and our complaints are regarding our wants, we are not to be silenced till we have learned how to polish our language". 12

Here, the convert - Englishman Heydon and the convert-Scot Duncan challenging the convert - Englishman Gregory, was a crisis in ecclesiastical discipline involving the liberal critique of the concept of authority, and in particular of all monarchy. But O'Connor was there to remind us how nationalisms lent impetus without giving direction.

"Isidore's" second letter appeared on May 12, his third on May 19, a fourth on June 16, a fifth on June 23. He became more vehement as he went. Though he "was hardly prepared for the stir that my poor production" - his first letter - "made at the Abbey",<sup>13</sup> he did everything to justify Gregory's alarm. Denying that he had offended in any way in faith, morals, or Canon Law,

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12. F.J. 8 May 1858

13. F.J. 12 May 1858

he chastised the Benedictines, their "decent, but dull, mediocrity", fostered by their deliberate exclusion of other orders from the Archdiocese, their tyrannous restraint of criticism, their monopoly of promotion (to the exclusion of seculars):

With advantages unexampled in modern times, they have done nothing during the last fifteen years beyond the ordinary useful routine of reading, singing and shriving in Sydney and its neighborhood. 14.

This, of course, was not an attack on Polding ! This Oedipean form of guilty conscience is a recurrent theme among the Sydney rebels, Moore, O'Connor, Heydon, Duncan Plunkett. Duncan acknowledged his "many amiable and excellent qualities", "true ecclesiastical spirit", but

"this is perfectly consistent with the opinion that he may somewhat too much lean to the school in which he was educated; that he may be somewhat blind to the shortcomings of its offshoot here; and, if not, that he may not unnaturally continue to hope for its success, long after all the rest of us have given way to despair, and desire, at least, to see a healthy rivalry established, if not an actual change of men." 15

But, for all his attempt to seem, perhaps be, reverent, his criticism did not stop at Benedictinisation; there was the question of diocesan and provincial synods, the decrees of the one synod that had been held "not promulgated to this hour", the

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14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.



clamp on free discussion ("it is bad enough that Protestants should regard us as slaves of a domineering priesthood"), the need for "secularisation" of the dioceses (that is, secular priests staffing, with regulars auxiliary, "loved and honoured in proportion to their zeal, not disliked, as at present, for the possession of invidious and injudicious privileges"), Lyndhurst inefficient and expensive, preaching poor, Bishop Davis disappointed at not exercising territorial jurisdiction.<sup>16</sup>

There is no denying the crisp, incisive style of Duncan, but this hardly accounts for the excitement aroused by his articles; he was the stone that released an avalanche. The most outspoken Freeman's correspondent on the side of protest was Polycarp<sup>17</sup>. A letter of his, reprinted with Isidore II, to meet demand, on May 15, reported that "we find the people in knots at the corners of streets, outside our churches, and at their

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16. Ibid. This letter I give at length assummarising all the lines of argument - as distinct from abuse - of the dissidents.
17. Whom I am unable to identify with any shade of probability. One, however, of the extremer correspondents I presume to have been Macdonnell (see Chapter 8, Section iv, below).

own hearths, pouring, in deep and earnest tones, the tide of their complaints into each other's ears." He had welcomed Isidore I as "true and beautiful --- reviving", because "from ill-advised encroachments on the one hand, and supine acquiescence on the other, the laity have long been accustomed to be considered and to consider themselves, as accessories to a pageant,"<sup>18</sup>

"Architecture and music ... are good things in their way, but not exactly the things essential to the sanctification of souls without the order of Saint Benedict;" and he summed up the Irish colonists' picture of themselves while striking a blow "in defence of a nobler order - the order of Melchisedech":

"The Catholic inhabitants of New South Wales number fully one - third of the entire population; they are dispersed over the entire area of the settled and so-called unsettled districts, and are found engaged in every avocation followed in the colony; many of them are wealthy, most of them are thriving, and all are above want or abject dependence; many of them are children of the soil, but the great majority are from that ever-gushing and ever pure spring of faith - the beautiful, the loved, the wronged, yet ever hopeful Erin; and they have brought with them the unconquerable love of the Mass, and an unalterable veneration for its parochial or secular celebrants." 19

18. F.J. 21 April 1858

19. F.J. 26 May 1858. There is much in Polycarp to suggest the priest, possibly Donovan, Corish's curate, who was accused of being "Philo".

To the city churches, however, served by the Benedictines, "resort thousands of the faithful, and hundreds of the well-disposed of our Protestant brethren, where they are addressed by men unable to give an intelligible reason for the faith that is in them, whilst the educated and intellectual seculars, with two exceptions, are banished ... in the far wilderness". Let the "Reverend Somnambulists within" read the "handwriting upon the wall of the Priory" : the abolition of state aid to religion was imminent.<sup>20</sup> At this point, Irish partisan and laicist were at one. The latter saw the power of the purse as the means of securing lay control,<sup>21</sup> and Dalley, having urged the "propriety" of introducing a divorce bill, was now advocating the ballot as a check on clerical influence in politics, and arguing against state aid because it made the clergy independent of the people.<sup>22</sup> "Catholicus" compared the Benedictines with the Czar;<sup>23</sup> "Zone" named Gregory as the heart of the trouble, especially for neglect of education while building magnificent churches.<sup>24</sup>

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20. F.J. 12 June 1858

21. Resurgo in F.J. 14 August 1858

22. F.J. 12 May 1858

23. F.J. 22 May 1858

24. F.J. 2 June 1858



The Irish party saw the Irish example as compelling; if, as one signing himself "Catholicism" alleged,<sup>25</sup> seven-eighths of the colonial illiterate were Roman Catholic, if there were two or three only native-born priests, if the only good Catholic schools were too expensive - was not all this an argument for abolition of state aid to religious bodies? Catholic Ireland looked on it as a wedge between priest and people.

Nothing in the paper was quite innocent. Notice of Catholic progress in England<sup>26</sup> or the United States<sup>27</sup> of France<sup>28</sup> was the occasion for another attack on the local administration. Had not New York flourished "through the simple expedient of availing. . .of the holy labour of the Jesuits, the Christian Brothers, and the Sisters of Charity"? But here, the Brothers, like the

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25. Quite wrongly, of course, as to illiteracy. F.J. 2 June, 1858.
26. F.J. 19 May, 1858.
27. F.J. 5 May, 1858, 23 June, 1858. We should perhaps also note Magganotto's honorable mentions, 10 January, 1857, 9 April, 1859; but not during the 1858 campaign, as far as I know.
28. L'Univers, having won the case against Dupanloup, was frequently cited - e.g. F.J. 12 May, 1858, 3 July, 1858; ignoring the point that here the prelate was "liberal", the paper decidedly "illiberal". Dupanloup, of course, had not recommended his various causes to Pius by his attitude on the definition of the Immaculate Conception, S.M.H. 3 April, 1855, See also Hales, Pio Nono, pp.282-3.

Passionists, "seem to have been banished for ever", the Jesuits and the Oratory and others to be "debarred an entrance".<sup>29</sup> We must not miss the innuendo of a little paragraph noting the departure of a band of Marists (four priests, a brother, and three nuns) from Ryde for the South Seas missions: no one farewelled them - in other words, non-Benedictine orders were not wanted.<sup>30</sup> There was party spirit even in the appreciation<sup>31</sup> of the sculpture with which Gourbeillon was slowly decorating old Saint Mary's : the "rich Catholic tone and expression" pervading the six statues he placed in niches over the main entrance, and two colossal statues, of the Madonna and Child, and Saint Joseph, on either side the large window - none of your "fine ladies and gentlemen in plaster-of-paris... bright glitter and garish gaudy colours", nor yet, scarcely any better, "cold worldly beauty, Grecian symmetry of undevotional features, unedifying elegance of drapery," but warmth, love, religion.<sup>32</sup> Maybe. Gourbeillon

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29. F.J. 5 May 1858

30. On the Marists, F.J. 28 April 1858, 8 May 1858 et alibi, throughout the two-year period of high tension, particularly 17 August 1859 (leader).

31. F.J. 22 May 1858. Note the French bias here, and the role of the French consul later (F.J. 2 March 1859).

32. F.J. 4 September 1858

performed his priestly duties conscientiously. But he was all this while furnishing the Freeman's office with material for attacks of ever-increasing bitterness against Gregory. And **through** the low window of his room in the monastery, against the street,<sup>33</sup> he occasionally received a little sexual comfort.

The Freeman's columns were not entirely closed to the advocates of the administration. "Fidelior" stuck to his guns, challenging "Isidore" to name any place with four hundred Catholics yet no clergyman (Duncan had alleged such in general, vague terms); noting the presence in the country of Jesuit, Carmelite, Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Cistercian priests; and making the shrewd point, against the Haroldising priests, that the priest was degraded more by subjection to a self-appointed laity than by subjection to a divinely commissioned bishop.<sup>34</sup> More telling, less acrimonious, "A Working Man"<sup>35</sup> asked: "What clergyman ever came to the colony, having his regular credentials, and was not given a mission?"

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33. Cf. F.J. 7 November 1850 - an attack on Gourbeillon's room by someone deranged. These rooms were built by Gregory in 1846-8, while in charge during Polding's absence: Birt ii, p.234.
34. F.J. 22 May 1858. He was still there 11 December 1858.
35. I can identify none of these correspondents with any degree of probability. "Working Man's" authenticity was questioned.



The charges of favouritism - Gregory's own case aside - could not be proved. The Benedictines were not only unquestionably zealous and charitable; they stayed, seculars came and went all the time. And "the people are the cause of many clergymen leaving the colony, by encouraging them to amass wealth"; the priests thus became independent; "when the neglect of their duties is suggested to them, instead of hearkening to counsel they resign"; then a subscription, an address, and the priest moves on. Here, anyway, was one Sydney Catholic who could see what the real problems of the ecclesiastical authorities were. His independent yet close-up view of the Irish clergy is not without its point. The real weakness of the Benedictines, this correspondent argued, was that "they are not dashing enough; they cannot find time to deliver lectures; they cannot attend public meetings or private parties; they cannot put their hand in their pocket and give a cheque for £1,000". Had the money subscribed for testimonials been sent to All Hallows, there would be none of the shortage of priests so much complained of. 36

For his pains, "A Working Man" was castigated

by Polycarp as a detractor of the secular clergy;<sup>37</sup> he replied more or less in kind, that Polycarp, whom apparently he knew in person, was motivated by personal rancour against the Benedictines.<sup>38</sup> Certainly, I think most readers would say that the detraction was all on the other side. Not only the Benedictines, but their defenders, were buried in calumnious abuse. "Fidelior's" orthodoxy was questioned.<sup>39</sup> Father Corish, in particular, a passionate admirer of the Archbishop, impetuous, and a marked man because himself an Irishman, was the object of a harsh campaign. His public attacks on the Freeman were treated withovert contempt by "Philo" as "an Irish stew"; his praise of Polding "must disgust", as being fulsome; his vindication of Polding in sending priests away from the mission was described as "vile insinuations concerning the secular priests who have left the colony";<sup>40</sup> his apologia for the education arrangements was an "elaborate defence of ignorance as a powerful instrument in advancing the interests of the Christian Church".<sup>41</sup>

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37. F.J. 5 June 1858

38. F.J. 12 June 1858

39. F.J. 8 May 1858. Retorted by Fidelior or Duncan, 22 May 1858.

40. F.J. 15 May 1858

41. F.J. 22 May 1858

The resignation of his curate, Donovan, from Saint Benedict's was the occasion of a number of calumnies: that he treated Donovan as a menial, would not allow him to dine with him when he (Corish) had guests;<sup>42</sup> while one correspondent of the Freeman defended Donovan on the presumption, that he was Philo.<sup>43</sup> Corish gave an unqualified denial to the allegations about his treatment of Donovan. McEncroe, once more seeking to pour oil, defended the Benedictines against what he called "mischievous ...detraction", and defended Corish.<sup>44</sup> Hawkesley, we may note, stood by Corish, particularly at a meeting called to condemn the Freeman - "such a medley of small boys and girls, adventurous mammas, and not very bright papas", "Zone" called it.<sup>45</sup> The former editor of the The People's Advocate was credited with no motive better than spite against the paper that had driven him out of business, and out of the political arena.<sup>46</sup>

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42. F.J. 2 June 1858. McEncroe rebutted this,  
F.J. 9 June 1858

43. F.J. 5 June 1858

44. F.J. 9 June 1858. For a circumstantial  
"debunking" of Donovan see Candidus in  
F.J. 26 May 1858

45. F.J. 22 May 1858.

46. F.J. 2 June 1858 - This press campaign was, I considered, worth detailing in view of the severe stand taken by the bishops (next section) Besides, generalities would miss the boldness and lack of scruple. It should be remembered there was no other Catholic paper, little enough Catholic reading, in Australia at this time.



xi. The Monitum Pastorale

The actual election of the Fellows of Saint John's did not calm, but did for a short while channel, discussion. On May 5, Polding advertised in the Freeman (which he would not recognise as the Catholic organ) an election meeting for mid-June; and prefaced the election with a Pastoral<sup>1</sup>. Deploring that "confidence has been disturbed where it ought to have rested" - namely, with the Archbishop and the clergy - he asked that the election be seen as a matter of religion and conscience, that ~~none~~ be voted in if not good practical Catholics, of good repute and good education. Polycarp, obviously close to the editorial room of the Freeman, accompanied the Pastoral with a commentary: popular opinion, and the consultative vote of the country subscribers, had rejected the principle of clerical nomination, together with Gregory's actual nominees; he hoped (a sinister line of argument, thinly disguised disrespect) the Pastoral was not by Polding himself (who had, in fact, only just returned from a short trip to Melbourne), it was not worthy of him; the priest's hand had shaken as he read it, from

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1. F.J. 16 June 1858

fear lest it destroy the "semblance of unity" in Sydney Catholicism. He urged the Fellows to sustain their rights against the Visitor (the Archbishop himself, ex officio). Notwithstanding, the election meeting, begun with the Memorare, led by Polding, went off quietly. The clergy chosen were McEncroe, J.J. Therry, Sheridan, Corish, Gregory and Keating - scarcely a confirmation of the dissentient clique's claim to represent general Catholic opinion, since four of these were Benedictines, the others the two illustrious pioneers. The laity were Plunkett (with the largest vote), R. Therry, Fawcett, Butler, Macdonnell, Lenehan, O'Connor, Makinson, Gorman, Heydon, Curtis, Davis. Four of these twelve were of the lay-action party, namely, Butler, Macdonnell, O'Connor, Heydon,<sup>2</sup>

What had the Archbishop been doing in Melbourne? The Freeman's guess, that it was to discuss the recent petition there to Goold, "for the adoption of means to revivify the Australian Church,"<sup>3</sup> was not far wrong, but too modest. It was the Freeman itself, rather, as the most conspicuous symptom of unrest, that was the object of attention: "insolens et teterrima licentia, quae quidquid de fide, de disciplina, de auctoritate et personis

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2. F.J. 19 June 1858

3. F.J. 16 June 1858.

Ecclesiasticis unusquisque sentiat foliis publicis mandare non dubitet"<sup>4</sup> so it ran, addressed to the clergy and therefore in Latin, condemning the insolent and perverse license which had no hesitation in committing to public print whatever anyone might opine on matters of faith, discipline, authority, or persons in authority in the Church. The Freeman translated it on June 30; the Sydney Morning Herald the following week thought the document too good to ignore. One Freeman writer, writing as from Moruya, met it with a joke:

On last Sunday morning, at nine o'clock, being alone, arranging a subscription list for the Relief Fund, I heard a rumbling noise in the direction of Sydney ... in one minute, a shock of earthquake. 5.

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4. Original (as published) in S.A.A. For a translation, see Clark, Select Documents, Vol ii, p.718 et seq., from S.M.H. of July 2 1859. "These roaring lions ... usurp every thing to themselves; everything must be examined: everything must be weighed by minds, perhaps, but lightly imbued with Catholic truth and discipline". "What devastation may not this public journal effect which, insolently (though without any lawful title to do so) recommends itself as the defender of Catholic faith and discipline".
5. F.J. 3 July 1858. I have not been able to find a copy of the previous issue of the Freeman, June 30, in which the document was translated.



But there was real shock. The passage quoted hardly justified the allegation of a "mysterious want of perspicuity"; nor, even conceding it was "distinctly the style and language of His Grace", did the three signatures at the foot (Willson, Goold, Polding; Murphy having died six weeks previous) justify the conclusion that "it is not the authority of the Church which speaks, but only the anger of the Prelate"<sup>6</sup>; more especially, as Goold had sailed for Rome on June 15, within a week is issuing the *Monitum Pastorale*. Duncan lost all poise in his comments as Isidore a week or so later: "unmeaning", "rash and ill-considered circular", "nothing but dark insinuations"; and in his hurt pride revealed his identity (never more than formally concealed) - his "little wisdom", he said, had been used readily enough on former occasions.<sup>7</sup>

Much, now, on the liberty of the press. McEncroe on June 19, had disowned the Freeman "in publishing anything injurious to Religion, or Subversive of Catholic morals and good discipline." But Heydon, in a Leader, claimed the Archdeacon had written so under duress:

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6. F.J. 3 July 1858  
7. F.J. 14 July 1858

The opposition at present offered to our journal we were prepared for. We refuse, however, to be brow-beaten. Obedience as Christians ... we **yield** with pleasure to those who have a right to claim it. Beyond that we are, as God made us, free.<sup>8</sup>

How the word rings through nineteenth century public speaking : free. But as once the liberty of prophesying had tended to become political radicalism, so now political radicalism tended to claim the liberty of prophesying. Asking "support in this painful but necessary struggle," Heydon quoted Newman, that "to smooth things over, and to hush them up, and to have a mortal dread of scandal ... is not the way ... to succeed ... in this age and country",<sup>9</sup> and cited the example of the Tablet against the Irish bishops, the Univers against the French, both cases where Rome decided in favour of the paper.<sup>10</sup> Now the issue was, said Heydon, "whether or not the Australian church is to be governed by ecclesiastical law, or by a quasi-Abbot and his monks in the name of an Archbishop?"<sup>11</sup> The Monitum, said Erinach,

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8. F.J. 23 June 1858  
 9. F.J. 7 July 1858  
 10. F.J. 3rd July 1858  
 11. F.J. 7 July 1858

striking another note, was "nothing else than an attempt to blacken and condemn the Freeman's Journal"; but it would in fact stimulate support for it: "Irishmen will not suffer even one rude blast to touch that paper", which was "now incurring censure for advocating the rights of their non-Benedictine clergy, by seeking for them the common right to toleration, so as to offer some encouragement to the worthy missionaries of Carlow and All Hallows." <sup>12</sup> Was Ireland, or ecclesiastical law, as against Benedictinisation, really the issue? For the centre of disturbance was shifted to Melbourne and Geoghedan; <sup>13</sup> and Goold, from abroad, offered a different, unideological account of "this wretched party fostered by the unnatural support and encouragement of a clerical clique", <sup>14</sup> who "stop at no slander to bring into disrepute the Bishop and his clergy". <sup>15</sup> To Goold, as to Polding, the issue was: where does power derive from in the Church? Above - or below? Force of numbers - or Christ?

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12. F.J. 26 June 1858

13. Cf. F.J. 10 July 1858, 31 July 1858, 21 August 1858

14. Goold to Geoghegan 28 December 1858 (S.A.A.)

15. Goold to Geoghegan 12 November 1858 (S.A.A.)



xii. The Lay Address and the Campbelltown Conference.

Conciliatory, sanguine as ever, Polding meanwhile had followed up the Monitum with an invitation for all to address their complaints and suggestions through J.J. Therry. A public meeting of the laity, accordingly, delegated to a committee of seven the task of drawing up a document which would list all the heads of criticism.<sup>1</sup> Plunkett and Macdonnell in the event abstained from signing, leaving E. Butler, R. O'Connor, Heydon, Hart (M.P. - New England), and William Davis' jnr. that dubious honour. Duly admonished by way of preface, on the future greatness of Australia, and assured, by way of peroration, of the laity's loyal anticipations, Polding was asked to head a Catholic Association which would teach him that little matter in which he was so unversed, the government of an Archdiocese and an ecclesiastical province. The lay interest was guaranteed by "the appointment of Church wardens to the several Churches, and vesting in them and the Pastors the receipt and disbursement of their respective revenues", and by "the acknowledgment of the right of patronage in certain cases". New dioceses and yearly conferences of the Bishops and clergy were arranged

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1. F.J. 31 July 1858 for all material here. Meeting was July 26, letter dated July 29. For Polding's invitation, F.J. 3 July 1858

for; and by the liberal application of ink to paper the Australian Church was entirely transformed - "the introduction, upon equal terms, of clergymen of all orders, secular and regular, who may, by their piety, learning, zeal and special vocation... " - "the introduction of Religious Sisters of Religious and Lay Teachers, competent to impart to our own children the highest degree of Education attainable under modern Christian civilization" - " the establishment and endowment of Primary and Grammar Schools, wherever required throughout the Colony"... "And - the last delicatesse - this sublime instrument of government was given to the press before it was given to the Archbishop.

Polding, as a rebuke, commissioned Dean O'Connell, as an Australian native, to meet the committee.<sup>2</sup> "As if they represented not ... the great body of the Catholic laity", fumed the Freeman: "Who shall say now that the Archbishop desires to meet his flock in any spirit more gentle

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2. F.J. 7 August 1858. "There are several subjects touched upon which do not come within the province of the laity". "The common courtesy of not committing to the public press a correspondence simply initiated has not ... been observed." Thus the Dean.

than those of defiance and insult?"<sup>3</sup> But better things were looked for from the conference of the clergy called at Campbelltown, for the end of August, Cheated by the Benedictine monopoly of prelacies, "given up to a sort of East India Company in religion",<sup>4</sup> the secular clergy" owe it to their own position...to their successors in their own order - to see the propriety of securing ... that measure of independence which the canon law gives them".<sup>5</sup> "Let us hope", wrote the Freeman on August 31, "that in the Conference of to-day", no less a person than your humble servant, the present historian,<sup>6</sup> "will observe a change in the scene".<sup>7</sup>

Goold, from the other side of the globe, was caustic, but just: the Conference was a blunder, but "one good has come of it - (the Archbishop) has learned to think humbly of the ability and prudence of his priests".<sup>8</sup> Polding was soon far away too, in Queensland - his letter to Goold from there was full of mental anguish.<sup>9</sup> So it was there was

3. F.J. 14 August 1858

4. F.J. 1 September 1858

5. F.J. 14 August 1858

6. Then, of course, the future historian "of this period...with its various and rich opportunities". F.J. 1 September 1859

7. Ibid.

8. ~~Goold to Gegghegan~~ 25 November 1858 (S.A.A.)

9. ~~Goold to Geoghegan~~ 28 December 1858 (S.A.A.)

The opinions of the clergy were in fact forwarded without comment to Rome - Kenyon



no official report; but the Freeman's Resurgo  
supplied:

We have just had a supplemental "All Fool's Day" ... a solemn conclave to apostrophise the glowing probosts of the fat Brother who officiates as the guardian angel of that rural retreat for Benedictines, wearied with the toil of head winking the "low Irish" of the city ...

Nothing was known of the proceedings, save that

each was put to the question, that the answers were bagged, that the unsuspecting sacerdotals were themselves sacked immediately after: and that the unleavened mass - the laity - is to be quickened into its ordinary servile function of subscription, whilst the Bag is to be forwarded to Rome to perform its right Benedictine function of proscription.

"Previous to the break-up of the motley",

three lusty cheers were called for by the Archdeacon - Live Benedicity - Glory, greater than Paul's, to the Chief of Benedictines - the Archbishop - to the winds with the Church and the laity - "Rod of Iron" forever - Hurrah for Father Maurus. 10

"This is the end", said the Freeman of Polding's  
silence. 11

9. cont'd.

in F.J. 18 September 1858. This meant new Bishopricks and a certain measure of lay participation - Luckie in F.J. 6 October 1858 Cf. Cap. 6, section vii, above.

10. F.J. 8 September 1858. The "fat Brother", of course, was Gregory. Father Maurus was O'Connell. - "Greatest unanimity" was the report Roche, the Campbelltown priest, gave of the conference, F.J. 15 September 1858.

11. F.J. 15 September 1858

xiii. McEncroe as Catalyst.

McEncroe was commissioned by the Fellows of Saint John's to consult with no less a quartet than Cullen, Wiseman, Newman and Ullathorne to find a Rector for the College.<sup>1</sup> It was his first return home after twenty-six years, and the interminable farewelling echoed all the dominant motifs of the Church's history during that interim. He had retained his prominence throughout the troubles, using the columns of the Freeman to address one more unofficial pastoral "in the fullness of an Irish heart" on the drink question,<sup>2</sup> but mainly, week after week to deplore the scandal and dissension the paper was fostering.<sup>3</sup> This was all very well, but he would not take the one effectual measure of denouncing the paper; his threat to resign from the mission if the "uncharitableness" persisted was neutralised by Heydon's assertion that it was issued under duress,<sup>4</sup> and was wholly negated by his continuing to commend the paper - at the farewell

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1. F.J. 21 July 1858
  2. F.J. 13 March 1858
  3. e.g. 6 February 1858, 17 April 1858, 28 April 1858, 8 May 1858, 9 June 1858, 19 June 1858, Not every "Old Colonist" was McEncroe, ~~However~~ - e.g. F.J. 18 December 1858, in McEncroe's absence.
  4. F.J. 19 June 1858. That he refused publicly to disown the paper, as requested by Polding. See Polding to Barnato 12 April 1859 (S.A.A.)

tea-party,<sup>5</sup> <sup>550</sup> and, more warmly still, from Melbourne en route.<sup>6</sup> "What can have so infatuated the Archdeacon, "wrote Polding, "who has been for many years here a most useful and estimable priest, I cannot imagine, unless it may be perhaps that a former residence in America has so accustomed him to the extravagances of a licentious tyrannical press that he has lost all moral sensibility on the matter."<sup>7</sup> Polding might have read the answer in the Freeman. "The Archdeacon is the man whom, of all others, we Irish Catholics look to for support in our struggle for emancipation from the highly harmful influence exercised over our poor, patient, but highly gifted few secular pastors".<sup>8</sup> It was not so much what McEncroe said and did, as what he was, that counted.

And McEncroe knew it ... "in the fullness of an Irish heart", yet with a "sincere wish to leave my bones in this Austral-land".<sup>9</sup> His departure brought out the ~~theme~~ of Ireland-in-Australia very strongly. The very recollection

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5. F.J. 11 September 1858

6. F.J. 20 November 1858

7. Pieces Justificatives of Polding in S.A.A.

8. F.J. 7 August 1858

9. F.J. 7 August 1858





of his advent, coloured by memories of O'Connell's fateful election for Clare in 1828;<sup>10</sup> the tea-party on September 8 marked by a "good deal of an Irish complexion",<sup>11</sup> such as recalled "Saint Patrick's in old times";<sup>12</sup> his emphasis, at the Campbelltown conference, on the practical fraternity of Protestant and Catholic in Australia, and its pragmatic sanction in Bourke's Church Act;<sup>13</sup> his address to the Celtic Association on the study of Irish history as a quickener of faith and heroism, quoting O'Connell.<sup>14</sup> He refused a testimonial, as he always did (having little enough need for one, as he remarked),<sup>15</sup> but organised funds for the support of students for the priesthood and their passage to Australia - again the Campbelltown Conference served McEncroe's cause.<sup>16</sup> All that we know of public opinion - that is, what the Freeman gave space to - gave him its confidence; the bitter criticisms launched against the small slips of others were waived when it came to the deficiencies of Catholic primary education, McEncroe's particular

10. F.J. 6 October 1858. It was, McEncroe said, the transportations arising out of this election which turned his mind to N.S.W.

11. F.J. 11 September 1858

12. F.J. 4 September 1858

13. F.J. 6 October 1858

14. F.J. 6 November 1858

15. F.J. 7 August 1858

16. F.J. 28 August 1858

charge;<sup>17</sup> All Hallows, his target, was written up as the institution which "beyond all others ... embodied the principle of the Gospel ... universal charity and brotherhood ... nothing local, nothing national ... planted in the very Goshen of priesthood and of Faith".<sup>18</sup>

Thou canst tell them of a country  
Where tyrants are unknown,  
Of a land of peace and plenty. 19

And so he did. The "British constitution in its purity ... free from the incubus of a useless church establishment, and undepressed by the paralysing influence of an oppressive aristocracy". Law and order; a healthy climate; government-assisted emigration; land for the little man; state aid to education, and the National System on the way out; Gavan Duffy (loud cheers), this was Australia, as he presented it, nothing, in a word, wanting, but "a sufficient number of zealous Irish priests."<sup>20</sup>

Polding gave him a ~~exeat~~ reading "optimis moribus praeditus",<sup>21</sup> and letters of introduction,

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17. F.J. 17 November 1858. See Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, Vol. I, p. 80  
 18. F.J. 18 September, 1858  
 19. F.J. 10 November 1858  
 20. F.J. 14 September 1859 (McEncroe to Dublin C.Y.M.S.).  
 21. Polding-to Barnabo 12 April 1859 (S.A.A.)

as the occasion demanded, to Cullen, Wiseman and Newman;<sup>22</sup> he used them to suggest that he was authorised in a general way to act on the Archbishop's behalf. Had not Goold been on the spot ... But Goold was on the spot, very much so. On November 12, in Rome, he was already expecting the Archdeacon's arrival: "However, the Holy See<sup>23</sup> will be advised by the Bps: (sic) and not by him" He arrived armed with

a kindly written letter from the Archbishop and a highly commendatory one from the Archbishop V.G. I cannot understand the Archbishop. In his letters to me he denounces this clergyman and in his communications with him he is kind nay, I would say, affectionate. 24.

For a time, out of loyalty to the Archbishop, Goold stayed on in Rome solely to counteract this priest's influence, particularly at the Irish College.<sup>25</sup> "It would not be safe for Dr. Polding<sup>26</sup> that I budge from Rome until McEncroe leaves it!" To Goold, McEncroe embodied the very spirit of dissidence, the presbyterian spirit; McAlroy and Bermingham, indeed, had been prominent in connection with McEncroe's self-imposed mission of

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22. F.J. 10 November 1859. Ullathorne, of course, needed no introduction.
23. Goold-to Geoghegan 12 November 1858 (S.A.A.) McEncroe, however, had embarked only the day previous - F.J. 10 November 1859
24. Goold to Geoghegan 9 January 1859 (S.A.A.)
25. i.e. Moran. See article on McEncroe by B. Doyle in Catholic Weekly 7 November 1957
26. Goold to Geoghegan 28 December 1858 (S.A.A.)



Hibernicisation,<sup>554</sup><sub>27</sub> and in Rome the Archdeacon came to the defence of Dunne, whose misdemeanours were under review.<sup>28</sup>

Though McEncroe was still in Rome on January 20 1859, Goold felt he could wash his hands of his Metropolitan's troubles.<sup>29</sup> For one thing, this strangely ambiguous Archdeacon had written a report on the Archdiocese "most favourable and complimentary to the Archbishop."<sup>30</sup> But beyond that, his - again ambiguous - relation to the Freeman's Journal undermined his influence, "He pleaded the expediency of outward pressure", when Goold taxed him on the subject, "but I (Goold) advised him not to use such an argument when excusing himself to the Cardinal (Barnabo)".<sup>31</sup> McEncroe took this advice - he made his defence (for not calling on the Catholics to renounce the paper) on the grounds that he might have laid himself open to legal action.<sup>32</sup> Barnabo could hardly believe what he saw,<sup>33</sup> as to the material McEncroe had been prepared to tolerate in the paper : but at the same time had to weigh the

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27. F.J. 25 August 1858
  28. Goold to Geoghegan 20 January 1859 (S.A.A.)
  29. Ibid.
  30. Ibid.
  31. Goold to Geoghegan 9 January 1859 (S.A.A.)
  32. Goold to Geoghegan 20 January 1859 (S.A.A.)
  33. "Vix quidem mihi credibilis" : from J. McGovern's paper on The Campbeltown Conference to Catholic Historical Society.

warm expressions of Polding and Ullathorne on and to the missionary, Polding, however, if a little late, now settled the matter, with an astringent letter to the effect that the exeat was meant as no more than a certificate of ordinary good conduct, and that no bishop in the province would consider him for the episcopate : he left Sydney under a cloud.<sup>34</sup> Ullathorne made an ineffectual bid to prevent his return to Sydney by attaching him to his own diocese.<sup>35</sup> All this did nothing to lessen his impact in Ireland itself, whence he addressed New South Wales on the great progress of the Irish Church, which he judged to be comparable with that of New South Wales under the "revered and indefatigable" Polding.<sup>36</sup> Purists might quibble. The loyalties coinhabited comfortably enough in McEncroe. On his return to Sydney (1861) he proved his versatility by giving Parkes a letter of introduction for his immigration tour of Britain.<sup>37</sup>

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33. cont'd.

Barnabo told McEncroe he must either stop the articles, or sell the journal and condemn them. He was, however, allowed to take the first course in a discreet and private fashion - Polding to Geoghegan (?) 20 May 1859 (S.A.A.)

34. Polding to Barnabo 12 April 1859 (S.A.A.)

35. Gregory to Polding 23 July 1861 (S.A.A.)

"It would cause a great noise among the Irish".

36. F.J. 19 November 1859

37. Autograph Letters of Notable Australians in Parkes Papers, Mitchell Library, pp.45-8.

xiv. The Rationale of Voluntarism versus  
Simony and State Aid.

After Campbelltown, Duncan returned to the fray, "Peter Pilgrim" his pseudonym, "Random Thoughts on Passing Events", his commitment, but ecclesiastical reform his aim.<sup>1</sup> With J.J. Therry up in arms against the Governor-General for his lecture to the Christian Young Men's Society on the Errors of Romanism;<sup>2</sup> Hallinan matching reason for reason with a Protestant controversialist (if assertion may be called controversy);<sup>3</sup> Barker challenging the term "Archdiocese" in the Saint John's College Bill;<sup>4</sup> and the religious equality debate in the House lapsing for want of quorum:<sup>5</sup> now was no time for the Catholics to be divided. Others had raised this alarm during the long crisis;<sup>6</sup> but Duncan coloured it with his own peculiar preoccupations. The arrogations of Denison and Barker "would be impossible were our laity enlightened, firm and high principled, in proportion as they were wealthy and numerous".<sup>7</sup>

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1. F.J. 6 October 1858
  2. S.M.H. 26 July 1858. Cf. F.J. 10 July 1858, 21 July 1858.
  3. F.J. 4 September 1858, 8 September 1858
  4. F.J. 11 September 1858; see particularly F.J. 13 October 1858
  5. F.J. 27 November 1858
  6. Cf. Resurgo 11 September 1858, and the McEncroe farewell in the same issue. Also F.J. 8 December 1858
  7. F.J. 6 October 1858, for this and following quotations.



"Dr. Barker and his friends treat us with contempt". Now, "nothing will effectually remedy this but a high system of Catholic education all over the Colony": Christian Brothers for the poor, grammar schools for the better off, Saint John's for those who can attend the university, and an ecclesiastical seminary in each of the new dioceses. State aid is doomed; "let there be no more private boarding by the (clergy), no more cold hanging back by the (laity)"; and so he resumed agitation against the ecclesiastical administration. Meeting the objection that the generous private benefactions of former days ~~and~~ must be revived in our own ere state aid be abolished, he countered: "would that we had the saintly bishops and priests of olden time, who spent every farthing ... beyond what was necessary for a meagre fare and the relief of the poor, in building churches, schools, convents, and even bridges and highways!"<sup>8</sup> - "If we saw this holy disinterestedness reviving, I do verily believe that we should **be** found quite equal, on our part, to the laity of those times." But he knew "several (clergy) who have accumulated thousands of pounds", on the pretext of security

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8. F.J. 27 October 1858 (Peter Pilgrim No. 2) for this and following quotations.

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for old age; thus confidence is destroyed between pastor and people; for the present, "if a layman so much as attempt to open his mouth on church matters - if he venture to claim the slightest concession in return for his material support - he is denounced as a schismatic, and threatened with excommunication". His anger, it would seem, hardened by the Monitum, he was resolved to have it out.

Brennan, one of Ullathorne's '38-ers, now at Penrith, intervened at this point; and later Fidelior with savage phrases concerning Duncan's (his identity a public secret)" pent up enmity to our priesthood."<sup>9</sup> Duncan persevered with his articles, culminating with the thesis - Duncan's erudition, or pedantry, made it no less - that simony was well-nigh universal in the colony, with the broad implication that the modern church was out of touch with the ancient: "we exchanged wooden chalices and golden priests," he quoted, "for golden chalices and wooden priests".<sup>10</sup> Now, however, "Sacerdos" rebuked him for "wasting your great energies ... doing all in your power to create strife";<sup>11</sup> and, since

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9. F.J. 29 December 1858

10. Peter Pilgrim No. 6

11. F.J. 23 February 1859.

Duncan had named Aquinas, insisted on the Universal Doctor's straightforward teaching that it is always lawful to give something to the priest, but the priest, having met his own needs, must devote the surplus "to church purposes". "Oh! Peter, Peter", the writer must have said for many

do not any longer oppose the customs of the church, of which I am sure you are a faithful son. Turn your thoughts to something more worthy of your great mind. 12.

Righteous overmuch, Duncan held his course, and even descended to personalities: the provisions of the Council of 1844, forbidding priests to attend the races, were habitually broken by his parish priest (unnamed; but every body knew it was Rigney).<sup>13</sup> But in Sacerdos he had met his match, a man whose theology had the professional balance and assurance Duncan's lacked. Confident he had cornered his man, the priest in April, 1859<sup>14</sup> closed in to destroy Duncan's authority with the legitimate arms of honest rhetoric. A little good advice: carry on the work of "purging the sanctuary", "by prayer in private". A little

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12. Ibid.

13. F.J. 16 March 1859

14. F.J. 13 April 1859. "Sacerdos's" five columns in this issue I view as a document of considerable moment. See Appendix C.



wrath : citing Pompallier, in a recent Pastoral, "by your opposition to ecclesiastical donations you are guilty of a triple sin - ... against justice, against charity, against religion." <sup>15</sup>

A little sarcasm, on the "modest hesitation" (Peter Pilgrim's words) with which he asserted simony was the daily practice of the Church. And a confident winding up, "convinced I have done enough to guard the well-disposed portion of the laity against the bad logic ... the laboured sophistry, of a man "whose mouth speaketh proud things and things it knows not".<sup>16</sup>

So far as the question at issue was intellectual, not moral, here was the precision sought. Since Constantine, the Church had, usually in vain, looked to the State for support without strings; the nineteenth century secularisation of civic life left the Church with the problem of asserting authority amongst a people on whose alms it entirely depended. Sacerdos gave Christian common-sense a tongue. The priest is obliged to perform his ministry whether or not he is paid - it is not for him to sell the gift of God. The layman is obliged to

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15. F.J. 25 May 1859, Sacerdos still in pursuit. The Pastoral of Pompallier's, F.J. 26 March 1859.

16. F.J. 25 May 1859.

support the priest whether or not he needs or deserves it - if grace cannot be sold, it cannot be bought. Neither obligation is contractual, yet each is truly obligation; the two, indeed, are complementary, and the stability of religious society is guaranteed, not by contract, but by God revealing and governing, Christ the King. Heydon and Duncan had pressed the logic of contract as far as it would go, but had not evolved a Catholic Church from it. The power that Christ spoke of, when He said, "All power is given to me in Heaven and on earth", was not in any manner, nor in any detail, conditioned by the consent of the Christian people.

While Duncan, now once more a resident of Sydney,<sup>17</sup> and from this time (April. 1859) on less of a rebel leader, was thus providing Sacerdos with an opportunity to elaborate the moral theology of voluntarism, the public debate on state-aid took a long step towards abolition. The whole furore was regarded as a case in point by both sides; the pro party argued that state aid guaranteed the clergy immunity from lay interference, the antis put precisely this forward as their grievance. Deniehy, who some months before

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17. F.J. 30 April 1859 for his appointment as Collector of Customs, Sydney.

had - vainly, but exhaustively - put the arguments for religious equality before the House, now made it clear that it was only to this extent he stood by the Church Act. When Martin, from political motives, moved the restoration of a £14,000 grant in aid of religion (originally inserted into the estimates because of the gold-era inflation, but recently withdrawn), Deniehy came out strongly in favour of voluntarism.<sup>18</sup> On this, Gregory, in his somewhat too direct manner, communicated with the ultra-liberal Catholic politicians, Deniehy, Hart, Dalley : was it true, as they claimed, that many of the clergy opposed state aid? The letters were read in the House, with much comment on this illiberal prelate who evidently favoured state aid and would have no contrary opinion among his subordinates.<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile the Freeman defined its position, a mean: abolition was inevitable, anyway, so let the Catholics think of other ways to secure the Church economically.<sup>20</sup> But it lent its realism no persuasiveness by linking it with complaints about

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18. F. J. 8 January 1859  
 19. F. J. 15 January 1859  
 20. F. J. 19 January 1859



the present use to which state aid was put (favouring city over country).<sup>21</sup> McEncroe, a convinced voluntarist of many years standing,<sup>22</sup> nevertheless backed the official policy, Gregory's, with unashamed pragmatism: state-aid worked; Maynooth supplied a precedent ; of £3 a head taxation it absorbed only 1/7d., the total vote not having increased since 1840. Why then, should the State break faith - for the stipend was vested by the Act in the religious group, not the minister - by abolishing it?<sup>23</sup> Plunkett alone appealed to an immutable sanction: the principles of natural religion (God, moral responsibility, and the after-life) as teachings on which the sects did not differ, and which the State was bound to foster.<sup>24</sup> But the grant went in 1862, and attempts to restore it<sup>25</sup> were quite futile. Given Ireland's preference for voluntarism,<sup>26</sup> Catholic resistance was half-hearted.

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21. Ibid.

22. Cf. Morning Chronicle, 3 January 1844

23. F.J. 12 May 1860

24. F.J. 20 September 1862

25. F.J. 25 November 1865, 3 March 1866,  
1 September 1866

26. Cf. F.J. 15 March 1865

The straw that broke the camel's back was a straw indeed; and it had the curious effect of committing the out-and-out democratisers of religion to a decidedly bigotted position - a feature on which the secular press did not omit to comment.<sup>1</sup> Among Plunkett's many resignations had been that from the Board of Management of the Catholic orphanage at Parramatta, an office he had discharged somewhat perfunctorily from its inception;<sup>2</sup> Gregory now made the tactical error of recommending that the former lieutenant of O'Connell be replaced by the surgeon, Bassett, who, though his wife was Catholic, was himself not.

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1. Argus (Melb.) 9 March 1859, having conceded that "the movement of the Catholic laity appears, on the first blush of it, illiberal as compared with the action of the clergy", dismissed this question to moralise that "the laymen of the Church of Rome have imbibed the spirit of constitutionalism". See F.J. 16 March 1859. O'Connor conceded the Argus's first point, F.J. 26 March 1859. - The Empire, note, was in limbo at the time. The Herald's (Sydney) scrupulous refusal to print any correspondence on the question at issue leaves the Freeman's Journal our only source. For evidence that it was unfair, see E. McEncroe's paid advertisement in S.M.H. 16 March 1859.
  2. F.J. 12 October 1859.

screamed ~~the~~ the Freeman, in a rare headline, "our own superior clergy held us at so cheap a rate that they could not trust one man of all our number with the superintendance of an orphan school." <sup>3</sup>

Gregory and Bassett concurred in withdrawing so unpopular a nomination, the day after the Freeman's protest, and the <sup>2</sup>"emphatically Irish"<sup>4</sup> O'Connor ( to use his own description) took the vacant seat. But the Vicar-General's enemies would not be denied this time; and the public meeting in the Victoria Theatre, chaired by the French consul, showed how many of them were Polding's enemies too.<sup>5</sup> Heydon told the gathering how indignant the Fellows of St. John's were, how the Archbishop conceded to Plunkett that the nomination was ill-considered; yet a public meeting was the only effective redress, in view of the Archbishop's attitude towards the lay committee the year previous. Deniehy moved that it was "neither safe nor creditable ... to continue their confidence in an ecclesiastical administration"

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3. F.J. 23 February 1859

4. F.J. 19 January 1859

5. The account following, F.J. 2 March 1859. E. Butler represented young Ireland for this occasion; "very vehement", according to the S.M.H. account of 28 February 1859, which F.J. seems to have depended on; but moderate according to his own denials, S.M.H. 1 March 1859. E. McEncroe's advert. (note 1 above) suggests that the meeting was neither represent-



so culpable, that, accordingly, "until the ecclesiastical administration of Catholic affairs be committed to dignitaries ... in whom the Catholic community can have confidence, a Provisional Committee be appointed, in whom shall abide the right and duty to nominate to government", He "knew", this apostolic soul, "no country in the world where religion might have taken so easy and permanent a footing". Gregory was the adversary : had he not prevented ten Catholic youths from entering the University? But the Archbishop, too - he might have averted "the grave scandal" with "one word of veto", but "that one word had not been pronounced". The Freeman (to whose editorial office Deniehy had ready access) took the note from him - abusive regarding the "dilettanti V - G - L and the Cawtholics of his clique"; but not exonerating the Archbishop.

Up to last night we have not heard that the office of Vicar-General in this diocese has been placed in other hands. And still the high and mighty gentlemen who monopolise all Catholic wisdom among us, say we should visit with our indignation Dr. Gregory alone.

And more abusive matter, some a little indecent; a clumsy figure related Polding and his flock as

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5. cont'd.

ative nor strictly composed of Catholics.

faithless husband to faithful wife, A reference touching "the last gentle laxative administered to this Lordship "suggested a correspondent within the monastery.

Polding had little hesitation in choosing what particular "veto" he would apply to the "grave scandal" at the Victoria Theatre. He had most of the people with him, he was confident; ever at the ill-attended meeting he had his sympathisers. Edward McEncroe pronounced that "the meeting ought to be ashamed even to have such a thing proposed to it"; Faucett, now Catholic representative on the D.S.B., denied some of Deniehy's charges against the Benedictines, warned against playing into the hands of Cowper, and scored a neat hit on the French consul by suggesting he had a national prejudice in favour of provisional committees.<sup>6</sup> We may read Polding's diagnosis in some words to the C.Y.M.S. at the Sacred Heart Church, condemning the "rashness and self-sufficiency and self-conceit" abounding in those days;<sup>7</sup> and again, in his Lent Pastoral condemning the practical indifference to religion, "some few moments given to the formality of a prayer ...days, it may be

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6. F.J. loc. cit.

7. F.J. 5 January 1859



nights, given to dissipation ... total indifference in all that regards the Salvation of others and the advancement of religion".<sup>8</sup> He must lop the tall poppies; and consented (March 2) to the issue of individual letters, to each of the leaders, published in the Herald, demanding they renounce the Victoria Theatre proceedings under pain of excommunication.<sup>9</sup>

All but Deniehy submitted; all under protest.<sup>10</sup> O'Connor and Macdonnell made much of their rights as British citizens.<sup>11</sup> Heydon stated that the Freeman would subside to routine pending an appeal to Rome,<sup>12</sup> so indicating, perhaps, how much of the "correspondence" was written in its office. But not before he had printed more strong matter - Erigena's attack on Faucett and the moderates as, in Deniehy's words,

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8. F.J. 9 March 1859. Polding also printed a pastoral on the circumstances and reasons behind Bassett's nomination and withdrawal (S.A.A.) The Freeman, 13 April 1859, claimed it was not published save by reading from the pulpit. See section xx, f.n. 33 below.
9. S.M.H. 4 March 1859
10. F.J. 13 April 1859 (for the final tally) Deniehy had meanwhile (ibid 12 March 1859) had the Orphan School correspondence tabled. Just possibly he was not the odd man out - see, for instance, the Archbishop's seconding his motion on Saint Mary's. S.M.H. 22 March 1859.
11. F.J. 12 March 1859
12. F.J. 20 April 1859



a "pitiful set of sycophantic oh ohs" - Laicus's blunt "we hold the purse strings"<sup>13</sup> more praise of Magganotto<sup>14</sup> - and, last but not least, the moralisings of the Sentinel:

If Archbishop Polding and Abbot Gregory were not backed up by a state endowment, would they have ventured to threaten with "excommunication" the highly respectable citizens who question the management of the temporal affairs of the Romish Church. <sup>15</sup>

"Fair Play" announced that their "rights and liberties as Catholics" were threatened;<sup>16</sup> for the clergy were determined to suppress the Freeman, not only the excommunications, but even a collection for the missions,<sup>17</sup> more, even a letter from McEncroe to the Franciscan O'Farrell,<sup>18</sup> they published in the Herald - McEncroe's name, as always, was en joue; his mission abroad had been sabotaged, Rome poisoned against him;<sup>19</sup> he, whose "priestly zeal" and "regularity of life" made him the "angel of our church"<sup>20</sup> must not "find, on his return to this colony, the journal which he established ... has ceased to exist."<sup>21</sup>

McEncroeism, however, was a reminder of the **role** of "l'esprit presbyterien" in the entire upset. The priests, for example, of the Bathurst

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13. F.J. 19 March 1859  
 14. F.J. 26 April 1859  
 15. F.J. 16 March 1859  
 16. F.J. 13 April 1859  
 17. F.J. 13 April 1859  
 18. F.J. 11 May 1859. O'Farrell (Moran.p.782-3)

Deanery, Grant at their head, addressed to Polding a forward declaration of their agreement with the proceedings at the Victoria Theatre; concluding, without occasion, and wide of the mark, that they knew that, by doing so, that had forfeited all claim to indulgence of any faults they might commit in the future. Polding begged them to retract; particularly this last point. "This done - we will be as heretofore":

I desire above all things to have the confidence of my clergy and to place my own in them. 22

Now it was, too, that he counselled Woolfrey's return to Europe and his Order, "dans son intérêt spirituel".<sup>23</sup> But this de facto secularisation of the religious missionary was the common case.- Another, sharper piece of dissidence outside Sydney, but lay, not clerical, was the attack on Luckie, the priest at Newcastle (Dowling,

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18 cont'd.

- may be described as a moderate Hiberniciser.
19. F.J. 23 April 1859
20. F.J. 27 April 1859. genes: McCurtayne, as I suspect - and I suspect his sage political opinions were also McEncroe's.
21. F.J. 4 May 1859
22. Polding to Grant 6 February 1859 (this date is certainly a mistake). S.A.A. I have possibly misconstrued it. It should be 6 March 1859, we can suppose.
23. See Polding Propaganda 12 November 1859 (19 January 1861, again) S.A.A.

the pioneer, was by now old and feeble): talk of mismanagement, of £800 thrown away on a "miserable wooden shed", of how the "spiritual authorities interposed as trustees of the property which belonged to the congregation,"<sup>24</sup> was radical talk indeed, and most unjust, incidentally, to Luckie.<sup>25</sup>

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24. F.J. 12 May 1859; also 23 May 1859.  
 25. See his send-off when he left Raymond Terrace, F.J. 27 May 1863 and 6 June 1863: "beautiful stone Church of St. Bridget ... the neat brick church of St. Malachy ... the large, commodious new school house" were scarcely the bequest of a languid pastor.



xvi. The Saint Vincent's Hospital Incident,  
1859.

To drain his cup of contradiction to the lees, Polding had only to lose the loyalty of Plunkett and Faucett, and have Duncan for sake his literary isolation and join the popular front.

One office which Plunkett's Irish patriotism forbade him to relinquish was that of treasurer to Saint Vincent's Hospital. The undertaking flourished; by July 1858 there were four "wards"<sup>1</sup>; during that year, beds were found for 166, while 504 out-patients were treated.<sup>2</sup> A bazaar (from then on a regular feature of Sydney Catholic life) at the beginning of 1859 realised £700 towards the debt of £2500 still outstanding on Tarmons.<sup>3</sup> But at the end of May the news broke suddenly that the "noble and Saintly" Mother de Lacy intended to leave this apparently flourishing institution and return to Ireland.<sup>4</sup> All the best servants of religion are taken away from Sydney, mourned the Freeman: Ullathorne, Murphy, Davis, the Christian Brothers, Backhaus, Magganotto; and now the only remaining pioneer nun, the one best qualified to imbue the

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1. F.J. 16 July 1858
  2. F.J. 8 January 1859
  3. F.J. 15 January 1859
  4. F.J. 28 May 1859

sisters with the true spirit of M. Aikenhead - here was just one more piece of evidence concerning the "terrible absolutism", the soulless exterior obedience which was all the authorities wanted.<sup>5</sup> At a public meeting,<sup>6</sup> Plunkett expressed his "strong feelings" as he told the "melancholy tale" : copies of Scripture in the Authorised Version, kept (as at Dublin) for the use of Protestant patients, were removed by Father Kenyon; de Lacy had been demoted as superioress; one of the nuns, "of great aptitude" for the hospital-work felt "compelled to leave";<sup>7</sup> he and Robertson had resigned their positions, and he was for closing the hospital. The offensive feature of the Bible incident was that Protestant subscribers, who had done much to make this free hospital possible, had been assured that there would be no religious discrimination of any kind in connection with it. The reasons given for M. de Lacy's removal from office did nothing to

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5. F.J. 1 June 1859  
 6. Ibid., for meeting. Empire (back in circulation since May 23) 3 June 1859.  
S.M.H. (abandoning its neutrality on the grounds that St. Vincent's administration was matter for public concern) 2 June 1859.  
 7. F.J. 28 May 1859 for phrase "compelled to leave".

palliate this offence: the Bible incident; her contacts with Plunkett; her independence in relation to the other sisters. And Butler added to the dark catalogue: de Lacy had refused to sign a document, given her by M. Gibbons, to the effect that the Archbishop had consistently fostered the Charity Congregation's interest. Heydon asked - in vain - that M. de Lacy give her reasons for the radical decision she had taken, to go back to Ireland.

Gregory took the step, unusual with him, of publishing an explanation in the Herald;<sup>8</sup> his communication was backed by three others, from M. Scholastica Gibbons, Kenyon, and Makinson. M. Gibbons, the superioress, reported that the business about de Lacy refusing to sign a document was a "complete fabrication". Kenyon explained his motives: he wished to check with Sr. de Lacy, to ensure that the Sisters did not actually supply the non-Catholic Scriptures. She, however, instead of explaining that the books were supplied by non-Catholic sources, stood on her high horse about it being a "free hospital". In any case, the books were immediately restored

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8. S.M.H. 7 June 1859



at the Archbishop's orders, and neither he, Gregory nor Kenyon would have given the matter another thought. Gregory very rightly reserved for himself the most unpleasant task, of explaining de Lacy's position : she was leaving Australia of her own mero motu, her superiors in Sydney were not authorised to send her back to Ireland; nor could they, consonant with the other sisters' interests, since she was part-owner of Saint Vincent's, not a mere trustee.

The Freeman would not listen. Mother (they usually gave her this title) de Lacy was provoked by a long series of oppressive acts: M. Gibbons was mere "wax in the hands of Abbot Gregory", whereas M. de Lacy "only carried out the spirit of the Council of Trent". If, having come to the colony without one shilling of dower she had not the means to leave it, it was not Gregory's place to taunt her for being true to her vow of poverty.<sup>9</sup> The laity would meet her wants: Robertson paid her passage, the ladies gave her a wardrobe, an appeal on her behalf topped £200 within a fortnight.<sup>10</sup> Years later she

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9. F.J. 8 June 1859, 11 June 1859, 18 June 1859. See also Empire, 7 June 1859.

10. F.J. 22 June 1859

wrote Duncan's daughter, newly professed to the  
Charity rule as Sister Clare:

Tell your father that I must ever remember  
his kindness to me on the morning of my  
departure from Sydney. But though I felt  
leaving, yet my motives were conscientious,  
and the merciful care of Almighty Providence  
which guided me in my long and perilous  
voyage proves that it was God's holy will  
that I should return to the Congregation to  
which I had made my vows. 11

On her arrival in London, we are told in the  
Irish Annals,

she wrote to Rev. Mother, who at once  
communicated with the Archbishop (Cullen),  
sending him the communication she had re-  
ceived from Sister M. Baptist. He wrote  
at once - 'By all means give shelter to  
Mrs. de Lacy when she arrives - we must  
hear both sides of the question...'

Dr. Polding resented the withdrawal of  
Sister M. Baptist exceedingly, and wrote a  
very strong letter to Dr. Cullen on the  
subject... Rev. Mother...left the matter to  
be settled between the two Archbishops. 12

Willson blamed Gregory, without if or perhaps  
but, considering that his letter of explanation  
stood self-condemned.<sup>13</sup> The Nation (Ireland)  
saw her departure as "instinct with significance",  
and no pleasant theme.<sup>14</sup> There was talk of her  
coming back with Bishop Quinn to Brisbane, but it

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11. Cullen, Australian Daughters of Mary  
Aikenhead, p.130

12. Ibid., p.129

13. Communicated to by Mgr. Cullen, from Hobart  
Archives.

14. F.J. 30 November 1859

was mere talk.<sup>15</sup> Her version of the Bible incident and her dismissal, endorsed by the Freeman, came to have the force of tradition.<sup>16</sup>

Polding, however, by no means disposed to shield behind Gregory, took a very different view of it: "it was a very bitter thing to me", he wrote Propaganda, "that the Most Reverend Archbishop of Dublin should encourage those fairy stories of Sister de Lacy".<sup>17</sup> He had paid for her novitiate, not to mention her trip out and her sustenance since; she was his subject, not Cullen's. She had, indeed, long been restless; she had even, at one time, requested to join the Benedictines; and when she first sought permission to leave Sydney it had been, not to her Congregation in Ireland, but to some retreat provided by her brother, that she intended repairing.<sup>18</sup> During Polding's absence from 1854 to 1856 she had begun to rule erratically, ignoring

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15. F.J. 16 July 1859

16. It is not easy to say why. Perhaps the Sisters' archives will show this. But the answer may be with McEncroe.

17. Polding Propaganda 14 April 186? (illeg.) S.A.A

18. Remainder from Polding's Pieces Justificatives  
S.A.A. Mgr. Cullen maintains that M. Gibbons was appointed, not elected, but Polding is quite explicit.



the professed sisters, leaning on the support and advice of externs and two postulants. One of these latter, the Archbishop compelled to withdraw from the sisterhood; the other, a convert, Sister M. Vincent Gray, took vows for a three year period, at de Lacy's instance, overruling the objections of Gregory and Gibbons. Now Saint Vincent's took shape. Elected, "most reluctantly", as Superioress by the Sisters - in order "to protect them from Mrs. de Lacy" - M. Gibbons nevertheless put the pioneer nun in charge of both the convent and the hospital. There, Gray "became the confidante" of Mrs. de Lacy to the exclusion of the formed and discreet sisters; when the other nuns expostulated, de Lacy "answered insolently"; when Polding, leaving her in charge of the hospital, firmly excluded her from any authority within the convent, Plunkett and Robertson represented it as "unheard of tyranny". Meanwhile, Gray was habitually alone with Robertson in the hospital, and "began to neglect or omit her own spiritual duties under pretext of duties in the Hospital". De Lacy communicated with the other sisters under the lap, sending letters per favour of Plunkett, unknown to the Superioress; she had even called them to account before Plunkett, something forbidden, not

not only by the very nature of the religious life, but by the express instruction of the Archbishop.

This, then, was the setting of the Authorised Version incident. Kenyon "quietly removed" the volumes and "quietly admonished" the sisters, because he thought - at first glance that the inscription<sup>19</sup> implied that the text had the Church's approval. Robertson's indignation carried in its train, not merely Gray's apostasy from her religious vows, - she was the nun of "great aptitude", "compelled to leave" - but her publicly embracing once more the Protestant religion, driving to church with the Robertson family. **Seeing this** "catastrophe" coming - and M. Aikenhead being dead - "Mrs. de Lacy pretended that she was professed for the house at home in Stanhope Street".<sup>20</sup> Here, Polding believed, was her real reason for leaving, in defiance of ecclesiastical authority, and despite the suasions

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19. "For the use of Saint Vincent's Hospital under the care of the Sisters of Charity."  
 20. Willson (see note 13 above) asserted point blank, no argument, that de Lacy was not professed for Sydney. Contra (this ref.) Polding to Goold 20 June 1859. S.A.A.

of friendly priests. When he requested that she make formal application for permission to leave, she refused - "she had her advisers, and their advice she would follow". Was the issue really Benedictinisation? The only alteration to the Rule that Polding knew of, was the vows taken <sup>for</sup> three years by Gray - on de Lacy's initiative. As for M. Gibbons being simultaneously head of two Institutes, the Charity and Good Shepherd, the Charity nuns had elected her with full knowledge of her other commitments. In Polding's mind, as in Gregory's, the real point at issue was the episcopal authority, its claims on the laity and non-exempt religious. With much sweet nunnish piety, but muddled and a little wilful, M. de Lacy was swept up in the excitement and faction of a troubled <sup>era</sup> ~~year~~. Plunkett had badly overreached himself. When Polding wrote on July 9 to Geoghegan, he spoke despondently of his hope "to have made things right between Plunkett and the Church":

I fear this cannot be effected ... He seems to consider that he may say and do whatever he deems right, and that the Church or Churchmen may not correct statements made publicly by him ... he so much loves popularity ...<sup>21</sup> 21.



The appeal<sup>1</sup> by O'Connor and his friends to Rome, against Polding's threat of excommunication, spoke of "reluctance to complain of Ecclesiastical Superiors", and went on to describe Gregory as "for the last twenty years the main cause of the stagnation in our religious and educational institutions and discontent in the minds of the people" ; professing to confine itself to a "simple statement of facts" it nonetheless expatiated mainly on "the feeling of the great body of Catholics in this colony", on minds "agitated by ... incredible rumour", on what was "believed" or "felt", on "intense excitement". Terms such as "general Catholic feeling", "scandal and disedification of our Protestant fellow-subjects", "feeling of amazement and indignation", the "rashness" and "provocation" and vituperation on the part of the Archbishop and Gregory - all generalities and no instances - characterise the document. Yet Barnabo dealt with it tactfully. He watched the English-speaking world with careful sympathy, and saw this outburst fall into line on the one hand with other instances of Irishmen restless under alien ecclesiastics, on

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1. F.J. 24 September 1859 for text.

the other with Lucas, Acton, Montalembert, Dollinger.<sup>2</sup> Hence his guarded reply dwelt on a point of canonical form, indicating that there were correct forms for such an appeal, determined by the laity's position in the hierarchy. That is, the appeal was not given a hearing; while the Briefs on Hoganism and allied disturbances were forwarded for the instruction of the plaintiffs. (We might note that Archbishop Hughes of New York, whom Polding consulted at this crisis,<sup>3</sup> had withdrawn the powers of the lay trustees in 1842).<sup>4</sup> The Freeman, mistaking the rebuff for a mere legal technicality, hailed this response as a victory.<sup>5</sup> Rather than once more expose his authority to public dispute.

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2. As with Cullen, so with his friend Barnabo, I have had no set study at my disposal. I have perused his many official communications with Polding and they are official, though not stiff. Moran carries only the references in Goold's diary, pp.761,789,800,804,812,814. G. O'Neill, Life of Mother Mary of the Cross gives a little on him in his old age, pp.149, 150, 151,171,183. See also Hales, Pio Nono, p.146, p.328, for Barnabo and England.
  3. A letter to Hughes of April 1859, in New York Archdiocesan Archives A12. My reference from a note in S.A.A.
  4. See S.M.H. 21 March 1843. See Ellis, American Catholicism, pp.44-5, for Hughes's attitude.
  5. F.J. 28 September 1859.

Polding explained the misconstrual to Barnabo: "the gentle fatherly terms<sup>6</sup> in which they were corrected", interpreted in a Gallican sense,<sup>7</sup> enabled them to deceive their following in such a manner. And meanwhile the matter went from bad to worse, the Freeman once more edited by an apostate monk,<sup>8</sup> McEncroe equivocating, a perpetual harping on Irish national prejudice: "the Irish assume the worst<sup>9</sup> of whatever comes from someone not of their race". Barnabo, in consequence, was forced to make his meaning clear. Heydon, however, went down fighting. He continued to link his cause with that of the great liberals of the day; had drawn the moral, in view of what Brownson had to say of Lamennais,<sup>8</sup> that "a terrible struggle to maintain absolutism in matters which do not affect Faith or Morals - in dubiis - is one of the greatest drawbacks to the progress of the Catholic Faith amongst Protestant countries".<sup>10</sup> His vale, then, was tinged with bitter reproach: no toleration had been

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6. "Douceur paternelle" Polding to Barnabo, 15 November, 1859. SAA
  7. "Esprit Jansenistique". Polding was thinking of Pistoia, not Port-Royal. Ibid. The Monitum specifically mentions Pistoia.
  8. "Moine Apostat". Connery, I suspect, but can find no other evidence.
  9. "Prendre en mauvaise part". Ibid.
  10. F.J. 24 March, 1860. On Barnabo's actions to make himself clear, there is a letter in SAA from Polding to an unnamed correspondent,



exhibited towards him since the Monitum<sup>11</sup> (no doubt this was reflected in circulation). The new management, nominally Dolman, carefully disengaged itself from the paper's recent anti-clericalism: "with the past and its development in this paper we have neither interest nor sympathy."<sup>12</sup> But plus ça change ... one finds the disclaimer followed by a commendation of the paper over McEncroe's signatures.

The old gang broke up. Gourbeillon left the colony in June 1859. Bermingham, severely rebuked for his public statements on Goold's administration, sailed home in February 1861. Heydon lay low, and mellowed. Duncan retained his public prominence and his pungent independence and survived to make war on the next Catholic Archbishop of Sydney. Faucett became a judge. Plunkett became again Polding's intimate, and died while secretary to the Second Provincial Synod, 1869. O'Connor softened; he was appointed in Bassett's place to the Orphan School

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10. cont'd.

dated 21 April, presumably 1860. Barnabo "labours to shew that the answer was anything but complimentary".

11. F.J. 2 June 1860

12. F.J. 6 June 1860

Board; the death of his child at this very juncture drew him nearer the Archbishop's friendly compassion.<sup>13</sup> Reynolds, a vocation manqué of Polding's first years,<sup>14</sup> and McEvilly, dropped into an obscurity they need never have emerged from. Moore remained himself, a rolling stone - hurting no one much, himself excepted; - but excepting also perhaps Curtis, who also left religion. Deniehy, broken as a Catholic spokesman and as a politician, still had the kingdom of letters. His prodigious memory and intellectual energy still gave his prose unusual distinction, during his term on Gavan Duffy's Victorian, but all sense of direction left him. Hope itself left him, exposing him more and more to waves of melancholy and irresponsibility - to drink, therefore - which brought him early to a pauper's grave. Him, too, as it did Kendall, Gordon, Clarke, a Baudelairian melancholy marked out for its own; but here, with so much more promise, so much less performance - he left almost nothing but a memory. But let him write his own epitaph.

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13. F.J. 24 September 1859; and Polding to Geoghegan 20 May 1859 (S.A.A.)

14. Birt i, p.270, p.359

Not aye the scholar's path a track of peace,  
 Nor from the dread sins free;  
 Hard by the Isles of Truth doth Circe prow!;  
 Oh, pray for me. 15.

Macdonnell, perhaps the arch - and impenitent contriver of the assault on the Archbishop, took ship to Queensland, as Inspector of the National Schools system; he was to mount a like attack on Bishop Quinn. The Freeman subsided into dull respectability.

Polding's "pieces justificatives",<sup>16</sup> as he called them, for Propaganda's ears, went over all the old ground, the Passionists, the Christian Brothers, the Charity nuns, McEncroe, the new sees. But there were one or two fresh charges to meet. The ten students he would not permit to attend Sydney University were clerical aspirants - well might he have his doubts about their theological formation in an institution whose

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15. F.J. 13 January 1866. "Illum deseruit numquam **facundia** lingua" was an apt line on Deniehy, in Dalley's **Latin** sonnet on him F.J. 28 October 1865. The other epilogue-biographies I have not documented, as belonging to another period; but we should perhaps note Heydon's controversies with the Protestant minister Mc Gibbon, F.J. 26 April 1865, 11 November 1865. For Macdonnell see Ch. 8, sect. iv. below.
16. S.A.A. These are draft rebuttals. The versions sent Propaganda are not yet available to the student. The final version may well have been less sharply put.



provost had recently assured him that "the University assumes (a) position of absolute neutrality ... the introduction of polemics in any form ... is wholly contrary to the genius of the institution". As to non-Benedictine Orders, the Marists were established in Sydney; it was hardly his fault if O'Farrell had ~~failed~~ <sup>failed</sup> to make a Franciscan foundation, or Woolfrey, a Cistercian. He had invited the Redemptorists, the Rosminians; his insistence had procured "presque un mandement" from Franzoni to Newman, to give Polding some Oratorians - quite fruitless. He might have mentioned, but did not, approaching also Mme. Barat.<sup>17</sup> - Did his Benedictines drain the Archdiocesan exchequer for over-ornate churches and ceremonies? They received no remuneration beyond bed and board, while the surplus of their government stipends went on churches, schools and charities. Need he contrast Therry's recent sale of a property for £18,000, McEncroe's rents of £500 a year, the court-cases in which their properties involved

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17. M. McCrea, of the Sacre Coeur (Sancta Sophia College, Sydney University), tells me that a letter of the Foundress in 1842 mentions a visit from Polding, soliciting a foundation in N.S.W. - For O'Farrell see F.J. 11 May 1859: he came out with £1,000 towards a Franciscan foundation, which he invested in 5% debentures pending fruition.

them, often in prosecution of pious Catholic tenants? Duncan was not far wrong about clerical hoarding, but it was hardly a point against the Archbishop. In the main, though, Polding's defence was to be found in the 1861 Almanac.<sup>18</sup> Sydney had sixteen priests, the suburbs three, the country thirty-six - more or less in ratio to the population. The city had five churches, the suburbs six, the country nearly fifty - besides others building. There were four convents, under four distinct orders of nuns.

The character of his assailants did little to recommend their case. In their Appeal, they made great show of office; Polding whetted his pen to do execution on their pretentiousness. Just as McEncroe, became "an Irishman of inferior literary merit", his former unhappy weakness brought once more to light; so Heydon was described, not as owner-editor of the Freeman, but as a pawn-broker, with "little knowledge, and still less habitude, of Catholic sentiment and discipline". O'Connor, clerk of the Legislative Assembly, yes - and "ivrognede quelques années"; Reynolds a lawyer, it may be, but not one who

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18. publ. Sydney 1860.

used the Sacraments; McEvilly, signing himself parliamentary librarian, now listed as under-librarian, ex-convict; and Macdonnell, headmaster of a High School in Paddington, was Polding's boarding-house keeper "d'une humeur feroce". If our own humour deserted us, there would be much in such magnificent unfairness to justify O'Connor's public stricture on the Archbishop's reaction to criticism as "petulant".<sup>19</sup> Yet the Archbishop was not indiscriminating: Duncan and Plunkett were not personally impugned. And like Goold, he saw a clerical clique as the mainspring. The cynosures held up by the Freeman for all missionaries to admire and emulate - Magganotto (who joined McEncroe in Rome), Gourbeillon, Birmingham, Dunne, - appear in a different light in their superior's pages. And in a denouement at the very time of the Monitum, Gourbeillon was revealed<sup>20</sup> as not only the mysterious "sacred character" whom Polding had long suspected to be at work supplying

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19. F.J. 26 March 1859

20. Polding to Geoghegan 15 April 1859 (S.A.A.) "Who is the sacred character I alluded to? I do not know, for in all these matters there is a mysteriousness..." A letter to Geoghegan of 20 June 1859 (S.A.A.) gives the solution to the puzzle, another of 9 July 1859 the details (but a reference to "yesterday's" Herald in this letter escapes my understanding). There is naturally no ship-list notice of Gourbeillon's departure from Sydney, but I assume it to have been



the Freeman with slanderous material against Gregory, but also as a sacrilegious adulterer. One night in his cell, the lady coughed; no one intervened, but her fears got the better of her, and she confessed the whole affaire to the Archbishop. Polding's account to Geoghegan spoke of "public scandal" and the extortion of "an enormous sum for silence". Promptly shipped home, Gourbeillon had the grace to retract, before witnesses, certain of his accusations against tyranny; Heydon, who broke a promise not to publicise his departure, presumably knew nothing of his co-conspirator's shame. The priest went home with Goold, incognito.<sup>21</sup> Since he might plausibly have apostatised Achilli-gashion, we may well adopt that Bishop's charitable view of him:

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20 cont'd.

immediately on Polding's return from the Monitum meeting in Melbourne, and hence in time for Goold to chaperone Gourbeillon (see next note). This, however, is hypothetical. If the Freeman carried a reference, I missed it; but some files are missing at this point, perhaps out of tenderness to Gourbeillon.

21. The Argus for 16 June 1858, gives the following as the Australian's passengers for Marseilles: Beyfus, Falk, Menke, Oppenheimer, Tinline, Williamson. Goold was disembarking at Malta.

Poor fellow - he had to excuse a good deal in consequence of his bad state of health ... He has told me unsolicited strange things about the Sydney Mission -<sup>22</sup>

in particular, that "the feeling against the religious in Sydney amongst the priests is very strong." 23

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22. Goold to Geoghegan 2 August 1858 (S.A.A.)  
Goold does not name his companion.
23. Goold to Geoghegan 8 July 1858. (S.A.A.)

xviii. Gregory's Recall, 1861

In the drama of real life, catastrophe can follow demouement. Propaganda recalled Gregory without consulting his Archbishop. ~~M~~ails were no longer slow, but Roman consultation was, and the recall was made known through Ullathorne - not till April 1860.<sup>1</sup> Polding, probably hoping for a review, announced it as leave of absence for twelve months:<sup>2</sup> Hall, another stiff English autocrat - V-G., was on prolonged leave just then, to give a colour of plausibility.<sup>3</sup> The hostile press, however, was not fooled - whereas the Freeman rather inconclusively defended Gregory.<sup>4</sup> His retirement as Vicar-General had to be published at last, December 19, 1860.

His departure on February 5 was marked by intense feeling and belated justice.<sup>5</sup> Birmingham

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1. Polding to Propaganda 14 April 1860 (S.A.A.)
  2. F.J. 28 April 1860
  3. F.J. 25 January 1860.
  4. F.J. 7 April 1860 rebutting a letter in S.M.H. that Gregory had been "ignominiously recalled". Cf. 5 May 1860 (Parkes's question in the House).
  5. Account F.J. 6 February 1861



alone dissenting (he walked out in a huff),<sup>6</sup> the clergy, drew up an address, read by J.J. Therry, expressing the "unfeigned regret" of each, disowning "the gross and inconsistent misrepresentation of your character and acts, that have been with such perverse industry circulated in these colonies, and in Europe"; praising his "blameless, disinterested, edifying life", his impartiality, and in particular his "love for the imitation of Christ, of Him whose Divine Silence was the beginning of the most glorious justification" in abstaining from self-defence rather than submit authority "to the discussion of a tribunal of anonymous writers". The address of the non-Catholic community, read by Sir Charles Nicholson, spoke of his "manly energy, charitable forbearance, and respect for the feelings of others", The Benedictine Community expressed an apprehension lest by silence, by the omission of any demonstration of affection and trust, it had "wickedly mixed in partnership with those sinful deeds that have forced you to sever the bonds in which we were so firmly knit together". Ten addresses in all,<sup>7</sup> given

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6. Polding to Geoghegan undated (S.A.A.) In the letter of f.n. 1 above, Polding contrasted Gregory's farewell with that of an unnamed priest, Donovan, I think, whose passage was subscribed to be rid of the scandal.

7. F.J. 6 February 1861, 13 February 1861.

force by the subscription of a £1,000 testimonial in a few weeks.

Such a farewell, or adieu rather, did not bear the character of a mere formality; nor did Gregory's replies. He appeared arm in arm with the Archbishop, "almost broken-hearted".  
To the laity:

You are rightly informed that I have laid up no store of this world's wealth. I go forth from you with what you furnish, and I leave my heart behind... pray God that this bitter sacrifice I make in departing from your shores may result in some good, I know not how or whence.

To the clergy:

In office ... I could not say words in explanation which I have often longed to say.

Yet a strange joy in it for this strong, broken man. "I have attained whatever of earthly consolation I can receive", he told the laity; the clergy, that "you thank me for thoughtfulness, and aid, and indulgence, and I am more than content", and "what you say to me of the sufferings of silence under calumny I receive gratefully"; the Community, that "if any remembrance should ever threaten to raise a doubt in

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7. cont'd.

They were, I believe, published as a pamphlet.



my mind, I will overwhelm it with the sweet weight of your present assurance". Certainly, he kept his dignity, and as certainly he kept his word. Years later (1869) he wrote Bishop Brown, who, believing in his innocence, had taken charge of his case,<sup>8</sup> to stop raking over the ashes of old controversy "as if by so doing you could put things right": characteristically **urging** him to "take a broader view of things"<sup>9</sup>.

Not that he failed to draw the moral, as Brown saw it: a man must defend himself and his authority.<sup>10</sup> Earlier, 1851, writing Polding from Europe, he had once let bitterness overwhelm him, when he described his longing to be back in the monastery: "in Europe I am suspected, in Sydney despised or hated."<sup>11</sup> Now, "I do own I have been my own worst enemy"<sup>12</sup> - by his magnanimous disregard for criticism, his slangy, off-hand manner. Ever since the fatal interview of 1854, Pius was persuaded he was "a slap-dash sort of fellow" (as Gregory put it) "without much fear of consequences".<sup>13</sup>

8. Brown to Polding 19 September 1861 (S.A.A.)
9. Gregory to ? , 6 January 1869 (S.A.A.)  
I conjecture Brown as the addressee.
10. Brown to Polding 19 September 1861
11. From a paper on The Campbelltown Conference by J. McGovern to Catholic Historical Society (communicated to me by the auther).
12. Gregory to Polding 23 July 1861 (S.A.A.) In



True enough, in its way; but Pius was no judge of Englishmen.<sup>14</sup> It meant, though, that Barnabo, explaining to Polding in 1858 why his recommendation of Gregory for the mitre was overruled, gave none of the more usual generalities about prudence, nationality, health, and so on, as reason, but simply the Pope's will.<sup>15</sup> Even so, there was worse to come : charges of immorality against Gregory<sup>16</sup> from a clique which numbered Barry and Gourbeillon among its first magnitude stars ! Little interest as he showed in the rest of the accusations against him,<sup>17</sup> these were in the event repelled. But

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12. cont'd.

fairness to Gregory, we should acknowledge that contradiction would have done little good; resignation would have virtually ceded the ground; all he could do was stay on.

13. Ibid.

14. The presence of the egregious Talbot in the Papal Household as adviser for English-speaking countries was no great reassurance. He is familiar to students of Newman. Propaganda, Newman thought, was no better informed, but like any bureaucracy, too easily impressed by "results" - "scalps from beaten foes", as Newman put it, - speeches, reports, etc.

15. Barnabo to Polding 12 August 1859 (S.A.A.)

16. Birt ii, p.266

17. Ibid., p.262 et seq.

they put his return to Australia in any capacity<sup>18</sup> ever further out of the question.

Polding had other morals to draw. His continual harping thenceforward<sup>19</sup> on the theme that the diocese was going down-hill, spiritually and materially, for want of a firm hand on the rein, was objective appraisal, not mere hearkening for the good old days. But above all, the manner of the recall rankled. He felt he had almost been deceived : Pius's many kindnesses since "the" interview had overlaid the memory for Polding - but not, as was now plain, for Pius<sup>20</sup>. It was a deep wound : dreading the very thought of going to Rome again, he delayed his ad limina till the last possible moment.<sup>21</sup> And it was a wound, he considered, "inflicted on Ecclesiastical authority and discipline which will not heal readily."

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18. Rumoured Quinn to Heptonstall 18 August 1865 (S.A.A.) See also Birt ii, p.318 - Polding hoping for Gregory's return, not precisely in honour, to make one more attempt at a monastic foundation, well away from the perils of the metropolis.
19. Birt ii, p.356, p.360, p.362.
20. See Polding to Geoghegan 22 August 1862 (S.A.A.), on "the" interview and its aftermath. Also the letter to Talbot, later in 1862, previously referred to.
21. Birt ii, p.279



If a Vicar General can be taken away from a Bishop - the latter unconsulted - in compliance with a mob-cry - what security have we in discharge of our duty. To say the least it savours of an arbitrariness altogether alien to the spirit of the Church - and is an indignity to the Archi or Episcopal dignity of which happily few or no instances are on record. For my part I am satisfied that either advantage has been taken of some expression of the Pope - dropped it may be in haste - or some mistake has been made. 22

"The spirit of the Church" - not always easy to reconcile, especially as regards the episcopal prerogatives, with the quasi-military rule of Propaganda, essentially, as Newman somewhat testily put it, a clerk at a desk with too many decisions to make.<sup>23</sup> When Polding wrote the said "clerk" he spoke more or less as he had to Goold, but erased from his draft the sentence which pushed his argument nearest expostulation: "Qui est a l'abri, dit-on, de l'effet de ces accusations dont on ne sait rien"<sup>24</sup> - who, it will be said, is proof against such random aspersions? It was

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22. Polding-Goold 10 January 1861 (S.A.A.)

23. "And who is Propanda?" Newman asked an unnamed correspondent about this time; "virtually, one sharp man of business, who works day and night, and despatches his work quick off, to the East and the West; a high ~~dignitary~~ <sup>dignitary</sup> indeed, perhaps an Archbishop, but after all little more than a clerk". See W. Ward. Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman, London, 1913, p.560. At this time, too, Propaganda had to determine questions of faith, sacraments, ritual and the religious life which now have each their proper Congregation.

24. Polding to Propaganda, 14 April 1860 (S.A.A.)



a question, the Roman legal tradition, with its presumption against the accused, could not readily answer.

But a man's enemies may be of his own household: Willson's hostility was, as Polding suspected,<sup>25</sup> a deciding factor. He put his views to Polding bluntly: Gregory, who was free to peruse the letter, had not the prudence required by his office. Gregory's reply, welcoming Willson's frankness, did not make him withdraw his remarks,<sup>26</sup> When de Lacy left, Willson told Geoghegan that a full, open investigation by Rome must conclude against Gregory:<sup>27</sup> let him forestall such a popular victory by quitting voluntarily. More trenchant still,

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I have request/it to be made known in Rome, that I should oppose his appointment as Bp. (sic) - and also, if nominated, I would not be present at his consecration - nor will I.<sup>28</sup>

This, while not strictly relevant, could not help Gregory's case in Rome against The Seven. His position was weaker, in that Willson had won

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25. Polding to Goold, 10 January 1861 (S.A.A.)

26. Cullen, Bishop Willson, A.C.R. July 1953, p.210 et seq.

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

28. Undated unaddressed fragment signed R.W.W. in Sydney Archives, bearing on de Lacy's departure.

Murphy to his views<sup>29</sup> ( on Benedictinisation); while Goold traced Polding's Metropolitan intrusions into his affairs to "a strange influence" - what but Gregory? - "which leads him to do things inconsistent with the rights and interests of other dioceses".<sup>30</sup> In Willson's case, it was another of his unnaturally violent opinions. Thus, Willson and Polding were reconciled in 1863, but with one emphatic rider: "all pleasant until the half-hour before parting" when Willson "opened out on the Benedictines."<sup>31</sup>

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29. Birt ii, loc cit.

30. Cullen, Bishop Willson, loc cit.

31. Birt ii, loc cit.

xix  
The Hungry Sheep Fed

Convinced they were the victims of faction, of "la malice desturbulents"<sup>1</sup> and "l'esprit presbyterien"<sup>2</sup>, Polding had no grave reproaches for the unsophisticated, all-powerful many, "cette masse puissante mais sans culture".<sup>3</sup> Volatile, true; riches went to their head; but amenable: this was the tenor of his Lenten Pastoral for 1860.<sup>4</sup> It was, in substance, his verdict on their part in the upset:

Worldly prosperity appears to have produced its mischievous (sic) effects with peculiar rapidity and certainty. Much consolation and encouragement, indeed, we have received from the earnest and constant devotion of those amongst us who are in the humbler conditions of this world ... How sadly, often, is the increase of wealth a decrease of piety!

Having ~~the~~ proposed the doctrine of the Mystical Body, as the great motive for renewed effort, he pursued:

Men are ready enough to see that we are placed at the foundations of an empire; are you, are Catholics, as ready to see that

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1. Polding to Propaganda 11 August 1858. S.A.A.
  2. Polding to Barnabo September 1858. S.A.A.
  3. Polding to Propaganda 11 August 1858. S.A.A.
  4. Catholic Almanac, Sydney, 1861, Dolman, the publisher of the annual Sydney Almanac, produced the Catholic Almanac spasmodically.



We assist at the foundations of a Church?... the beginning of an order of things, compelled, whether you would or not, to give the style, the tone, the example, which others will surely follow ... shall banking-houses and theatres, and private mansions, and railroads, attest your zeal for money, your love of amusement, your gratification in personal importance and comfort, and would you leave behind you no witnesses to higher aims and nobler motives.

Let there be, therefore, bold profession and practice of the Christian religion; and religious vocations. The great hazard to such progress, he emphasised again and again to Propaganda, was the Irish nationalism his priestly assailants were using. "Peace and progress demand that we cultivate a national spirit that is Australian, not English, or Irish." Polding, in his field, shared the desires of his most potent foes, the secularists, to leave behind old-world differences where possible.

I cannot, and I must not, fail to express my view, that it will be a great scandal, a temptation to the faith of Australians imbued with deep love of their country, if they find their prelates are always imported from Ireland, or England, while Priests they know, proven missionaries, of long standing, are passed over. 5

Polding carried his mental distress with him through wide-ranging visitations. South as far

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5. To Propaganda 19 December 1863. S.A.A.  
My rendering.



as Albury<sup>6</sup> early in 1858, he was back in Sydney (as he always sought to be) for Easter<sup>7</sup>; then to Melbourne and the Monitum;<sup>8</sup> and late that year a prolonged inspection of the Moreton Bay district.<sup>9</sup> 1859 saw him touring up the Hunter River,<sup>10</sup> and coming home overland from Geoghegan's consecration.<sup>11</sup> During 1860, when rain kept him from Yass in the Spring,<sup>12</sup> he concentrated on the northern parts, to Singleton, Scone and Murrurundi in February,<sup>13</sup> to Maitland in April,<sup>14</sup> through the north coast and New England stations in September - October, his last such trip with Gregory;<sup>15</sup> and a trip down the south coast as far as Moruya to complete a busy year.<sup>16</sup> Yass and Goulburn saw him in winter of 1861,<sup>17</sup> Tamworth in the early summer:<sup>18</sup>

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6. F.J. 27 February 1858.
  7. F.J. 3 April 1858
  8. F.J. 16 June 1858
  9. F.J. 6 October 1858 (and subsequent issues).
  10. F.J. 18 June 1859
  11. F.J. 15 October 1859
  12. F.J. 19 September 1860
  13. F.J. 15 February 1860, 29 February 1860.
  14. F.J. 14 April 1860
  15. F.J. 19 September 1860, 10 October 1860
  16. F.J. 15 December 1860
  17. F.J. 15 June 1861
  18. F.J. 23 November 1861.

so it went on, even when illness took a hand. For this vigorous man, nearing his three-score-and-ten now, had in the early 'sixties to face a series of bouts of sickness: April-May 1861,<sup>19</sup> September 1863;<sup>20</sup> and through from August 1864 till June 1865<sup>21</sup>. Whatever it was, and one suspects a nervous reaction from the events of 1858-1861, and Gregory's abrupt recall, it did remarkably little to curb his energies. The first bout was followed, in July 1862, by a trip as far as Albury, where he met Goold;<sup>22</sup> he was actually in Melbourne in 1863, when he fell ill, but came back overland a month later,<sup>23</sup> and visited Young and Galong a month later again.<sup>24</sup> The burning of Saint Mary's on June 29, 1865, lent new life to him: the catastrophe seemed like a vindication of Gregory.<sup>25</sup> After one more tour south and west<sup>26</sup> - preparing Bathurst and Goulburn for their first bishops - he sailed, unannounced, at the end of the year, on his ad limina visit to Rome.<sup>27</sup> As Goold remarked,

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19. F.J. 9 April 1862  
 20. F.J. 26 September 1863  
 21. F.J. 24 August 1864, 8 February 1865, 3 June 1865  
 22. F.J. 19 July 1862  
 23. F.J. 17 October 1863  
 24. F.J. 11 November, 21 November, 1863  
 25. See Moran, p.820  
 26. F.J. 4 November 1865  
 27. F.J. 25 November 1865



"the person going home by Suez needs more than ordinary health";<sup>28</sup> but Poldign was reported well and happy,<sup>29</sup> and despite the gloomy state of affairs in Rome, brought home to him by his own brief imprisonment by the House of Savoy's police,<sup>30</sup> he had something like a holiday.

All the palaver did not prevent him from telling his people in Sydney about his trips and the growth of the Church in the interior;<sup>31</sup> nothing self-conscious here. While Duncan was talking about "the absence of episcopal visitation and control", Polding was entering Yass", accompanied by two hundred horsemen, five carriages and seven gigs",<sup>32</sup> While the Appeal of the Seven was pending, he endorsed Dolman's hymn book, bidding the people sing these songs with "simplicity and heartiness", "because it has ever been a favourite practice of the saints".<sup>33</sup> He shared such recreations as a boating trip on the Hunter to celebrate Anniversary Day 1863,<sup>34</sup> another with Plunkett and the Catholic Young Men's Society on the Harbour, to end the same year:

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28. To Geoghegan, 23 July 1858. S.A.A.  
 29. F.J. 9 December 1865  
 30. Moran, p.477. Cf. F.J. 18 August, 1866  
 31. e.g. F.J. 13 August 1862  
 32. F.J. 13 March 1858  
 33. F.J. 17 September 1859.  
 34. F.J. 31 January 1863

He in no wise considered that "the performance of (religious) duties was necessarily associated with gloomy and desponding thoughts": "Our Lord himself might be said to have held a picnic".<sup>35</sup> So he attacked the "alarming infatuation", "of supposing the Christian life to be a thing of negatives".<sup>36</sup> Privately, to Mrs. Phillips of Adelaide, he spoke of the cause of causes that moved his will:<sup>37</sup> "an union without end, an absorption of all feelings maternal and feeling in one love of God - without end, without bound, without alloy".<sup>37</sup> - The popular response to his open-heartedness was warm and open, too - a feature of early colonial life, this feting of the bishop, though none knew better than Polding that some thought he leaned too much to such applause.<sup>38</sup> Near Christmas 1858, at the very height of the storm, the crowd in Sydney showed great emotion in his presence.<sup>39</sup> In Maitland, 1863, a woman

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35. F.J. 30 December 1863

36. F.J. 22 February 1860

37. Polding to Mrs. Phillips 19 February 1860. (S.A.A.) on the occasion of her husband's death. For Phillips, who played a large part in the pre-history (as it were) of the Church in South Australia, see Byrne's History of the Catholic Church in South Australia, p.6.

38. Polding to Gregory 1 February 1869, in Birt ii, pp.348-9: "I fancy people think I bend that way".

seized with her pains while actually on the way to hear the Archbishop, resumed her journey immediately after her delivery, and had him baptise the baby,<sup>40</sup> As he himself expostulated with Propaganda, "I may look a vain glorious fool", but

never did any Bishop anywhere in the world receive more addresses, more demonstrative of the most eager affection than I did, during the long visitation I completed only to-day. <sup>41</sup>

This demonstrative rural community, however, was far from saintly; Polding, a pastor who might spend all Holy Week in the Confessional,<sup>42</sup> was the least likely of men to think them so - these people "like so many wild colts" - "married women with large families kneeling in confession the first time".<sup>43</sup> The prostitution of the metropolis was matched, according to the Freeman,

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39. F.J. 25 December 1858

40. F.J. 18 February 1863

41. To Propaganda, 19 December 1863 (S.A.A.)  
My rendering.

42. F.J. 20 April 1861

43. Polding to Subiaco nun (unnamed), 6 February 1865, given in paper by anon., Archbishop Polding, Cath. Hist. Soc. Archives.



by the promiscuity of the bush, where the young had unstable family backgrounds, too limited a range of recreations, too little religio-moral instruction.<sup>44</sup> Let the drily Protestant Macleay praise the energy of the Catholic bush clergy. In the Riverina, particularly, the population was "closely verging on infidelity", and "many of the less instructed Catholics had unfortunately succumbed", and were talking of the catholic religion "as a something that did exist".<sup>45</sup> Polding's boundary-riding, like Therry's forty years earlier, could never be more than a stop-gap.

Yet popular Catholicism in Australia was slowly taking shape, along with Australian popular culture in general. It was the high noon of Victorianism, as the crinoline, the Mechanics' Institutes, the library shelves and concert programs, when we meet them in the press, continually reminded us; and among the Catholics, at any rate, "a burial ground (was) a place of great resort ... on Sundays".<sup>46</sup> But the native strain was strong - the mere fact that the ex-

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44. F.J. 10 December 1859

45. F.J. 30 January 1864

46. F.J. 11 January 1865

travagant and inconvenient crinoline, not to mention its ingenious immodesty, could be so widely worn, with only a rare rebuke.<sup>47</sup> They liked their ladies, these Victorian colonial papists

With their full swelling chests and their fair-flowing hair.<sup>48</sup>

But they also liked their cricket, a national pastime already;<sup>49</sup> and the reception given the English XI of 1862 was "convincing proof of the comfort and independence of all classes among us."<sup>50</sup> And though the many, and often very large,<sup>51</sup> boat and rail excursions by Catholic groups seem to have preferred quoits and dancing to cricket and swimming, still McEncroe made a strong point of it to Denison, how keen the colonial youth was on "aquatic sports".<sup>52</sup> And at last the Freeman's tardy muse came good, setting beside Eva's

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47. F.J. 10 March, 1866.

48. F.J. 21 January, 1860.

49. F.J. 1 February, 1865.

50. F.J. 5 February, 1862.

51. Cf. F.J. 11 January, 1865, when 3-4,000, packed into 42 carriages on an intensely hot morning, for a wet afternoon at Richmond. There is another excursion to Balmoral recorded in the same issue; and another (again) in F.J. 14 January, 1865; and one to Bradley's Head in F.J. 28 January, 1865.

52. McEncroe to Colonial Secretary, 5 May 1855, (i.e., while he was in charge of the Archdiocese). SAA.



O Ireland of that Spring-time fairest!  
 O Ireland of the murmuring streams!

Some Thompsonian couplets on the local swimming hole:

With timid look, from off the rocky steep,  
 We headlong bound, and cleave the swelling deep;  
 Then dive and rise, and dive and rise again,  
 Then tranquil float, along the water main,  
 And sportive cast the glittering spray around -

till (yes!) the shark alarm.<sup>53</sup> So clumsily a baby  
 nation, like any baby, finds its soul.

Polding early assimilated the country's beauties,  
 and never ceased to bring them into his teaching;  
 telling (for instance) the people of Penrith  
 in 1839 how "the beautiful river which flows  
 at our feet" (the Nepean) "rolls its multitudinous  
 waters towards the ocean, resembling a thread  
 of purest silver in a tissue of gold"; how  
 "that noble range of mountain scenery, which, like  
 a rich embroidery, skirts and bounds them, seems  
 like the aspirations of the primitive world  
 lifting itself up towards its creator".<sup>54</sup> Nor  
 was its poetry less to him a quarter of a century  
 later when he wrote the Benedictine nuns of the  
 "magnificent views which open and close" on the  
 Appin road.<sup>55</sup> Sydney, meanwhile, was

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53. F.J. 20 April, 1861. "Eva", of course, was  
 O'Doherty's wife.

54. Aust. Chron. 13 December, 1839.

55. See note 43.



growing more variously beautiful as it grew bigger. When Mount Carmel Church, Waterloo, - Corish's second ornament for the city, - was opened in 1859, the Freeman's reporter remembered "the time, when very young, we wandered through the thick scrub with which it was covered, and thought it an exploit of considerable daring to brave the danger of snakes."<sup>56</sup> But now the church door's opened on a vista south to Botany Bay, "diversified with hill and dale, wood and water, winding, dusty roads, green and cultivated valleys, arid sand hills...blooming gardens, sweet cottages, and lovely villas, hamlets, churches and chapels, almost in every direction".<sup>57</sup> It was this feeling for a time and a place, the raw material of a Christian's patriotism, which Polding did not wish overlaid by Irish preoccupations.<sup>58</sup>

In this setting, a petit-bourgeois Christianity was slowly acquiring its properly petit-bourgeois gait - we have vignettes like the boys going up for confirmation, each with a rosette

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56. F.J. 17 August 1859

57. F.J. 20 April 1861

58. To Bernard O'Dowd, "the Catholic religion and Irish patriotism...seemed a single emotional and spiritual entity" (V.Kennedy and N. Palmer, Bernard O'Dowd, Melbourne, 1954, p.28)

on his shoulder;<sup>59</sup> or the girls at first Communion at Saint Mary's "all dressed in white with white veils on their heads and blue ribbons round their necks to which were attached medals of the Blessed Virgin"<sup>60</sup> - later, doing "ample justice" to a breakfast of "tea, bread and butter, cakes and fruit".<sup>61</sup> For the familiar devotion of the Forty Hours, we can thank Gourbeillon - Polding intended it as reparation for his sacrilege,<sup>62</sup> and it at once became a regular feature in the city and suburban churches.<sup>63</sup>

As our Blessed Lord was borne along by the hands of His consecrated servant amid the wreathed smoke of incense, and the song of His people, and the scattering flower leaves from the hands of young holy innocents, we could not help the memory that came upon us of how other Catholic lands, with more age upon them than ours, ... were also praying adoration in temple and street to the same Faith at the very time. 64

And an explicitly Australian patriotism was growing all the time, though not, perhaps, without

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59. F.J. 15 December 1858  
 60. F.J. 5 March 1864  
 61. Ibid. Cf. 24 December 1859  
 62. Polding to Goold 20 June 1859 (S.A.A.)  
 Cf. ~~F.J.~~ 19 June 1861.  
 63. F.J. 24 June 1865  
 64. F.J. 16 June 1860

an undertone of dislike for the Union Jack in the cultivation of the Southern Cross motif of Eureka.<sup>65</sup> But already the "emu" and the kangaroo could share the day with the harp and shamrock on March 17.<sup>66</sup>

Amidst it all, Polding carried the doctrine of the Apostles. How effectively he did so, we have witness: "You must see him and hear him," said the Freeman's Albury correspondent, "to understand why he is so successful in bringing back the prodigal";<sup>67</sup> at Bathurst, "many persons, as the sainted preacher, whose holy life adds interest to his exhortation, developed his subject, wept and wept again; but as the balm of consolation began to be poured into the wounded soul, pierced with grief on account of its treason to our good God, we could observe joy beam in the countenance".<sup>68</sup> Apostrophising Polding's "almost over-zealous zeal", a Sydney bard spoke from conviction".

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65. F.J. 19 June 1861. Cf. F.J. 23 September 1863 on Downing's final departure from Australia; the Cross symbolism on the Eureka flag sbressed.

66. F.J. 31 March 1859

67. F.J. 13 March 1858

68. F.J. 1 October 1853



Yes, cold the heart and dark the soul -  
 Dull, lost and vacant is the mind -  
 Thy tender words could not control  
 To live a life pure and refined! 69

According to Ullathorne, Polding lacked the penetration, the force, of the original mind;<sup>70</sup> if this be so, his ease of movement, his familiar meditative grasp of the great dogmas concerning which realisation is the only kind of originality called for, was no slight compensation. "When on the forty days between His resurrection and ascension he spoke with His apostles and communicated with them the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, they could not doubt that the sacrament of confirmation was one of the subjects of which He spoke";<sup>71</sup> and so, confirming, he would detail the effects proper to each Gift of the Holy Ghost,<sup>72</sup> and try to help them see the Sacrament as the specific remedy for the indifferentism of the day.<sup>73</sup> So, too, his Good Friday sermons: Christ died, but the Divine Person was not separated from the Body while it was buried according to prophecy and the Soul descended

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69. F.J. 4 April 1860  
 70. Ullathorne, Cabin Boy, p.38  
 71. F.J. 21 January 1863  
 72. F.J. 3 June 1865  
 73. F.J. 22 March 1865

into Limbo<sup>74</sup>- certainly, this preacher never forgot what Christianity is, an intellectual position. He handled the difficult truths with firmness; free-will, for instance, -

That man, of himself, can no nothing available unto eternal life; that the aid of Almighty God is necessary for this end; that this aid has been promised, and will be given; are truths familiar to your minds. This aid, gratuitous indeed, on the part of God, though it may properly influence,,yet touches not the integrity of man's free will.

Then the homely touch that always distinguished the metaphors which he would use to clinch his argument:

You dread the difficulties of a virtuous life...Those difficulties like the apparent steepness of a distant hill will be found in reality of small account... Thousands have experienced this...Make the experiment. 75

There was a lyrical strain, too - ata Corpus

Christi procession:

He hath walked amid the light which our hands have supplied, He who is the light of the world, and whose hands made heaven and earth, -

but the homely touch again in the reproach that followed, to our "cruel inconsistency when we welcomed Jesus amongst us one day, and ere the week was past our sins were doing the work of the executioners". 76

74. F.J. 3 April 1861

75. F.J. 10 February 1864

76. F.J. 9 June 1860.

Most unwilling to descend from the pastoral to the political, he thought to strengthen the Catholic community at the very source, the family; and here, perhaps, showed a gleam of the originality Ullathorne denied him. "How is the mere family of nature to become the family of grace? - I answer, mainly by prayer" - prayer "necessarily brings with it all the habits of a Christian life". Now he meant family prayer; and went on to speak of three priesth~~oo~~ds: those of the Tridentine decrees, namely, that according to Melchisedech, and that exercised by every baptised person within himself; but that also of the father within the domestic circle: "Children, never retire to rest without having received on your knees your parent's blessing."<sup>77</sup> - Once, however, the confusion of contemporary politics forced him to intervene. In the elections of late 1860, a Church of England Bill was still in the air, and so many candidates urged the merits of voluntarism against state aid that the Archbishop was constrained to point out that the material support of religion was no more a matter of option - "voluntary" in that sense - than chastity or veracity.<sup>78</sup> However, expressing

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77. F.J. 9 April 1862

78. F.J. 20 October 1860, 28 November 1860.



to Goold his misgivings concerning the  
democratic process, -

I imagine what is called state aid will  
have hard work to stand its ground before  
the present Assembly - such a congeries  
of uncultivated wits - all nearly new  
untried men elected on the popular cry of  
Free selection before survey which not  
one in ten understands -

he expressed himself "quite in doubt" as to  
whether he had issued his Pastoral to good or  
evil effect: "there are so many who will go  
contrary to advice simply to show they are not  
Priest-ridden." 79

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79. Polding to Goold 10 Jan ary 1861 (S.A.A.)

xx. The Two Boards System and its Faults

The gravest pastoral problem was, however, a political issue : education.

The National System was but three years old when the Freeman judged it to be "based on the principle of "unbelief"". Let it flourish, and "the country will be sunk deeper in religious indifference than it ever was in the most degraded period of convictism"<sup>1</sup>. Given a legislature of "infidels", as Bishop Davis described them,<sup>2</sup> Plunkett's standpoint and standing in the Council, where he hailed the National System as "the greatest boon that could have been conferred upon Ireland", led, as McEncroe, Heydon and others were convinced,, to the loss of an £800 supplementary vote for Catholic Schools, and another of £500 for the orphanage.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, while the population ratios went (approximately; figures to the nearest thousand) Church of England 93, Presbyterian 18, Methodist 10, Catholic 57,

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1. F.J. 13 November 1851
  2. Birt ii, p.166
  3. F.J. 7 August 1851. Cf. F.J. 25 December 1851 (Plunkett, not absent, as before, actually voting against the supplementary £800).

the budget for denominational education went (to the nearest £100) : 40, 19, 6, 19.<sup>4</sup> Hence Longmore was put forward in 1851 as, quite explicitly, a Denominational schools candidate;<sup>5</sup> and his defeat showed where the force of numbers was. There was no O'Shanassy in Sydney, as Folding lamented.<sup>6</sup>

It was, moreover, practically certain as the (Anglican) Bishop of Newcastle contended in the course of a searching review of the National Board's third annual report,<sup>7</sup> that the whole tenor of the administration favoured the National System. In that particular year, 1851, the National System cost revenue somewhat more than twice as much per child instructed as the Denominational; the school at Fort Street, designed from the first as an exhibition piece, absorbed more revenue than the whole of a Catholic system catering for three thousand children. The National Board's report was an apologia which shuffled uneasily and disingenuously between grounds of economy and grounds of efficiency. The

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4. F.J. 13 November 1851  
 5. F.J. 4 September 1851  
 6. Folding to Gregory 29 May 1857, S.A.A.  
 7. F.J. 8 January 1852



factual error Tyrrell (the critic reviewing) particularly lighted on concerned the chief paid servant of the National Board, Wilkins, who had come straight from a Church of England training-school at Battersea expecting to take charge of a similar institution in Sydney : he was described "as a man of "long experience under the Lords of the Committee of the Council of Education". Wilkins made the most of his opening, in cooperation, later on, with Parkes; at this earlier stage, Catholic observers considered that he was guilty of misstatement, and of biased decisions, on the Education Commission of 1855.<sup>8</sup>

There was, nevertheless, a Catholic system in operation with state assistance; some forty schools by February 1852, over eighty by the end of the decade.<sup>9</sup> It had strong popular support. The schoolteacher, if he was a good one, was a pillar of society. The annual examination was a

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8. F.J. 17 May 1856, 24 May 1856

9. F.J. 12 February 1852; Catholic Almanac of 1861. Cf. F.J. 3 November 1858, 16 November 1861, to show the rapid growth of the Catholic schools. Cf. Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia 1806 - 1950. vol i, pp.53-4 (Tables V and VI).

big social event, where the (oral) examiner might sit all day, the children answering before an audience of parents who could usually not have answered the questions themselves; and a public banquet to close the proceedings.<sup>10</sup> The trend of Catholic thought in Ireland reinforced the "denominationalist" cause in Australia. The motives behind the National System were no longer trusted, once Cullen succeeded Murray. Stanley (now Derby) told the Lords one year it was the only way to give Catholics an education in the face of Protestant prejudice;<sup>11</sup> the next year, that its abandonment could only be a concession to "spiritual despotism on the part of Roman Catholic priests".<sup>12</sup> Cullen, confronted with such politics, did not mince his words. Testy pronouncements to the effect that tampering with education was the ruling passion of the age, and against the "absurd idea that all religions are the same,"<sup>13</sup> paved the way for a singular Pastoral on the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, Whately, as hypocritically intending the National System as

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10. e.g. F.J. 4 March 1854

11. F.J. 15 July 1852

12. F.J. 30 July 1853

13. Ibid.

an engine of proselytism.<sup>14</sup>

But whereas in Ireland local control and a powerful public opinion guaranteed at least the faith and morals of the teacher, there was no such security in New South Wales; and this internal weakness, the quality of the teaching staff, was perhaps as much as anything else fatal to the Denominational Board's system. Thus, its report of 1862 listed only six of eighty-three Catholic schools, as "excellent".<sup>15</sup> Corish is an instance of a parish priest prepared to utter devastating public condemnation of the teaching in his own parish school.<sup>16</sup> Polding, too, saw the matter thus, and continued to import teachers from Ireland;<sup>17</sup> he dwelt on the need for a Model School for teacher training, and proposed giving Saint Mary's this status;<sup>18</sup> and the Freeman and its correspondents simply echoed (whether they knew it or not) his views.<sup>19</sup> But to weaken further their standing in public opinion, the Catholic schools, whatever the quality of their

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14. F.J. 9 August 1856

15. F.J. 20 September 1862. Cf. Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, i, p.81

16. F.J. 24 December 1862

17. Cf. F.J. 17 December 1859; Birt ii, p.228

18. F.J. 20 November 1861, 4 January 1862

19. Cf. F.J. 7 March 1860, 24 March 1860.



religious instruction, were identified with an administration which itself confessed that religion, its very *raison d'être* as a distinct system, was "one of our least successfully taught subjects".<sup>20</sup> Hence, though the National Schools Board equally, on their own testimony, found that most candidates for teaching posts were "men who have not succeeded in other pursuits",<sup>21</sup> its staffing weakness was too good a talking-point for the enemies of denominationalism to miss. Indeed, as an apprehensive Freeman conceded when Parkes moved in for the kill in 1866,

The present double system is only less objectionable than the so-called national system itself. The uncertainty, the local jealousies and animosities to which in many instances the rivalry between the existing systems have given rise are the deplorable but inevitable consequences of a vain attempt to reconcile wrong with right ... the mere fact that the public are taxed for the support of two rival systems each seeking to destroy the other is sufficient to condemn.

the precarious status quo.<sup>22</sup>

Moloney, coming to Sydney in 1852, found his profession thus demoralised, at the very crisis when it had to meet the talk of dogmas as

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20. F.J. 11 February 1865  
 21. F.J. 29 October 1864  
 22. F.J. 7 July 1866

"peculiar crotchets", and strove to mend the situation by founding (1856) a Catholic Teachers' Association on the pattern of a medieval guild, combining a benefits society, a bargaining organisation and intercourse tending to the maintenance of professional standards, with a "nobler object ... the extension of the Faith."<sup>23</sup> But Macdonnell, who founded a private High School in Paddington the same year, dedicated to the National System ideal of separating religious from secular instruction,<sup>24</sup> was a high-pressure Catholic opponent of Moloney's conception of his teaching vocation. And when, during the crisis of 1858-59, Moloney actively supported Corish, and thus the Archbishop, the Catholic Teachers' Association had to submit to continual derogation and derision from the Freeman, whose reporters it was finally driven to exclude from its meetings.<sup>25</sup> The Association made no headway

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23. F.J. 5 September 1860 (on Moloney): 14 June 1856, 5 July 1856, 4 October 1856, 11 October 1856, 18 October 1856 (the Association, its formation and aims). For the talk of dogmas as "peculiar crotchets" and "antiquated notions", the reference is 14 June 1856 (above).
24. F.J. 12 January 1856. Hence Polding's prejudicial description of him as a boarding-house keeper "d'ne huneur feroce".
25. F.J. 11 September 1861.

in the face of this and other obstacles. One of these other obstacles was underlined in an official circular of McEncroe's early in the piece: the state's aid, and hence the teacher's income, was proportioned to the parents' contributions, putting these last in the position of doing a school a favour by sending their children to it.<sup>26</sup> The sum result was a Catholic system larger, proportionally, than the Anglican or Presbyterian (112 of 326 denominational schools in 1864),<sup>27</sup> and enjoying popular support; but Catholic children attending national schools in roughly the same proportion to the total attendance as the proportion of Catholics in the whole population.<sup>28</sup>

The odd thing about the situation, and I think this is a most important point, was that the Catholics quite certainly had no viable alternative; only God could provide that; no system but must suppose goodwill, and that was wanting. The Catholics, and particularly O'Shanassy, who had a genius for snatching ideas from the air and bending them to his ends, talked a great deal

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26. Sydney Chronicle, 5 February 1848

27. F.J. 8 April 1865

28. F.J. 3 November 1858



about the "Privy Council System";<sup>29</sup> but there was nothing very systematic about the Privy Council's arrangements for the distribution of the education grant after 1839, except the determination of the Secretary, Kay Shuttleworth, to steer the Committee towards a national control of education.<sup>30</sup> When, however, Cowper, a marked man from the time (March 1857) he declared "if he had the power he would not tolerate the Catholic religion",<sup>31</sup> proposed a Single Board arrangement, and chose to name this the Privy Council System, Polding very correctly pointed out that the Privy Council's procedure had one virtue, Cowper's lacked: no interference with local freedom of management.<sup>32</sup> Cowper would give everything into the hands of the executive of the day. Polding's intervention helped kill the Bill, and pave the way for another (Oxley's)

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29. See F.J. 19 October 1859 and 14 December 1859 (O'Shanassy) As a system it is detailed in F.J. 22 September 1866
30. F.W. Cornish, The English Church in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1910, Part ii, p.266.
31. F.J. 28 March 1857
32. F.J. 19 October 1859. This was one difference of practice between the Privy Council administration and that of the Denominational Board in N.S.W. 1848-1866. Cf. Cornish, loc. cit., and also Part I, p.201 et seq.

more openly secularist; it further embittered the Freeman clique against the Archbishop during this tense period.<sup>33</sup> But the "Privy Council" Bill was just one more political football in the scrimmage for power and place. It was killed, in fact, at the motion of Martin - one "to whose mind the teachings of the one Church brought consolation, perhaps ineffable delight, many years ago, but who has since found in the dreamy mysticism of Emerson, the gloomy vaticinations of Carlyle, and the attractive idealisms of Schelling a new gospel - a strange revelation of vanity and sensibility - a compound of ultra-rationalism and

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33. F.J. 14 December 1859; 17 December 1859 (Oxley). Such was the breach between Archbishop and paper at this juncture that Polding's Pastoral against the National System was reproduced by the Freeman from the Yass Courier - F.J. 25 January 1860. The constant carping of the Freeman about Polding not "publishing" his Pastorals in this period (e.g. the Orphan Board Affair) brings out his determination not to let the Freeman pose as a Catholic paper. - This Pastoral, as R. Fogarty argues in his magisterial work, vol i, p.182 et seq., was a statement of rich import on the principles governing Catholic education in Australia. Through Geoghegan's Pastoral of 1861 and the Synod of 1862 it succeeded in setting an immaculately orthodox course. But Sydney 1859 would not listen.

the products of fervid imaginations"<sup>34</sup> Yet it was Martin who, in coalition with Parkes, and having defeated another bid by Cowper to carry an anti-denominationalist bill,<sup>35</sup> finally delivered the blow which delivered most of the youth of New South Wales over<sup>to</sup> the said dreamy mysticism and attractive idealisms, while Carlyle vaticinated gloomily and disapprovingly to Parkes, about those "dark sectaries", the Irish clergy.<sup>36</sup>

Parkes, at this stage, was not so open as Buchanan, with his avowal that he "believed that the bill would be a blow to priestly power, and therefore he supported it",<sup>37</sup> Parkes was too shrewd to boost his object,<sup>38</sup> but it was probably to arrange for the slow death of the denominational system. "If there could be anything but disgust in stripping cunning where it is employed against so sacred a cause as the Catholic Education of our poor children", Polding said to Gould, "one might perhaps find amusement in the clever management of Mr. Parkes."<sup>39</sup> As McEncroe pointed

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34. F.J. 14 December 1859

35. Text of Cowper's Bill, F.J. 22 November 1862, Polding on 19 August 1863 (and cf. following issues); defeat of Bill, 10 October 1863

36. Parkes, Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History, p.170-1

37. F.J. 3 November 1866

38. F.J. 22 September 1866

39. Polding to Goolds, S.A.A. n.d.



out,<sup>40</sup>, the arrangement of the Board, a seat for every major denomination, procured that the vast majority of the colony, Catholic and Anglican, could never be the majority of the Board, even aside from such cynical touches as the appointment of a public apostate, Martin, to represent the Catholic interest (though earlier appointments to the Denominational Board, Duncan and Butler, at a time when they had fallen out with the Archbishop, were only a shade less dishonest). Again, while the Board was authorised to open a national school wherever there were children enough to justify it, it could assist a denominational school only if it was actually in operation, and then only provided there was no national school within two miles. Above all, the most effective safeguard of Parkes's intentions, the Colonial Secretary was the "practical everything" as the Freeman said.<sup>41</sup>

Parkes was not ignorant of the Catholic position. In Polding's absence overseas, a deputation from the clergy waited on him. Woolfrey, who had nominated the premier (Martin), after

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40. F.J. 15 September 1866

41. F.J. 8 September 1866. Fogarty, op.cit., endorses Parkes's defence of his 1866 Bill, that it delayed and softened the stroke which was bound to come, severing Church and State education.

three defeats, for this fateful parliament, urged that Catholics were "as national as others," and could therefore teach under the State's authority from text books of their choice.<sup>42</sup>

But such protests were made rather in hope of bearing witness than in expectation of bearing fruit. "At no time have the liberties of the people been so imperilled as when demagogues have obtained supreme power", the Freeman had said in foreboding months before;<sup>43</sup> "they will have liberty on their mouths", the Archbishop (and clergy) had predicted years before, "Whilst it means in them the power of forcing on others their individual schemes."<sup>44</sup> But probably Parkes no less than Buchanan and Wilson was the victim of the fixed idea that the clergy, not the people, instigated the opposition. His friendship with Duncan, his acquaintance with Saint Julian, and, earlier, Hawksley, confirmed the

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42. F.J. 28 July 1866

43. F.J. 10 February 1866. Contrast the friendly tone towards Parkes in F.J. 9 December 1865, and the talk, F.J. 14 July 1864, of how Martin "towers above ordinary mankind."

44. F.J. 12 August 1863

notion.<sup>45</sup> Plunkett's full and weighty recantation fell on deaf ears:

Every Catholic layman, believing the pastors of the Church to have a divinely constituted authority, not derived either from the congregation or the state, cheerfully allows their right to teach all revealed doctrines, and to prevent the propagation of error. 46

For Plunkett, the turning-point had been the joint pastoral of the bishops from Melbourne, 1862.

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45. See Autograph Letters of Notable Australians, in Parkes Paper, M.L. mss, p.324 (St. Julian), p.449 (Duncan) For other Catholic supporters of the National System see correspondents in F.J. 31 December 1859 and 15 December 1866.
46. F.J. 20 October 1866. (See also 15 December 1866). Plunkett was here quoting the Irish bishops.



xxi. St. John's College and Lyndhurst

At the beginning of 1853, the Freeman expressed alarm that the University Bill made no provision for revealed religion;<sup>1</sup> yet expressed, too, the groundless hope of the period that the sects could reach some agreement on the primary truths of revelation. But all the Freeman's argument from Leibniz<sup>2</sup> (designed originally to pave the way for Christian reunion) failed to induce the Legislature to institute a faculty of theology in defiance of William Charles Wentworth.<sup>3</sup> London had set the university pattern for the new era<sup>4</sup>, however, and the plan was adopted of generous subsidies to denominational colleges - an outcome for which the Anglicans, Tyrrell and Allwood, must take most of the credit, though Davis may take some.<sup>5</sup> At the same time,

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1. F.J. 20 January 1853
  2. F.J. 27 January 1853 (and following issue).
  3. Clark, Select Documents, II, p.696 (Wentworth in 1849: "its gates would be open to all, whether they were disciples of Moses, or Jesus, or Bramin, of Mahomed, or Vishuu, or of Buddha".)
  4. F.J. 25 August 1855
  5. Daly, Founding of St. John's College, A.C.R. 1958, p.289 et seq. See S.M.H., 23 November 1854, quoted by Daly.

nevertheless, the founding father, Woolley, slight, fine-boned, blue-eyed and fair-haired, was no less Anglo-Saxon in his philosophy, an "excelsior eclectic", according to the Freeman's obituary:

His mind may oscillate between Pusseyism and Germanic philosophico-protestantism, but beyond an art-passion for accidental catholicism, it will never travel. 6

Tennyson thought him first-rate<sup>7</sup> - which rather places him theologically; and indeed his impact was far more decisive in the direction of secularism than the Freeman suggested. In Carmichael's home-base, the Maitland School of Arts, he spoke of 1863 as "a crisis of civilisation" when "the days of darkness and superstition have vanished, and a spirit of enquiry and knowledge took their place" : London-conditioned before he went up to Oxford, he, like Lowe, survived the Oxford movement unscathed. In a plea for "free thought", on the ground that "Everybody possessed some fragment of truth", he declared, it to be the "very essence" of "Catholicity",

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6. F.J. 7 April 1866 (obituary notice).

7. Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson, A Memoir, London, 1897, 2 vols. vol ii, p.32 - For an F.J. leader against Wolley's liberalism, 30 June 1855/

to avoid religious and paradoxical discussions as subversive of the purpose for which these institutions were established. The latter discussions were particularly objectionable, as men could not reconcile many things which appeared to be contradictory ... it was therefore necessary that heavenly riddles should be left alone. 8

He was backed by a vice-provost, Merewether, a great fighter for the infant institution, but one who soared aloft, in that region of "absolute neutrality" undreamed of in your philosophy, and together they set a course never afterwards abandoned. 9

Thus the Idea irrupted into Polding's territory; but at a time when neither England nor Ireland had any such provision<sup>10</sup> he was enabled, as a counter, to plan on the most lavish scale a Catholic College within the University of Sydney - Wardell had £40,000 to play with.<sup>11</sup> Polding took the occasion to enlarge on theology's place as "queen and mistress of all the sciences";<sup>12</sup> Duncan (from Moreton Bay, where he had not rusted) adduced particular frontier disputes. St. John's must combat the

8. Queensland Times, 8 October 1863

9. F.J. 20 July 1859

10. F.J. 5 August 1865 (English bishops against such a college in England).

11. See section viii above, Wardell, resigned as architect of St. John's, F.J. 29 August 1860.

12. F.J. 1 August 1857.



new schools of metaphysics undermining revelation, show the reconciliation of geology with the Mosaic cosmogony, show up the "conspiracy against truth" which the age called history.<sup>13</sup> The first rector, Forrest, found by McEncroe, was a sound churchman, not at all flash, and hence somewhat of a disappointment to the lay dissidents;<sup>14</sup> but his doughy discourses<sup>15</sup> compared unfavourably, for all their sanity, with the charm of Woolley, the verve of Bermingham, or even the crazy splendour of an F.X. Bailey. Yet it is easy to underestimate the contribution of St. John's in its early years: nine students in 1863 sounds rather pathetic, but not against the university total.<sup>16</sup>

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13. F.J. 3 October 1857
14. Polding to Goold 10 January 1861. S.A.A. He soon began holidaying with Lanigan and McAlroy, however. F.J. 19 October 1861
15. e.g. F.J. 10 October 1860; 2 March 1861 (on Progress); 16 July 1862, He arrived 11 September 1860 ' see F.J. 19 September 1860) What he said of Lyndhurst, F.J. 26 January 1861, solid rather than brilliant, could be more aptly said of him. Vaughan, however, writing his father 4 September 1874, called Forrest "a most objectional (sic) whisky drinking, purple-nosed little Irish priest". But he thought no more highly of the Benedictines, whom he dissolved as an Order in Sydney.
16. Queensland Times 29 October 1863. Though there was a depression at the time, the total given, 11, seems open to question. Cf. H.E. Banff, "A Short Historical Account of the University of Sydney, Sydney 1902, p.97 (31 students in 1861) Only 16 passed exams at Sydney in 1863, S.M.H. 21 December 1863

More telling in its impact on the infant university was the Lyndhurst Academy, the Secondary school Bishop Davis set in motion in 1851. Woolley, though friendly with Davis on the Senate, and later a laudatory examiner at Lyndhurst, would not at first concede its quality, and joined Parkes and others in a Select Committee which criticised the "existing" schools and pressed forward the foundation of a severely secular Sydney Grammar School.<sup>17</sup> As against this, Lyndhurst had the stamp of Polding on it from first to last, giving its history, which ended with his death, what unity it had. From 1852 to 1861, it supplemented a solid classical formation with nothing beyond mathematics, art, music and drama.<sup>18</sup> This last item came in for a good deal of captious criticism,<sup>19</sup> along with all other things Benedictine; but the critics mistakenly supposed - a supposition given colour by the spartan regime -

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17. F.J. 14 October 1854 (Parkes's move); 2 December 1854 and 9 December 1854 (Woolley as member of the Committee).
18. The main source for the regime and evolution of Lyndhurst is the four articles by M. Forster in A.C.R. 1946-7. Lyndhurst and Benedictine Education. The same writer's Benedictine Education in Australia in Cath. Hist. Soc. Archives covers the same ground, but with some simpler, broader perspectives, and perhaps more vivid detail. She is herself a Benedictine nun. My present reference, A.C.R. 1947, p.26 Cf. F.J.
- 23 June 1860.
19. F.J. 8 July 1854, 9 September 1854



that the school was an ecclesiastical seminary; whereas Polding favoured the dramatics as fitting men for public speaking, and hence for public life.<sup>20</sup> The rigid classicism,<sup>21</sup> with Sheridan Moore's subject, Latin, in the chief place (the Academy early gave Sydney University a native-born professor of this subject) equally came under fire- as it did at Grammar also - from a bread-and-butter point of view.<sup>22</sup> But ignoring this, together with suggestions from another angle, that he should rather use texts from the Fathers,<sup>23</sup> Polding defended the classics as teaching the real use of language, forming the judgment;<sup>24</sup> and as he considered it, deep scholarship was the "best worldly defence against the false spirit of the age which cultivates **Liberalism** in place of Christian Charity".<sup>25</sup> However, after circularising his clergy for their criticisms of the syllabys, he included bookkeeping (1861),<sup>26</sup> and under Norbert Quirk, a distinguished early

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20. Forster, Benedictine Education in Australia.

21. Ibid.

22. F.J. 30 October 1858 (comparison of Lyndhurst and Grammar).

23. See F.J. 18 February 1854, 4 March 1854, 11 March 1854.

24. F.J. 26 December 1860

25. F.J. 21 December 1867 (quoted by Forster, loc. cit.)

26. F.J. 21 August 1861



graduate of Sydney (B.A. 1864, later LL.D.)<sup>27</sup>, who presided over its high period in the late 'sixties, chemistry and physics and logic were added.<sup>28</sup> Other criticisms of this bold experiment reflected its strengths **rather** than any real weakness. Critics of its sportiness testified to Polding's emphasis on the corpus sanum;<sup>29</sup> precocious and worldly-wise pupils were natural products of student self-government and the high staff-student ratio (Davis aimed at 1:3 and attained 1:5)<sup>30</sup>. Fees were inevitably attacked as high, but they were initially on a par with those of Grammar and Kings, and of Goold's seminary;<sup>31</sup> and in 1866 they were scaled down 20%.<sup>32</sup> Equipment required, which in those days included furniture and cutlery, was austere; nor would £1 a year in pocket money go to a young man's head.<sup>33</sup>

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27. F.J. 6 April 1864 (B.A.), 29 June 1864 (to Lyndhurst then under Curtis).
28. Forster in A.C.R. 1947, p.26 and 28
29. Forster, Benedictine Education in Australia, Several Lyndhurst students, were members of the New South Wales XI's against Victoria in the early '60's, e.g. F.J. 23 December 1863.
30. Loc. cit., and in A.C.R., 1946, pp.269-270. Cf. North Australian, 19 February 1861
31. Forster in A.C.R. 1947, pp.206-7. Cf. F.J. 2 February 1861.
32. F.J. 30 June 1866
33. F.J. 28 January 1765 (advert.)

But the institution which furnished thirty-five of the first forty-five Catholic graduates of Sydney University, and half its Bachelors of Arts, up to its demise (1877),<sup>34</sup> never commanded the confidence<sup>35</sup> of the main body of the Catholics. Built originally by the anti-Catholic Bowman on the pattern of the stately homes of England, it continued to be looked on as something alien, an engine of Ascendancy; and the same held of the nun's school at Hannibal Macarthur's old home. "I cannot hear of any children for Subiaco", Polding wrote the nuns from Bathurst in 1865, "nor can I find any students for Lyndhurst...the Catholic body alone seems careless on this vital point, the consequence will be that their children will occupy an inferior grade in Society"<sup>36</sup> Duncan and McEncroe concurred with his argument: "quality was the only road to service or influence."<sup>37</sup> But the human factor overlooked was the inevitable estrangement of parent and child, given such a difference of manners and outlook; thus Birmingham, on his departure, was able to recruit

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34. Forster, in A.C.R. 1947. p.119

35. F.J. 2 February 1861 in Leader sounds this note, "confidence".

36. Anon., Archbishop Polding, in Cath. Hist. Soc. Archives.

37. F.J. 6 October 1858 (Duncan); 1 July 1865 (McEncroe.)



a dozen boys to return with him to Ireland for their schooling<sup>38</sup> - so far was it Ireland, not money, that lay behind the hostility to Lyndhurst. Changes, therefore, in curriculum and fees, the praises of Woolley, Forrest, and others,<sup>39</sup> did little to increase the numbers from the meagre forty or so of the late 'fifties; the inclusion of the Benedictine Novitiate, and the boarding-in of old students now at the university, only complicated the administration - in 1865, Quirk took charge of sixty "boys", ranging in age from eight to twenty-three<sup>40</sup>. On Polding's death, Vaughan closed it down at once, considering it not worth the outlay of men and money, particularly given the deterioration in the monks' community and religious life.<sup>41</sup>

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38. F.J. 19 January 1861, 26 January 1861. For lack of support see F.J. 1 July 1865 23 December 1865. It was a case of passive resistance, foredooming the scheme of district scholarships mooted in F.J. 13 January 1866.
39. F.J. 26 January 1861, S.M.H. 22 December 1863 (advert).
40. Forster, Benedictine Education in Australia.
41. Vaughan to his father, 12 February 1874. See Forster, in A.C.R. 1947, p.123-4



xxii. Adult Education Societies

More congenial to the laity was the casual, undisciplined education afforded by the various Catholic societies which had a literary wing - talks, debates, a library. The Holy Catholic Guild of Saint Mary and Saint Joseph was the most prosperous of these.<sup>1</sup> Polding, donating a painting to this favourite child, even though at a time when "California had deprived them of many and excellent members",

Would have the library to be not merely a room fitted up with shelves, and books nicely arranged thereon, but a repository of the works of high Christian art, in statuary, in painting, in engraving, and in architectural design, so that it shall become a school in which our people are taught the principles of pure taste, from which artists may come forth whose productions shall adorn our beautiful Australia, combining the developments of modern mechanical skill with holiness of thought. 2

In the United Kingdom, however, in the late 'fifties, O'Brien,<sup>3</sup> a former class-mate of Lynch (Maitland) began, with Wiseman's backing, a movement of Young Men's Societies specifically designed to bridge the gap between primary education, or illiteracy, and the responsibilities of adult life. It was a popular Irish mass

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1. Cf. F.J. 14 July 1860, 4 July 1863, 16 January 1864.
  2. F.J. 25 November 1852
  3. F.J. 9 January 1864, 21 May 1862 (Lynch); 29 March 1862 (O'Brien's rules adopted by the Saint Mary's group).

movement, like temperance - to which, in fact, Lynch put it an ~~hon~~ourable second. The earliest founded in Australia, Hobart, proposed to itself four ends: self-sanctification, intellectual cultivation, a library, and "efforts to instruct the rising generation in Christian doctrine."<sup>4</sup> This last was already met in Sydney, at least as to organisation.<sup>5</sup> But in June 1858 Sheridan, the Benedictine in charge at Darlington, set up the Catholic Young Men's Society which, at its first half-yearly meeting, boasted four hundred members;<sup>6</sup> Corish, at Saint Benedict's, followed suit; and there was also a Catholic Literary Society at Saint Mary's.<sup>7</sup> The Freeman sponsored the cause, and even took much of the credit for it.<sup>8</sup> Sheridan went on to found a C.Y.W.S., to help the immigrant girl find her feet;<sup>9</sup> and Grant, the "friend and encourager of every legitimate enjoyment and relaxation in youth", with dulce est disipere on his lips, did the same at Bathurst.<sup>10</sup>

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4. F.J. 7 August 1858  
 5. F.J. 10 November 1858  
 6. F.J. 5 January 1859  
 7. Ibid  
 8. Cf. F.J. 1 June 1861. Cf. <sup>ibid.</sup> 13 June 1860  
 9. North Australian 21 June 1861  
 10. F.J. 24 August 1861

That extraordinary Anglican parson, F.X. Bailey, transported to Tasmania for **forgery**, having contrived to persuade the Archbishop he was a Papist, treated several of these bodies to his perfervid oratory. Coleridge, Byron, Milton, and - to remind us that Arnold had only just taken up the chair of poetry at Oxford - the insipid Akenside, a "poet who unites the utmost force of reason to a most fervid imagination" (as Bailey himself did), were harnessed with Homer and Virgil to explore "Creation: a Visible and Symbolical witness to Moral and Divine Truth", to lead these eager youths to "the eternal function of the beatific vision of your God", which "beckons you forward amid the fulness of oceans of boundless love, joy, and knowledge."<sup>11</sup> The Empire raised an eyebrow when he claimed

for the Roman Catholic Church the exclusive honour of having originated all the great schools of art, and affirmed that the Protestant religion had never yet, nor could ever, originate such a single school. It was then asserted, by various proofs, that the Catholic Church had never discountenanced scientific progress ... the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, were proved to be shadowed in the types of creation. 12.

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11. F.J. 8 December 1858  
 12. Empire 25 May 1859. The Empire, of course, was the champion of the rival Mechanics' Institutes.



Bailey, who certainly gave Catholic adult education an initial vivacity, had his nemesis awaiting him, 1864.<sup>13</sup> With Morgan O'Connor at Yass on the Papacy,<sup>14</sup> Curtis on electricity,<sup>15</sup> Luckie on geology and Genesis at West Maitland,<sup>16</sup> Kevin O'Doherty on his voyage out,<sup>17</sup> Plunkett on Irish music,<sup>18</sup> St. Julian on Hawaii,<sup>19</sup> Roderick Flanagan on Cervantes,<sup>20</sup> McAlroy on Mechanics,<sup>21</sup> and Caroline Chisholm on early closing (of shops!),<sup>22</sup> - we are on the threshold of the era of predigested, syndicated culture. Yet it was something to have Forrest<sup>23</sup> and Bermingham<sup>24</sup> on the great ideological crisis of the age, and files of the Nation, the Tablet, Brownson's Review, the Cornhill Magazine, and so on, about the city.<sup>25</sup> Finally, O'Connor's son, J.G., began a long career in pugacious journalism by bringing out Sunbeam as an organ of the societies as a group.<sup>26</sup> Thus the C.Y.M.S. quickly became a fixture in local Church affairs, involved in parish-pump politics.<sup>27</sup> There can be little doubt, ~~that it drained off~~ <sup>diverted</sup> ~~lay energies among the native-born.~~ <sup>much of the lay unrest of the previous year.</sup>

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13. S.M.H. #9 May 1864; F.J. 13 August 1864 (Bailey suing the Herald). - Bailey had attempted to set up "divine service according to the liturgy and doctrines of the Church of England" by advertisement in the Herald, in consul to Barker.

14. F.J. 26 July 1860  
 15. F.J. 26 September 1860  
 16. F.J. 19 October 1861  
 17. F.J. 7 November 1860  
 18. F.J. 27 February 1861  
 19. F.J. 29 September 1860  
 20. F.J. 24 October 1860  
 21. F.J. 8 December 1860  
 22. F.J. 20 February 1861. All these, note,  
 in a short space of time.  
 23. F.J. 2 March 1861  
 24. F.J. 31 March 1860  
 25. F.J. 20 April 1861  
 26. There are some copies in S.A.A., reproduc-  
 ing **several** of the above talks, See F.J.  
 19 September 1860. On J.G. O'Connor see  
 R. Daly, The Catholic Times (1877-79)  
and the Express (188-04) in A.C.R., 1957,  
 p.202 et seq.  
 27. Cf. F.J. 3 January 1863, 17 January 1863.  
 Also at the **height** of the crisis, F.J. 12  
 January 1859; and in the O'Shanassy-Duffy  
clashes, involving Geoghegan, F.J.  
 5 November 1859.

xxiii. Religious Self-dedication

In 1871, Heydon told Parkes that "the more the laity found themselves debarred from obtaining both religious and secular instruction in the Council's schools, the more would they be inclined to turn to those means which our Church always offers in the self-devotion of her members".<sup>1</sup> He was thinking of the religious orders in general, and of Mary McKillop's Josephites in particular, and he showed a more realistic appreciation of the forces at work in Australian Society than the opportunist politician. By the early 1860's nuns, their clothings and professions, were already a familiar part of Sydney Catholic life. Saved in a hesitant hour (when the older nuns sought reincorporation in the Dublin province)<sup>2</sup> by the tenacity of two novices,<sup>3</sup> the Charity community settled down and built up numbers; Saint Vincent's hospital expanded, and a school was added to the convent.<sup>4</sup> Subiaco was now supplying a number of religious

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1. Heydon-Parkes 8 October 1871 in Autograph-Letters, Parkes Papers, pp.415-8
  2. So Mgr. Cullen informed me, from the Dublin archives.
  3. Dunstan (Sr. Mary) Sisters of Charity in Australia, Cath. Hist. Soc. Archives.
  4. F.J. 28 September 1864 (general article, with dates and statistics).



vocations, some internal, some to other orders. More significant, perhaps, of the general growth of the English-speaking Church was the expansion of the Sisters of Mercy. Between its institution in 1831, and 1865, this congregation had made no fewer than fifty foundations in Ireland, and some sixty or more elsewhere;<sup>5</sup> and eight of these were in Australia, four from Ireland, (Perth 1846, Goulburn 1859 - arranged by Polding in 1855, -Brisbane 1861 and Sydney 1865), and four internally (Perth to Melbourne 1857, Melbourne to Geelong 1860, Perth to Guildford 1858, Brisbane to Ipswich 1863).<sup>6</sup> Goold's nuns at Nicholson Street, Fitzroy, were typical in the scope of their work: education of the poor, visitation of the sick, and helping poor girls to find jobs.<sup>7</sup> All these foundations, Charity,<sup>8</sup> Benedictine,<sup>9</sup> Mercy,<sup>10</sup> began to recruit girls locally.

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5. Sr.M.I.Lennon, (Compiler) Mother Catherine McAuley, St. Louis, 1954, p.104 et seq (list of foundations).
  6. Lennon, op.cit., omits Goold's contingent of 1860 from her record, Augmented from Ireland, his Mercy nuns took over the Geelong orphanage (F.J. 29 February 1860 and Adv. 7 November 1957). She omits mention also of Ipswich; and does not count Guildford; this last, imperfectly autonomous, is a doubtful case. For Polding's negotiation of the Goulburn foundation see p.60 of her work, where there is a mistake in dating (1855 for 1859). "O'Brien", In Diebus, A.C.R.1945,

Of particular local interest was the Good Shepherd Institute. The Charity nuns in Sydney after 1847 had worked at the reclamation of prostitutes;<sup>11</sup> and in June 1848 Gregory was unexpectedly successful in obtaining the use of Carter's Barracks, formerly the debtors' prison, for the work, on the understanding that women of all denominations would be admitted.<sup>12</sup> Almost imperceptibly the work issued in the foundation, February 2, 1857, of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd of the Order of Saint Benedict; but it is not without interest that Polding was associated in this venture with the Charity nuns, and that the co-foundress, like other Irish founders of the period, was of the gentry class - Scholastica Gibbons.<sup>13</sup> The statistics for the close of 1853, show the dimensions of the work to that date, and explain M. Gibbon's complete absorption in it, though she was technically the Charity

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6. cont'd.

p. 95, gives Walsh rather too much of the credit.

7. F.J. 6 March 1861

8. F.J. 26 January 1861

9. F.J. 31 October 1860 (R. Therry's daughter).

10. F.J. 16 October 1861. Any sampling of the Catholic press in the '60's will afford instances.

11. The Wheeling Years (see Section iv above)

12. See S.M.H. 2 December 1847, 4 December 1847; H.T. Courier 17 January 1849, for comment on this question.

13. See her father's obit., F.J. 1 March 1865



superioress: of 264 (in all) admitted to that date, two had died, fourteen had been sent away on doctor's orders, thirty-one had been sent to the lunatic asylum, forty-five had left without finishing their probation; but on the credit side, sixty-one had gone off to jobs, eight had married, twenty-seven returned to their husbands. And all this on a slender budget, usually slightly in the red - receipts £310 in 1851, £716 in 1853.<sup>14</sup> But the empathic pen of Deniehy gives us the reality of the work:

It may do excellently well for a number of reverend ministers of the Gospel to appear upon a platform and pronounce on the horrors and the woes, the curse and the corruption, of body and soul in this lower most abyss of human misery. But that affair of preaching has been going on for centuries; and on this particular question, in the hearts of those most concerned, there lurks a grim satiric sense of differences between the world's talk upon the subject and the world's practice ... There are terrible psychological difficulties surrounding the question which none other, not even drunkenness itself, presents. 15

One of the five foundation nuns caught something of the emotion of the first months in her reminiscences. As Polding Englished the rule of Saint Benedict for them, she wrote,

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14. F.J. 17 December 1853  
 15. Life and Speeches of D.H. Deniehy, ed. Martin, p.85



we listened eagerly to passages that were read and explained to us. I used to wait each day for the precepts that seemed made for me, "not to be proud, not given to sleep, not to be fond of much talking:" it seemed as though they had been composed for my special benefit. We used to wonder, too, about the austerities of Benedictine mortification. Were they to be introduced to us by degrees? We had met only with loving kindness and tenderness. Yes, certainly, 'to love the younger Sisters' was one of the precepts. We presided at the meals of the penitents, and, sometimes, were allowed to be present at their recreations. At first, I rather dreaded this, as I felt they regarded me as no more than a child. But they had for us the most touching veneration and respect, and when some of the more obstreperous were inclined to be boisterous the others would restore order for me, and all would be well. I felt truly the blessing that came from the advice given us by the Rule, "Let special care be taken in the reception of the poor and strangers, because in them Our Lord is more truly received!" 16.

It took some time for the young Order to establish itself in Sydney Catholic life, for it was naturally confused with the Sisters of Charity.<sup>17</sup> Preaching at a clothing in 1862, Woolfrey mistook it for a scion of the French order, the Good Shepherd;<sup>18</sup> when these last founded a house in Melbourne for the same work the following year<sup>19</sup>

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16. The Wheeling Years.

17. F.J. 30 January 1864. The reason was the presence of M. Gibbons.

18. F.J. 20 September 1862

19. F.J. 5 September 1863

it was obvious a change of name was called for, and Good Shepherd became Good Samaritan while Polding was in Rome 1866-7. Its expansion was very rapid - there was forty nuns by 1867, when Rome formally approved the Rule;<sup>20</sup> most of the women were Australians, one, S.M. Martha Sahaes (d. 1862), was a Samoan.<sup>21</sup> The institution at Pitt Street oscillated between a little credit and a little debit, financially, earning over half its income by laundering; there were usually sixty or seventy penitents at a time, a total of 1421 up to 1864. But the Sisters branched out into other work. In 1860, the Catholic orphanage at Parramatta, the storm-centre of 1859, passed into their hands; and they ran a school at Pitt Street.<sup>22</sup> Mother Scholastica remained in the curious position of training postulants and novices to follow a rule which, though she had had some hand in devising, she did not live by herself.

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20. The Wheeling Years.

21. F.J. 21 May 1862, for her early death.

22. F.J. 8 October 1864 (general article on Good Shepherd.

All four orders made some impact on public opinion and Catholic morale. Clothings, vows, were given a good deal of publicity, down to the liturgical formulae - the Archbishop asking the customary question of two Good Shepherd postulants, "What do you want?" and their reply "To be clothed in the habit", his warning of the difficulties, their persistence, the symbolic crown of thorns, all detailed;<sup>23</sup> likewise, at Goulburn (Mercy) the dramatic change described from the "gay secular dress of a bride" to the "solemn sable, which proclaimed her espousal to the church".<sup>24</sup> The preacher for the occasion did not fail to draw the moral. At Goulburn in 1860, Father D'arcy challenged public opinion; the Catholic Church, when it "crowned virginity with incomparable splendour", was "the heaviest chain on the animal man". Therefore it was that "the frivolous of both sexes look upon religion as a burden of which society should get rid; for the contrast is unfavourable to them".<sup>25</sup> At the profession of three girls for the Good Shepherd (as it was still) in 1865, Dillon, a rising star, reminded the general public of the existence in their midst of another way of life:

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23. F.J. 25 September 1861

24. F.J. 8 August 1860

25. Ibid.



the saving restraints of the life long  
holy rule - the short sleep, the early  
rising hour, the never-to-be-omitted  
meditation, the morning mass, the sacred  
psalmody, the reception and adoration of  
the spouse in his mystic shrouding in the  
awful Eucharist - the spiritual lectures,  
the constantly recurring retreats, the  
fastings and abstinences, the never ceasing  
round of labour, prayer and study. 26

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26. F.J. 1 March 1864.

CHAPTER 8: GEOGHEGAN AND QUINN, 1859-1865: A STYLISTIC  
CONTRAST.

If, therefore, the legal method of seeking redress, which has been resorted to by persons labouring under grievous disabilities, be fraught with immediate or remote danger to the state, we draw from that circumstance a conclusion long since foretold by great authority - namely, that the British constitution, and large exclusions, cannot subsist together; that the constitution must destroy them, or they will destroy the constitution.

Lord Holland on Catholic emancipation.

- i : Geoghegan and Adelaide, the last of the first
- ii : Brisbane at Quinn's arrival, 1861.
- iii : McGinty versus Quinn, 1861-1863.
- iv : Macdonnell, 1859-1864
- v : Press warfare
- vi : The immigration laws, their use and abuse
- vii : The social dynamics of education theory.
- viii: : The politics of education, 1861-4.
- ix : The campaign of the two bishops, 1864-5

i. Geoghegan in Adelaide, 1859-1864: the end of the beginning.

Adelaide was widowed of a Bishop for eighteen months after Murphy's death; when the choice eventually fell on Geoghegan it was a great relief to the other pioneer prelates, not only Goold and Polding and Gregory, but Hall and Willson also, and (always an influence on Australian affairs) Ullathorne. Not only was Geoghegan one of the earliest priests on the Australian mission, well seasoned to command after his long experience in Melbourne; but there was something of personal vindication in it, and so of vindication for the other pioneer prelates, in as much as he had been the particular object of the slanderous censures of "the clique". Ullathorne was convinced the burden was "on the right shoulders";<sup>1</sup> Hall spoke in character, stiffly, but with conviction, of "your deserved elevation";<sup>2</sup> and Willson spoke with all his warmth, of how "His Holiness was guided by the Spirit of God", and declared his intention of giving Geoghegan Murphy's episcopal ring (which Murphy had bequeathed to Willson).<sup>3</sup> None could have fitted with less friction into the intimate circle of the Australian Church's leaders. And despite "some mistake in the details of the program", which caused him to leave the

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1. Ullathorne to Geoghegan 18 May, 1859 (SAA) A number of these letters have been transcribed into type and I have not seen the originals--For death of Murphy see Adelaide Times 27 April, 1858
  2. Hall to Geoghegan 17 January, 1859 (SAA)
  3. Willson to Geoghegan 17 June, 1859 (SAA)



Port for the City "at the last edge of twilight", and without having received any address of welcome, his reception in Adelaide was enthusiastic, several thousands at the wharf and a cortege of fifty or sixty vehicles.<sup>4</sup>

His episcopate, however, was to be brief and uncomfortable. The former close unity of friendship and feeling among the pioneers was damaged beyond restoration, mainly by old age. The Archbishop, of course, though a man of prayer, so loveable, and so very energetic, could never be called a team-man. Even Goold, so measured and controlled in manner, had his testy moments. With both Geoghegan remained on the best of terms;<sup>5</sup> a passing misunderstanding with his former Lord was completely obliterated by Goold's handsome apology:

I sincerely regret the coolness to which you refer. Henceforward we shall correspond as in former times, and it shall be my care to make amends for the foolishness of the past.

But Goold and Polding, though as friendly with each other as ever, did not look on such matters as Quinn's appointment, or Geoghegan's translation to Goulburn, with quite the same eyes.<sup>7</sup> And Willson, as he grew older, was becoming decidedly difficult: "there is not

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4. Freeman's Journal 12 November, 1859
  5. Polding to Geoghegan 21 January, 1859 (SAA)
  6. Goold to Geoghegan 13 August, 1860 (SAA)
  7. See below Section ii (Quinn) and ~~§. 17~~ 18 below (Geoghegan's translation).

and never will be that necessary feeling and action between Bishop and V.G.", Hall told Geoghegan in confidence.<sup>8</sup> This aside suggests that perhaps the harmony of which Willson was so proud, between himself and his clergy (he contrasted the troubles of the mainland bishops), had been made possible by Hall's strength of character, putting loyalty to the bishop before his own judgment, and willing to bear the unpopularity, as well as the dignity, of enforcing the same obedience on others; certainly, even omitting the Therry case, the Bishop's satisfaction should now have been somewhat deflated by the reverend Fathers Fitzgerald and Ryan.<sup>9</sup> Willson, in fact, was now old and ill; and this marred the concert of the bishops. Their meeting on education, planned for early 1862, had to be postponed till late in the year, and held in Geoghegan's absence, because of Willson - with "the infirmity I had to contend with in my brain" (there is the suggestion that the explosions of feeling that formerly disconcerted Polding had some physiological cause) "I could not bear the heat of Melbourne at the time proposed".<sup>10</sup> Moreover Willson,

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8. Hall to Geoghegan, 22 January, 1863 (SAA). Not that Willson failed to appreciate Hall - see F.J. 25 January, 1860. There is just a hint of occasional differences in Willson's speech on Hall's return - see F.J. 21 June, 1862.

9. Hall to Geoghegan, 22 January, 1863 (SAA)

10. Willson to Geoghegan 8 January, 1862, 22 March, 1862 (SAA).

more and more estranged from the Archbishop over a series of disagreements, was now even a little disposed, to Goold's dismay, to seek a concert of the other Bishops byepassing Polding altogether.<sup>11</sup> Though the friend of each and all, Geoghegan could do nothing to heal such a breach. And was soon himself failing in health - a cancer of the throat. Writing to congratulate him on his education Pastoral of 1860, Backhaus condoled with him on the subject;<sup>12</sup> he was obviously unwell during his visit to Victoria in August 1861.<sup>13</sup> Though he managed, in Ryan's company, a tour of inspection of his diocese late in 1861,<sup>14</sup> when he eventually left Australia in March of the following year<sup>15</sup>, he left never to return. Abroad, he succeeded in recruiting clergy, though not all of them English speaking. But in his other projects, success was hardly possible: Bermingham being in Rome "with the avowed intent of doing us all the mischief he can", to bear "testimony to our unanimity" (as Polding hoped)<sup>16</sup> - to exonerate Gregory - when Gregory did not wish to press the matter himself;<sup>17</sup> --to recover his health. Translated to the

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11. Goold to Geoghegan 22 November, 1860 (SAA)
  12. Backhaus to Geoghegan 3 October 1860 (SAA)
  13. F.J. 21 August, 1861
  14. F.J. 20 November, 1861
  15. F.J. 22 March, 1862. He had not left by F.J. 9 April, 1862.
  16. Polding to Geoghegan 27 December, 1861 (SAA)
  17. Polding to Geoghegan 22 August 1862 (SAA). When Bishop Brown took up Gregory's cause, convinced



new See of Goulburn, for his health's sake and Polding's consolation, though against the counsel of Willson and Goold (who thought he was needed in Adelaide<sup>18</sup>), he died (1864) before he could take possession.

The Education Pastoral of 1860 introduced the chief public issue of Geoghegan's episcopate.<sup>19</sup> When South Australia's first Parliament took the then bold initiative of bringing all state-aided education under a Central Board, Murphy had put the Catholic position to the Select Committee of Inquiry (1851): no arrangement short of Catholic schools under teachers approved by the Bishop "could satisfy the conscience of Catholics".<sup>20</sup> But under his administration - not to say because of it, considering the systole and diastole of South Australian migration during the fifties, affecting the Catholic sector so particularly - performance fell somewhat short of profession. "How much do I regret that this severe...Episcopal duty was left as a legacy to your mitre",<sup>21</sup> Backhaus told Geoghegan - meaning the

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17. (Cont.) of his innocence, he emphasised the duty of a man to defend himself (to Polding SAA 19 September 1861)
18. Polding to Geoghegan 22 August 1862, 22 December 1862 (SAA)
19. F.J. 10 October, 1860
20. F.J. 17 October, 1860
21. Backhaus to Geoghegan 3 October, 1860 (SAA).  
Murphy's vindication will be found in Fogarty's Catholic Education in Australia vol. ii p.263 - it is the same as Goold's or Polding's.



task of rallying the Catholic will regarding education. That Geoghegan rescued his people from a drift into compromise was more than once suggested during the hearings of the Select Committee on Education in South Australia, 1861. Wickes, the secretary to the Central Board, was asked if he had any reason to suppose that children of Catholic parents did not, in practice, avail themselves of schools supported by government, on account of the use of the Authorised version, or religious indoctrination. "I think they are now", he replied,

but until a late period they were not. Up to the arrival of the present Bishop, the Catholic children in many instances read the Bible with the rest. In some instances they were excused at the request of their parents.<sup>22</sup>

Wickes was at an old anti-Romanist gambit, building up the pleasantness of the pleasant Catholic, Murphy, in order to rebuke the intransigent, Geoghegan; but he had more to say, when asked, further, could he state why the Catholic children were being withdrawn:

I have heard from teachers repeatedly that the parents of children have come to them and have said, we must withdraw our children, because the Bishop wishes it, or because the Bishop commands it.<sup>23</sup>

Geoghegan's stand in the matter was the extreme one modelled on the Irish, foreshadowing Vaughan's. Having seen the whole struggle in Victoria at close quarters

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22. S.A. Register 28 August, 1861

23. *Ibid.*

and watched South Australia keenly from a distance,<sup>24</sup> he had become convinced that the Central Board system was, in practice, inevitably a slippery compromise; given the drift of the times, that a clear-cut no to any form of state-control was the least dangerous position for the Catholic conscience. Hence, following up his Pastoral of 1860, with its sharp phrases about "State Protestant schools", "an odious tithe", and proselytising by bribe,<sup>25</sup> there came (under his inspiration) a petition from the Catholics to Parliament, in favour of out-and-out voluntarism with no national education at all:

The object of our petition is not to solicit subsidy or sympathy for these exigencies of our conscience; but to state them, in order, first, to claim for them that inviolability due to conscience by our free constitution. . . secondly, that this exposition. . . will have the effect of proving to your honorable House that nothing can restore our violated religious equality short of the total abolition of the State Grant for teaching religion in schools, so as to leave that sacred duty, as the law has already left it in respect to the people's churches and clergy - namely, to the voluntary principle of support by each religious body in behalf of its own. . . the only means now left of putting an end to the present religious heart-burnings on the subject, and of consolidating the energies of Catholics and Protestants for the public good.<sup>26</sup>

Geoghegan's Lenten Pastoral of 1861 dwelt on the same theme: the so-called General Schools are Protestant and proselytising, we have "no resource left us" but

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24. F.J. 15 July, 1852  
 25. F.J. 10 October, 1860  
 26. F.J. 17 October, 1860



"speedy and entire abolition of the school grant".<sup>27</sup>  
 And finally he sought to mobilise the Catholic vote on the subject, to make education policy the supreme test of any candidate's fitness, so far as <sup>the</sup> Catholic voter was concerned. There is evidence of concerted action by the clergy to this end - instance an interesting communication (remarkable, I may add, for its vigorous English style) from the Austrian Jesuit Tappeiner to Geoghegan, discussing the elder Kingston:

I hope there is no fear of his changing colours. I really think that if he brought the abolition principle with its consequences unmitigated before the electors there would be very little chance of his return.

Too many people are interested in it (i.e. the National System). Schoolmasters and their friends, bigots, hypocrites, etc, so I think it will be best to let him adopt his mitigated interpretation.<sup>28</sup>

This clerical intervention had little bearing on the outcome; and it was the same the following year when, in Geoghegan's absence, Ryan circularised the clergy once more to do what they could to effect the election of men favouring the Catholic view on education.<sup>29</sup>

The objections brought against this Catholic position differed neither in matter nor in manner from

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27. F.J. 27 February, 1861.

28. Tappeiner to Geoghegan 24 April, 1861 (SAA)  
 Tappeiner, a pious down-to-earth man chiefly responsible for the Austrian Jesuits' foundation in South Australia and very business-like about it, had now been in the colony 12 to 13 years.

29. Ryan to Geoghegan 25 October, 1862 (SAA)

those raised elsewhere in the Australian colonies at this time; the Catholics were up against that solid ideological unity, Australia. For instance, the Register, claiming that "this suddenly discovered grievance" of the Catholics was imaginary, cited the evidence of the ten Assistant Commissioners in Victoria who had decided that the poor chose their children's schools without regard to the fourth R. One had found "no single instance" of religion causing withdrawal of a child, another "never met with a case constituting a real grievance". "The only exception", these worthies had ascertained, "to this harmony and this general absence of "religious heart burnings" was, it appears, where in one or two instances Roman Catholic objections were raised".<sup>30</sup> But this, of course, was "avowedly in obedience to their priests, and not of their own free choice" - so often the cry that obedience (to priests, anyway) and liberty were contradictories. The education given in the state schools, naturally, was in no way coloured doctrinally.

It was, therefore, in vain that Ryan, in his capacity as Vicar-General, told the Select Committee that

he condemned the existing system because 'in its nature it is Protestant, whilst the Catholic doctrine

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30. S.A. Register, 23 July, 1861.

is ignored by it'. On the other hand, the Protestant doctrine is either taught or connived at.<sup>31</sup>

Equally vain for the petition meeting to insist on the solidarity of laity and clergy on the question, or for the petition itself to reiterate that the compulsory daily reading of the A.V. was "at variance with the faith and discipline of our Church".<sup>32</sup> A Catholic correspondent of the Register, however, did see that the Catholic case was put, that the A.V. is a "mutilation effected with overt intention", abounding with "mistranslations involving contraverted points of doctrine"; while he denied with all the emphasis at his command that

the Catholic laity have been, and are still, indifferent about the religious element in the education of their children, and that the objections now under notice proceed solely from the priests, who, it is stated, fear the spread of education will eventually lessen their influence over the masses.<sup>33</sup>

By taking up the position he did, Geoghegan was almost at once committed to the construction of a completely autonomous Catholic system - this, long before the other dioceses undertook it, and from the most exiguous resources, not even an order of nuns. He did not enjoy all the support he could have wished from his clergy. In this respect, though he had had his troubles, Murphy had been strongly placed.<sup>34</sup>

31. S.A. Register 23 July, 1861.

32. F.J. 17 October, 1860 (petition); 10 July, 1861.

33. S.A. Register 30 July, 1861.

34. On his death-bed (F.J. 22 May, 1858) he said



But the longish interregnum - eighteen months - between Murphy's death and Geoghegan's arrival, was bad for strict discipline. Goold even feared that "the conspiracy of the clique may have reached Adelaide".<sup>35</sup> But though the Freeman carried attacks on Geoghegan along with those on Polding and Goold<sup>36</sup> the grumbling and malingering and disobedience to be found in Adelaide/<sup>were</sup> disorder of a less ideological kind, though a good deal of it was from the old hands. Snell had let things decay, rather, at Morphett Vale; he was, in fact, seriously ill; and died in Victoria, where he was travelling in search of health, during 1861. He had, as it turns out, left without letters of introduction from his Bishop<sup>37</sup>; a venial slip, but probably a sign of the state of discipline in the diocese. For when Reynolds came to succeed him at Morphett Vale he found the congregation "most indifferent to their spiritual affairs", the Church and presbytery in serious disrepair, the Tabernacle "worm-eaten", the vestments "poor and old".<sup>38</sup> Meanwhile, with the Vicar-General's permission (Geoghegan being

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34. (Cont.) that his clergy were "never a source of much trouble.
35. Goold to Geoghegan 5 January, 1859 (SAA)
36. e.g. 22 January, 1859, 1 October, 1859  
12 November, 1859.
37. Snell to Geoghegan n.d. (mid. 1861: SAA)
38. Reynolds to Geoghegan 25 January, 1863 (SAA) When Murphy first dispersed his clergy, Snell came into the only existing country chapel, Morphett Vale.

abroad) Lencioni had made a trip to Victoria to see Snell's grave; reprimanded for giving such permission, Ryan explained that he did so in the belief that the Passionist intended to make the trip regardless.<sup>39</sup>

Ryan, in the Bishop's absence, had every reason to be tender of his authority. He had a particularly long-drawn-out tussle with his fellow-pioneer, O'Brien, whose flock at Mount Barker had not signed the education petition, - because, complained the priest, "I got no official notice".<sup>40</sup> A fortnight later, Ryan reported O'Brien to the absent Bishop as "disobedient and dogged";<sup>41</sup> the dispute widened, as Ryan criticised O'Brien for having "not a single Catholic school" (this was the main theme of Ryan's repetitive, pedestrian reports) on his part of the mission.<sup>42</sup> O'Brien, in a proper huff, "opposed me in any way he could", neither attended the diocesan retreat for the clergy, nor excused himself from it;<sup>43</sup> later, would not sign a conveyance of church lands - a transaction hanging over from Murphy's time - on the grounds that the price was not good enough.<sup>44</sup> Tremendous trifles,

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39. Ryan to Geoghegan 25 October, 1862, 26 January, 1862 (SAA)

40. Ryan to Geoghegan, 5 July, 1862 (SAA)

41. Ryan to Geoghegan, 22 July, 1862 (SAA)

42. Ibid

43. Ryan to Geoghegan 22 August, 1862

44. Ryan to Geoghegan 26 September, 1862 (SAA) Ryan's was a mind commonplace in the extreme; he and O'Brien were on a level, and of a type, but for Ryan's seniority - hardworking, earnest, but not otherwise distinguished.

soon forgotten; but harassing, time-wasting, and indicative of low morale.

To add to Ryan's burden was illness, from which only he, himself, Hughes and Russell seem to have been free. Carew had a severe nervous breakdown,<sup>45</sup> Roe went permanently mad.<sup>46</sup> Among the stauncher priests, Reynolds was always frail,<sup>47</sup> Byrne had to have a rest-cure, the usual sea-voyage,<sup>47</sup> and even Smyth was ill for a time.<sup>48</sup> Fitzgibbon, in the far south-east corner of the colony (Penola-Mount Gambier), was a perpetual anxiety. Was he sick or not? When he reported himself too ill to say mass or administer the Sacraments without omitting a great part of the ritual,<sup>49</sup> what could the Vicar-General do but put him under medical care in Adelaide? But the doctor considered he had "no organic disease"<sup>50</sup>. Apart from the Jesuits to the north, who, in the wearily cynical phrase of Lencioni, would occasionally descend from the hills "to convert us all",<sup>51</sup> and Fitzgibbon's companion-priest, Tenison Woods, we have named the clergy of the diocese. No wonder Geoghegan set such store by the Jesuits.<sup>52</sup>

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45. Ryan to Geoghegan 22 June 1862, 27 March 1863(SAA)  
 46. Ryan to Geoghegan 26 June 1862, 25 January 1863  
 47. Ryan to Geoghegan 25 January 1863(SAA) (SAA)  
 48. Ryan to Geoghegan 26 July 1863 (SAA)  
 49. Fitzgibbon to Ryan 30 June 1862 (SAA)  
 50. Fitzgibbon to Ryan 25 September, 1862 (SAA)  
 51. Lencioni to Geoghegan 21 July, 1861 (SAA)  
 52. Cf. Pastoral on his reasons for leaving Australia, F.J. 12 February, 1862. The hostile



Tenison Woods, the first ~~ordained~~ <sup>ordinand</sup> of the Jesuit College, though no Jesuit, was an army in himself; but like many another army, a law unto himself. His ecclesiastical training had been scrappy; his first missionary years had been spent far from headquarters, much of the time with no Bishop to account to; a preoccupation, reaching to morbid lengths, with the preternatural phenomena which sometimes accompany mystical union with God, still further disposed him to trust too much his own erratic judgment, to see visions and hear voices where other men could see and hear only Julian Tenison Woods. A triangular correspondence remains between him, Geoghegan and Ryan, which betrays an inability almost physical in Woods to do, in all simplicity, what he was told. First he found the district too poor to support both himself and Fitzgibbon.<sup>53</sup> Next he pleaded against Geoghegan's decision that they both stay at Penola and give up Mount Gambier, Mount Gambier would be better for this that and the other reason, the school was flourishing there, he owed money there, there were more people there. Well, he complied with

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52. (Cont.) Queensland Times pricked its ears at the word Jesuit, 21 February, 1862.

53. Ryan to Geoghegan 26 May, 1862 (SAA)

the Bishop's instructions; they went to the Mount in turns.<sup>54</sup> But not for long. Asking<sup>55</sup> might he have a Christmas-New Year holiday at Winter's on the Wannon, and airily suggesting that Ryan telegraph approval, he went off late in January to Melbourne, a township somewhat beyond the Wannon, for several months.<sup>56</sup> Geoghegan would want to know why. "Extreme mental misery", he was told vaguely; "reasons which I am sure you will admit are very grave and urgent when you hear them from me".<sup>57</sup> Besides, there was really no breach of discipline, as Woods explained it to Ryan: he waited till January 19 for the telegram (!); he went to save his health, dysentery detained him in Melbourne.<sup>58</sup> Curiously enough, the visit coincided with the publication of his book on Australian geology and exploration. But no, he had not been spending time getting subscriptions for the publication (Polding deplored the expense in a note to Geoghegan).<sup>59</sup> "You are very much mistaken in me when you imagine science or scientific studies has any effect on my ecclesiastical

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- 54. Woods to Geoghegan 25 October, 1862, 17 December 1862 (SAA)
  - 55. Woods to Geoghegan 23 November, 1862 (SAA)
  - 56. Ryan to Geoghegan 26 July, 1863 (SAA)
  - 57. Woods to Geoghegan 3 April, 1862 (SAA)
  - 58. Woods to Ryan 7 May, 1863 (SAA)
  - 59. Ryan to Geoghegan 27 April, 1863, Woods to Geoghegan 16 May, 1863; Polding to Geoghegan 21 November, 1862 (SAA)

career".<sup>60</sup> And Geoghegan had made another mistake, too: "the passage in your note which refers to the scanty nature of my ecclesiastical education is not exactly correct".<sup>61</sup> Still, we all make mistakes: "I candidly admit that I felt I was doing wrong in going without a written consent. . .I assure you my Lord, I am sorry for it".<sup>62</sup> And so back to work.

Better developed than Queensland or the West, nor yet so involved as New South Wales or Victoria, South Australia gives us, in such details, a just impression of the complex of problems confronting the early bishops. But there is no denying especial aggravations in Adelaide. For two years only between 1858 and 1866 was there a Bishop in residence; that Bishop committed the Catholics to all-out political opposition to the majority view regarding the application of revenue to education; but the minority thus asked to make a stand for Christ's unique authority, but 20,000 in 140,000, had none to lead it. The greater number were without doubt in the position of Reynolds's "little flock" at Morphett Vale,

Of the poorest class, so as soon as their children are able to earn a shilling they are taken from school and thrown on their own resources. . .without a mother's or a pastor's eye. . .hence many of them grow

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60. Woods to Geoghegan 3 April, 1863 (SAA)

61. Ibid

62. Woods to Geoghegan 16 May, 1863 (SAA)



up almost ignorant of the necessary principles of religion. <sup>63</sup>

So by the end of 1863, the Catholic schools of South Australia were but twelve in number, 450 on their rolls, of whom 350 attended on an average; demanding an outlay of £11 a week in salaries and rental beyond what came from school fees, and even this much hard to find (a subsidy of £108 per annum from the Propagation of the Faith made good the deficit). <sup>64</sup> Yet this same diocese which gives us a glimpse of a bishop's worst problems, gives also a glimpse of the utterly unexpected manner in which they are sometimes solved - a passing reference in a letter from Woods, which must have meant little to Geoghegan, except that he had baptised the young woman in question: "Mary McKillop has left Mrs. Cameron and is now teaching the children of Mrs. Duncan at Portland". <sup>65</sup> And, already Woods' imagination was fired by the fatal precedent of the abbe Le Pailleur, "known throughout the length and breadth of Europe" as founder of the Little Sisters of the Poor.

Though loyal, Byrne criticised Geoghegan rather severly: "Dr. Geoghegan took no interest in the place," he told Martelli, "in fact he knew of abuses he was

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63. Reynolds to Geoghegan 25 January, 1863 (SAA)

64. Schools Return 1863, SAA.- Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, i, P.222 et seq., discusses Geoghegan's educational pioneering.

65. Woods to Geoghegan 5 August, 1863 (SAA). The point is that Woods and Mary McKillop (daughter

either afraid or unwilling to correct." Hard words to say of a stricken man, who nevertheless left his diocese debt-free, yet better off for priests and buildings and policy than when he arrived.<sup>66</sup> But Byrne's strictures were a phase of the war of the generations; Geoghegan had stood for the pioneer generation, and his death contributed to end an era. Gregory, Walsh and Kavanagh, Gourbeillon and Barry, Brady and Mrs. de Lacy, Roger The~~rry~~ and Bourgeois, had left the colonies for ever, and Mrs. Chisholm would soon follow them. O'Shanassy's effective career was over, and so was Plunkett's. J.J. The~~rry~~, Grant, Brennan and Corish died the same year as Geoghegan;<sup>67</sup> his Vicar, Ryan, ~~Magennis~~, Hall, Willson, McEncroe,

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of Curr's campaign manager<sup>of</sup> (1843) now, 1865-7, proceeded to found a religious teaching order, that of Saint Joseph of the Sacred Heart, which, refusing state assistance on principle, was of key importance in the Catholic stand on education throughout Australia, yet not altogether welcome to Quinn and the new bishops because of its independence in their regard. G. O'Neill's Life of Mother Mary of the Cross (McKillop) 1842-1909, Sydney, 1931, remains the best historical perspective, but O. Thorpe's Mary McKillop, London, 1957, is better documented. Woods himself was perhaps Mother Mary's heaviest cross, as I go on to suggest. For the abbe, F.J. 3 March, 1855, 10 March, 1855, where the real foundress is mentioned only by the way as "an old servant, Jeanne Jugan" - so completely had the abbe's delusions imposed on himself and others. Here was Wood's pattern, to which he was all too faithful.

66. A.C.R., January 1956, P.72 (Byrne to Martelli, 25 February, 1865). This note reproduces some correspondence between Byrne and Reynolds, in South Australia, and their former Benedictine companions in Western Australia, particularly Salvado. See Ryan to Polding 26 August, 1864 (SAA) for the state of the diocese. S.A.A.
67. See (in order) F.J. 28 May, 1864, 27 February, 1864,

and three laymen in Deniehy, Judge Callaghan and Plunkett, soon followed.<sup>68</sup> Of younger priests who had made history, Smyth of Eureka and Murphy of Lambing Flat both died during the mid-'sixties.<sup>69</sup> The remaining pioneers were a small minority, and they did not step into the leadership. Rigney, Lynch, Butler, Hayes, Hanly, Sheehy, Grant, Birch, Backhaus, Ryan, were all mentioned for the mitre at different times, but none was in fact raised to it.<sup>70</sup> The new bishops came in from Ireland, and brought a numerous clergy with them: James Quinn to Brisbane in 1861, Murphy to Hobart in 1866,<sup>71</sup>

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- 26 October, 1864, 2 July, 1864.
68. See F.J. 26 August, 1865 (Ryan), 25 April, 1866 (Magenois, Grant's fellow-student at Saint Mary's 1838-1843), 28 July, 1866 (Hall), 29 September, 1866 (Willson). Deniehy died in 1865, Callaghan in 1866 (killed accidentally while on circuit), McEncroe 1868, and Plunkett 1869.
69. See F.J. 21 October, 1865 (Smyth), 30 September, 1863 (Murphy).
70. For Butler, Hayes and Hanby refusing the mitre, F.J. 23 June, 1866. For Backhaus, proposed by Polding and vetoed by Goold (he and Goold quarrelled, and he left the colony, F.J. 28 October, 1863) See Polding to Geoghegan 22 December, 1862 (SAA). For Grant, Sheehy, Ryan, Polding's propaganda 20 March, 1864 (SAA); and Polding's propaganda 22 December, 1863 (SAA), for Birch and Rigney. Many of these need not be taken too seriously, but Sheehy, who was actually preconized, and withdrew under slander, was a different case (of Polding to Propaganda 6 November, 1868, SAA). So, too, Butler as Hobart Coadjutor, Polding to Goold 21 August, 1861, SAA. It remains that the new bishops were "un nouveau sang" - what Polding told Propaganda he would prefer, September, 1858 (SAA) - but not, as also Polding would have preferred, "libre de toute ombre de nationalite".
71. F.J. 12 May, 1866.



and Matthew Quinn and Murray to Bathurst and Maitland later the same year.<sup>72</sup> Lanigan, the second Bishop of Goulburn, was a colonist of comparatively recent date, and in the event a hard core of Hibernicising energy, under whom Dunne, McAlroy and Bermingham were best content to work.<sup>73</sup> The burning of old Saint Mary's, on the thirty-first anniversary of Polding's consecration<sup>74</sup> was a symbol of the past and its passing; so much good along with so much not so good; the precious lifeblood, as it were, of spirits so different as Therry, Murphy, Ullathorne, Gregory, Polding, McEncroe, Gourbeillon; the sweat of convicts, the stone set by Macquarie; so much state-aid and emancipist money concreted in it. The new generation in the hierarchy was consolidated by the Vatican Council<sup>75</sup> into a movement which by the end of the century made Australia, ecclesiastically, an Irish colony.

The opening years of Quinn's episcopate in Queensland, 1861 to 1865, at once resumed the themes of the pioneer period and indicated the pattern that was shaping.

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72. F.J. 27 October, 1866.

73. Bermingham came back in 1874. For the trio see "O'Brien", In Diebus, A.C.R. 1945, P.209 et seq. McAlroy was proposed for one of the new Victorian Sees in (the minutes of) a meeting 17 October, 1873 (SAA) - "Fere omnes Episcopi" (Goold was not present) recommended him "obpietatem, zelum, prudentiam".

74. F.J. 1 July, 1865, a detailed account.

75. See Moran, P.804 et seq., Goold's diary, for the Council, meetings of February 22, March 11, March 17, May 29, June 5, June 8, June 30.

ii. Brisbane at Quinn's arrival, 1861.

Though Quinn was consecrated for Brisbane at the time of its separation from Sydney, he did not arrive in the colony till May 1861. He explained the delay the day (May 12) after his arrival, at his ceremonial installation; he had been detained by "the religious and educational interests of the Catholics of Queensland", and had sought, and made, such full provision for these that he need not leave the colony again "until the time" - every ten years - "appointed by the Holy See for bishops to return to the threshold of the Apostles".<sup>1</sup> This doubtless had its advantages. Goold, however, was not impressed. Quinn brought "but few priests", he observed, to Geoghegan; three of the six, a point severely criticised by his Irish confreres, were French-speaking, a fourth was Italian; and (Goold again) "his long absence from the diocese will be the occasion of much future embarrassment!"<sup>2</sup> For the pace and pattern of secular development were determined while he could neither influence nor observe; legislation inimical to the Catholic interest acquired the dignity of being the status quo, and when the Bishop came at last he came in the ungracious role of a disturber.

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1. North Australian (N.A.), 24 May, 1861. These early Queensland files are in the Public Library of Victoria.

2. Goold to Geoghegan 12 February, 1861 (SAA).

The first parliaments had been swamped by squatters "owning more sheep than brains"<sup>3</sup>, manipulated by a clique of Ipswich townsmen - at one point the entire ministry was composed of Ipswich men.<sup>4</sup> Governor Bowen's protegee, Herbert,<sup>5</sup> was the leader; on more than one occasion he succeeded in buying off potential challengers with well-placed appointments - Jordan went to London in charge of immigration, the radicals, Macalister, and later Lilley, joined the Cabinet, another was promoted to the bench. One does not have to hail from Connaught to opine that as a group these men governed in a spirit of distrust and hostility towards the Catholic religion; and the Catholics felt that Bowen, son of a Church of Ireland parson, was all too much at home in such company; while the press, by its tone, would suggest that they enjoyed strong support among the literate and property-owning classes.

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3. N.A. 19 July, 1862 (N.A.)
  4. Ibid., 24 November, 1863. Q.T. 5 September, 1865.
  5. S. Lane-Poole (ed.) Thirty Years of Colonial Government. Selection from the Despatches of the Rt. Hon. Sir Geo. Ferguson Bowen, G.C.M.G., London 1889, 2 vols., vol. ii, P.46. Bowen brought Herbert out with him, and appointed him to the ministry prior to the election of a parliament; a choice ratified by the electorate when belatedly (1860) parliament did meet (ibid., vol. i, P.157). We may note here that this work, which makes something of the friction between English upper-class clergy and Irish peasant-class clergy, makes no mention of Quinn. For Herbert's jobbery, see Q.T. 12 September, 1865, 28 September, 1865.



Under these auspices, <sup>677</sup> during the first session of Parliament, 1860, Acts were passed to discontinue grants from Revenue in aid of religion, to provide for primary education, to establish Grammar Schools.<sup>6</sup>

With the abolition of state aid, Quinn, from a distance, heartily concurred. Under what advice? He must have heard Goold on the subject; but he was imbued with preconceptions reflecting the situation in Ireland, where the clergy had good reasons for refusing state support; and, of all colonial priests, he chose Dunne for his right-hand man. He wrote his approval from Dublin, therefore; "because, independently, of other considerations, I deem it most desirable that, in a new community, so constituted as our colony is likely to be, the several religious professions should depend for support on the voluntary exertions of their respective members".<sup>7</sup> But regarding the clause of the Act "reserving vested interests" he had a protest to register:

For all colonial purposes I have been as much a resident during the past eighteen months as if I had been physically present on the spot. My absence has been occasioned solely by necessary efforts of myself and others to secure and promote those colonial interests with which I am charged - efforts which indispensably required my personal

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6. See Lang, J.D. Queensland (London, 1861), Appendix G.
  7. G.T. 15 May, 1863.

presence and that of my co-labourers in Europe.<sup>8</sup>

Parliament was not impressed; the vested interests safeguarded by the Act were those of a mere handful of clergy, including Father M'Ginty at Ipswich. The Bishop showed some pre-science when he expressed grave reservations about this ruling:

Any proposition involving provisions for Roman Catholic clergymen must respect their due subordination to their ordinary, and to the local dispositions which circumstances may from time to time induce him to adopt. Otherwise it might be construed into placing them in a position quite independent of episcopal authority - a state of things so utterly subversive of ecclesiastical discipline. . . .<sup>9</sup>

On arrival, Quinn had to confront a social and political ascendancy, and a trenchant press, which both did their thinking within the context of extreme Protestantism; while, given slender means and no state support, he had to win his people's confidence, yet maintain his authority. He laboured under a number of handicaps, some of his own making. He incurred a debt

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8. Ibid. Actually the Catholics got 40% (£300) of what vote there was. Lang's justification of the measure (op. cit., pp. 292-4) has its interest for our whole study; otherwise, "a comparatively small but very active section of the community will uniformly put forward candidates for the suffrages of the people, not because they consider they are fit or proper persons to legislate for the country but because they will advocate state support for religion" - precisely the position Geoghegan took up in Adelaide and ill-calculated to serve the general interest in other matters (commercial, etc.).
9. Queensland Times. loc. cit. (Q.T.)

of £7000 recruiting and equipping prior to embarkation, counting on diocesan revenues accruing to his credit from the date of his consecration;<sup>10</sup> only to find that M'Ginty treated the moneys he collected at Ipswich as if they were his to administer, while Rigney spent whatever came in and handed on a debt of about £1200 to the Bishop.<sup>11</sup> The experienced and dependable Rigney, consequently, Quinn surrendered to the Archbishop with something like relief, and leant rather on the Australian experiences of Dunne, and the support of his very mixed band of clergy.<sup>12</sup> It did not help matters that when he arrived at Melbourne, where his party was quarantined for some time during the Lent of 1861, his chief confidant was not Goold but Barry, whose scandalous bankruptcy was less than a year off.<sup>13</sup> Thus a certain raw over-confidence threatened grave embarrassment to the mission from the outset. The other pioneer bishops of Irish nationality - Murphy, Brady, Goold, and Geoghegan - had all served apprenticeships under Polding before their elevation; Quinn was the first Irish-of-the-Irish - he was to celebrate the O'Connell centenary by prefixing a defiant O' to his surname.<sup>14</sup> Polding complained to Geoghegan of Rome's selecting bishops "cold and reserved - who value our experience as

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10. Ibid., 19 August, 1862, For £7000, Q.T. 13 June, 1862.

11. Ibid.

12. See II, Chapter 2, Section vii. A Barry letter on Quinn's progress was given in N.A. 9 April, 1861.

13. Q.T. 31 December, 1861.

14. Moran, p. 632.



as nought - and drop amongst us as a globule of oil in water".<sup>15</sup> Quinn made some amends by two visits to Sydney in the summer of 1861-2; but Polding, even while sympathising with him in his troubles, could not forbear to censure once more his independence: "Poor Dr. Quinn! One scrape after another - asks no advice",<sup>16</sup> he noted laconically to Geoghegan; and to Goold, as Quinn's trials multiplied: "He must become acquainted with rocks and shoals before he will mistrust his own judgment".<sup>17</sup> Goold agreed - at least when speaking to Geoghegan - expressing his fears that his candidate had been "inoculated with strange views" on state aid to religion and religious education; but adding confidently that "time and experience, /Quinn will open his eyes." To give him experience had three distinct crises to meet at once: one, internal and disciplinary, centred round the stubborn old colonist, M'Ginty, but involving theories of church government all too familiar to the other mainland bishops; the others, external and half-political, in connection with Catholic immigration, and education. All this,

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15. 17 August, 1861 (SAA). According to Makinson, it was in great part Polding's fault - too much on the defensive (cf. Wynne's article on McEncroe in A.C.R. 1956, P. 126). But I am inclined to think Quinn had the old Irish habit of knowing better.
16. 22 August, 1862 (SAA). Quinn's Sydney trips, N.A. 12 November, 1861, N.A. 18 February, 1862; also in December for the Melbourne Synod. See F.J. 19 November, 1862.
17. 22 September, 1862 (SAA).
18. 14 October, 1861 (SAA).

in addition to the day-to-day cold war and sniping between the Bishop and his partisans on the one hand, the ministry and their press on the other.

iii. M'Ginty versus Quinn, 1861-1863.

M'Ginty, a Donegal man, after six fruitful years at Berrima (1847-1853)<sup>1</sup>, was posted to Ipswich just as it was becoming the centre of free (and this was to say, squatter) settlement, and thus the leading township of the thinly peopled north - an eminence it lost to Brisbane by the mid-'sixties. Now the Catholics comprised over a third of the town's population by 1857 (1732 out of 4588) and hence, no doubt, Polding's interest in it as a possible see. This proportion held still at the Bishop's arrival, so that Ipswich, while it contained about 22% (6500) of the colony's thirty thousand inhabitants, had a good third of its seven thousand Catholics.<sup>2</sup> And the status these lacked in profession and property, they sought to make up for, Boston-fashion, by control of the Municipal Council and its enterprises. A Queensland Times correspondent noted, during the municipal elections of 1862, that five councillors out of nine represented "the minority, and the ignorance, of Ipswich";<sup>3</sup> and a year later, this paper claimed that seventeen of the town's nineteen police, together with all the other municipal employees, were Irishmen.<sup>4</sup> In this context, M'Ginty, heir to £293 left by his predecessor, increased this fund to £2000 by the time Polding laid the foundation-stone, October 25,

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1. F.J. 12 August, 1852

2. N.A. 23 August, 1861 (Analysis of censuses of 1857 and 1861).

3. Q.T. 11 February, 1862.

4. Q.T. 16 January, 1865



1858, of a church far more handsome than the tiny chapel in Brisbane.<sup>5</sup> With (it was claimed)<sup>6</sup> generous Protestant support, by June 1862 he had collected nearly £7000, to which the Sydney Government had added £1000 under the Church Act; so that when he had outlaid £6310 on the church, he had a balance of £1483 to quarrel with the Bishop over.

There is no denying that, thus far, his administration was resourceful and energetic;<sup>7</sup> but like many another he displayed more energy than discretion at times, fell victim to that spirit of independence and lust for applause which were the occupational hazard of the pioneer priest from Therry down. He certainly had, too, the familiar penchant for politics. About the time of separation, he publicly claimed influence over his flock's vote;<sup>8</sup> it was alleged, and not denied, that before voting by ballot was introduced he "took his seat in the polling-booth"<sup>9</sup> - one way to exercise an influence! He occasionally entered into religious controversy, with more flourish than point - his style rather belied his reputation, which dated from his college years, and followed him to the grave and beyond, as a lover of Horace.<sup>10</sup> Thus, when the North Australian

5. Q.T. 11 November, 1862.

6. Q.T. 7 November, 1862.

7. A.H. Annual, 1953-4, P. 157, for M'Ginty's missionary journeys.

8. Q.T. 8 April, 1862.

9. Q.T. 11 April, 1862

10. Wynne, Kevin O'Doherty in Australia, in A.C.R. (Jan.) 1950, P. 27.

editorialised on religious orders that hold the end to justify the means, he came to the defence by indicting Jewell, as the author of the calumny;<sup>11</sup> but as it developed, Rigney was moved to come to M'Ginty's rescue, with a correct catalogue, and so a vindication, of the textbooks used in the study of theology at Maynooth.<sup>12</sup> This was on the eve of the Bishop's arrival. Duly installed, Quinn proceeded at once up-river to Ipswich; but it was Therry and Willson all over again - no address, no formal welcome.<sup>13</sup> When M'Ginty took up his pen the following September to castigate the "godless system" of the National Schools, a critic summed it up, retrospect and prospect:

I have long been resident in this town, and have noticed several of the controversies which have been created by this gentleman and his doings, and I have always noticed that he has played into the hands of his opponents. . . it will not be long before the reverend father is removed from his present sphere of activity. It is too dangerous to his church to allow him to remain in the midst of civilisation.<sup>14</sup>

M'Ginty's activities at this particular period, which gave the Queensland Times such a wonderful start on its career of bitter anti-popery, were scarcely calculated to reassure the Bishop as to the priest's

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11. See N.A. 15 March, 1861, 22 March, 1861.

12. Ipswich Herald 26 March, 1861 (M'Ginty); N.A. 29 March, 1861 (Rigney). See N.A. 2 April, 1861 on M'Ginty.

13. N.A. 28 May, 1861.

14. N.A. 17 September, 1861. Cf. Ipswich Herald, 13 September, 1861.

pastoral prudence. Named to the Committee of the Ipswich (National System) Grammar School at a meeting he did not attend, M'Ginty was neither prompt nor definite in disowning the nomination, indeed excused himself from a committee-meeting on grounds of health. When at last he did disengage his name, he made the Bishop shoulder the responsibility for the action, by insisting that he did it under obedience; yet accompanied it with a newspaper offensive against the National system.<sup>15</sup> This grew into a lengthy exchange with Macalister, the most prestigious of the local MsLA.<sup>16</sup> M'Ginty made some points worth making, but they lost much of their force under the load of his rhetoric. Thus, an apologist for National Education in the United States having sought to illustrate its benefits by citing the (consequent) sale of 60,000 volumes of Macaulay's History of England within a six months' period, M'Ginty apostrophed:

Listen to that, ye Catholics of Queensland. The practical result of the National System of education in America is the general intelligence of the people, as proved by the circulation of such bigoted, lying and infidel works. . .<sup>17</sup>

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15. Q.T. 11 October, 1861, 18 October, 1861 (letters by Macalister).
16. Lang, Queensland, P. 288: Macalister had sat in the N.S.W. Legislative Assembly prior to separation; cf. (his last election), S.M.H. 20 June, 1859.
17. Q.T. 8 October, 1861.



Again, M'Ginty made much of the argument in favour of the National System, that it brought about "that admixture of classes and opinions which exercise such a controlling influence in favour of sound Protestantism".<sup>18</sup> A hit, a palpable hit, to M'Ginty; but the point of his argument was blunted by his descent to personalities and the imputation of motives:

The Ipswich Grammar School Committee, and the part of the public cooperating with them, are now doing through pure opposition, through downright antagonism to Catholics, what neither the love of learning, nor any other laudable motive, could ever induce them to do!<sup>19</sup>

How far this was just, is intimated below; but through it all, M'Ginty could not evade Macalister's charges that he had tried to play fast and loose with the Committee, and that, in disengaging himself, he "had taken a public opportunity and an objectionable form" in order to do so.<sup>20</sup> The priest had, as they claimed, "played into the hands of his opponents".<sup>21</sup>

And this deflation came hard on a public scandal caused by his refusal to bury Constable Conolly. This, too, was partly the scandal of the Pharisees; he may, in the circumstances, have been perfectly justified; as he insisted, the priest "neither expresses nor forms

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18. Ibid.

19. Q.T. 15 October, 1861.

20. Q.T. 18 October, 1861 (Macalister's letter).

21. See Note 14.

any opinion as to whether he is saved or lost", but  
 "judges only of externals":

He knows that such and such persons would not and did not comply with religious duties at any time within one year before their death - some of them for a much longer time - and he refuses to perform any religious rites for them after their death.<sup>22</sup>

But ~~the~~ M'Ginty was not a first offender - he had had the same sort of trouble a year before when he refused to bury a child, and gave the same reasons.<sup>23</sup> And he had the misfortune now to provide the occasion for a display of Protestantism at its most indecent and obsessional: proof, drawing on the Tridentine Canons, that Catholics were bound to assume Conolly's soul to be, not in Purgatory, but in Hell; the "inconsistency" underlined between M'Ginty's strictness, and an indulgence by which "you get forgiveness for forty days";<sup>24</sup> reports of rigmarole curses called down on an apostate priest; and of "the catechising of young females often made a preparatory exercise for their seduction".<sup>25</sup> But M'Ginty was not the man to handle it. His tactless peroratory -

the public, I say, must be prepared to see. . .  
 such incorrigibles thrown into their graves  
 like dead dogs - <sup>26</sup>

went far to justify the question (not to say the motive)  
 of one of his attackers:

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22. N.A. 17 September, 1861.  
 23. F.J. 2 May, 1860.  
 24. N.A. 17 September, 1861.  
 25. N.A. 20 September, 1861.  
 26. N.A. 17 September, 1861.

Is Father M'Ginty such a man as to inspire so much confidence, by his life, conduct, and teachings, as to lead the intelligent and sensitive of his flock to seek consolation from him?<sup>27</sup>

Some, however, adhered to M'Ginty, precisely because of his "life, conduct, and teachings": and here was tinder for a little fire. Quinn later explained that "as Mr. M'Ginty expressed a wish to remain" (for he would lose his "vested interest" if he did not),

I offered to obtain the Archbishop's sanction for his doing so; but on making a tour through the diocese, matters came under my notice which led me to take decided steps for the removal of the late pastor.<sup>28</sup>

The "matters" in question? -

I could not allow him to continue your pastor, knowing that he had refused the sacrament of Baptism and other rites of the church to the poor who could not pay for them.<sup>29</sup>

Quinn therefore - mild to a fault, as O'Doherty remarked<sup>30</sup> - wrote from Sydney, where he was visiting the Archbishop during the Lent of 1862:

I have to require you to return to Sydney by Passion Sunday. I have appointed Father Scully to act for me, and he will take an inventory of church furniture. I have to request you to transfer to me the money and property of the church, and substitute my name for yours as trustee of the funds of the church.<sup>31</sup>

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27. N.A. 20 September, 1861.  
 28. Q.T. 19 August, 1862.  
 29. Ibid.  
 30. Q.T. 12 August, 1862.  
 31. Q.T. 12 August, 1852.



For these purposes, of course, the Bishop is the Church - "has a right to control of all property and bequests of the Church",<sup>32</sup> as Quinn explained to the people. But M'Ginty in reply, the Bishop had to recount,

wrote to me, using terms which I need not repeat - everyone who knows him knows the style of language which he is capable of using. . . he said that he had a claim upon the diocese and refused to leave. In this decision, he was aided and abetted by a French priest, who has got sufficient knowledge to lead people astray, but not sufficient to make him understand his own duty.<sup>33</sup>

M'Ginty, however, had more than Hodebourg in his train. His partisans had the temerity, in this situation, to memorialise the Bishop, in June 1862, that

neither the spiritual nor the temporal interests of the Church. . . could escape serious injury, should the parish be deprived of the services of a clergyman who, during his residence of ten years here, has so ably and conscientiously administered to us in both.<sup>34</sup>

Not wishing at this stage to make the conflict public, Quinn evaded this "highly pleasing manifestation of your true Catholic sentiments"<sup>35</sup> by attributing M'Ginty's recall, as he had Rigney's,<sup>36</sup> to the wish of the Archbishop. As it remained just possible that the memorial was innocently intended, Quinn also read them Polding's circular discouraging the practice of

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32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Q.T. 13 June, 1862; F.J. 21 June, 1862.

35. Q.T. 13 June, 1862.

36. F.J. 15 June, 1861.

petitioning the ordinary against routine ecclesiastical changes. But it was apparent that more was involved. For O'Sullivan, a local M.L.A., and the House's one Catholic member, now both denounced the Bishop from the immunity of the House, and challenged him to his face, though without disrespect, at the very public meeting which read the memorial; the point at issue, for O'Sullivan, being the administration of church funds.<sup>37</sup> Quinn showed his humility by actually offering an explanation on the spot, denying malicious rumours that he was speculating in land, and had spent £1500 on a steam printery.<sup>38</sup> But the tough assignment of dislodging the entrenched and stubborn pastor was given, as we saw, to Scully, a protege of McEncroe's, whom Quinn empowered to act as his Vicar-General in the matter.

At this point, the trouble between the Bishop and M'Ginty became public. After the midday mass one Sunday, Scully laid aside his vestments, and

came to the front of the altar. . .stating that the Reverend W. M'Ginty was keeping unlawful possession of the house adjoining the Church, and that he, together with Mr. O'Sullivan and Mr. Gorry, were keeping unlawful possession of the monies belonging to the church, and that. . .these persons

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37. Q.T. 13 June, 1862.

38. Ibid., and 11 March, 1862 (the rumours themselves).

were rendering themselves liable to be excommunicated by the Bishop, as they were committing an act of spoliation.<sup>39</sup>

O'Sullivan ~~even~~ proved a second Deniehy; and like Deniehy's, we may add, his political career too came to an abrupt end shortly after conflict with his Bishop - probably because he alienated Catholic supporters. On this occasion, he objected, in democratic vein, that the meeting was "illegally constituted, having no chairman elected by the meeting, and that the altar was not the proper platform for the discussion of business matters", and "that women and children had no business to take part".<sup>40</sup> Bluntly overruled on these objections, he tried to close the meeting with a resolution that any lay interference in such a matter was "injudicious and improper". At which, in the report of the hostile press, not substantially contradicted by the Bishop's party, Scully exploded with a "No, no! We have not possession of the house yet!" and "put his hand on Mr. O'Sullivan's arm to push him off the platform, on which Mr. O'Sullivan put out his hand. . .telling him not to dare to handle him", and more of the sort, besides some rather excited barracking.<sup>41</sup> After appointing a deputation

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39. Q.T. 22 July, 1862: On Scully as McEncroe's protege, F.J. 11 February, 1861.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid. And 25 July, 1862: "Strange that Bishop Quinn's own journal. . .should omit to notice the late meeting".



(including the penitent Gorry, and the not so penitent O'Sullivan) to wait upon the now suspended M'Ginty, the meeting broke up. O'Sullivan made a half-submission **in** the columns of the hostile press; this last circumstance, given the ungracious rider, "as the Bishop will have it so, and as you assert that he ought to have the whole and sole control of over church funds",<sup>42</sup> made the submission unacceptable. Gorry, however, fell into line; and a meeting of parishioners in the schoolhouse condoned with Quinn and Scully, and condemned M'Ginty. One, Arkins, went to the root of the matter: "unless they supported their Bishop's authority they could not carry out their religion"; let them "show Dr. Quinn the body of the people were with him. . . in carrying out such measures as he thought necessary to vindicate our Holy Religion"; while "the best advice the friends of Father M'Ginty could give him, would be to reconcile himself with the Bishop and leave the place in peace".<sup>43</sup> M'Ginty took this last advice within a month.

So much for the thesis that the source of the disciplinary troubles of the colonies was non-Irish prelates. Probably no contemporary analysis cut deeper

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42. Q.T. 1 August, 1862.

43. Q.T. 12 August, 1862, N.A. 16 August, 1862: complementary, sometimes conflicting, reports.

than that of O'Doherty, then practising as a doctor in Ipswich, in the course of the second, school-house meeting. "Saint Kevin", as the other Young Irelanders called him, exiled to Tasmania after the abortive risings of 1848, had remained there till pardoned in 1854; restored to Ireland and liberty, he had made his way to Queensland at Quinn's invitation. "If his memory served him right in New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia unseemly disturbances of the kind had been witnessed",<sup>44</sup> and now Queensland. It was because they came "from a country where the great body of Catholics had not been used to so much freedom, and on their arrival here they were like dogs loosed from a chain".<sup>45</sup> But "however they might be justified in modifying their conduct in regard to their temporal rulers on arriving here",<sup>46</sup> "this increase of freedom. . . should not cause them to diminish in respect to their spiritual superiors"<sup>47</sup> - Quinn himself stooped to conquer; a self-respecting candour and humility shine through his apologia to the people, even the version

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44. N.A. loc. cit.

45. Q.T. loc. cit.

46. N.A. loc. cit.

47. Q.T. loc. cit.

of it reported, with hostile comment, by the anti-clerical press. He gave an account of the behind-the-scenes story, from which we have quoted. On the excommunications, he reasoned:

This law was made by Christ, not by me. If they return and confess their sins, they will be again received as humble members of the congregation, but will have nothing to do with ecclesiastical matters again.

For

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.<sup>48</sup>

Though the prayers to which Quinn exhorted the people on M'Ginty's behalf were so quickly answered, the "amicable" settlement between Bishop and priest, reported in mid-September,<sup>49</sup> did not prove durable. Quinn, according to Polding, though "right in the main" was "wrong in the manner".<sup>50</sup> There may have been a genuine misunderstanding over the chapel house next the church, which M'Ginty had used as a presbytery, and now refused to give up - it had been a bequest, and M'Ginty interpreted it as a personal bequest.<sup>51</sup> But as a consequence, Quinn set about building a presbytery. Did he dare use the £1483 M'Ginty had handed over - collected, much of it from

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48. Q.T. 19 August, 1862.

49. Q.T. 16 September, 1862.

50. Polding to Geoghegan, 22 September, 1862. (SAA)

51. SoR. Wynne (another All Hallowsman) argues in A.C.R., 1950, P. 22 et seq.



Protestants, on the express understanding it was to be devoted to the building of a convent and the purchase of an organ?<sup>52</sup> M'Ginty ungallantly side-stepped, and let the Bishop receive the full blast of "public" indignation. The receipt the Bishop had given M'Ginty stipulated that the money was collected, £1324 for a convent and £160 for an organ. "This receipt will prove that I am no party to the diversion from their original object of the funds collected by me since the church became free of debt"; and "~~and~~ if I have the same authority and liberty in regard to the convent as I had regarding the church", there would be one in a short time.<sup>53</sup> The press, a year before so contemptuous of the priest, was now behind him. "The wily political Prelate, thinking it more conducive to the success of his schemes to maintain the appearance of liberality, by appearing to give the laity a share in the management of their own money, resolved, on consideration, to appoint nominal trustees - mere catspaws":<sup>54</sup> so much for Quinn's assertion of his canonical authority in the face of the liberal critique, and of the unwritten code of a pioneer society. Whereas of M'Ginty, "in the event of his leaving

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52. Q.T. 21 November, 1862, 27 February, 1863,  
31 March, 1863.

53. Q.T. 11 November, 1862.

54. Q.T. 21 November, 1862.

Ipswich, it is in contemplation amongst the most respectable and liberal-minded of all denominations to hold a public meeting and organise means to present him with a testimonial and an address as a token of their regard. . .and" - truth will out! - "of their disapproval of the manner in which he has been treated by Bishop Quinn".<sup>55</sup>

Hence M'Ginty could count on public support when he embarked on the next phase of his career as a saboteur - vindicating his "vested interest" in his stipend as his indeed, not the Church's (that is, not the Bishop's). The autumn of 1863, therefore, if one can speak of autumn in Brisbane, was diverted by another duel. The Act recognising his vested interest only so long as he resided and officiated in Queensland, his suspension had, at Quinn's instance, stopped also his income. Now he was ready and willing and desirous to officiate, but was prevented by his ecclesiastical superior; hoping civil law might prove kinder to him than canon, he petitioned Parliament. The cause was no irregularity in his ministry but - and it certainly does look as though it was his stipend that so attached him to the Queensland church -

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55. Ibid.

solely his refusal to leave the Diocese of Brisbane or the colony of Queensland altogether, and to transfer to his Lordship a certain bequest to your Petitioner 'for ever to expend in any charitable purpose he may think proper', matters in which your Petitioner believes he was, and still is, acting rightly.<sup>56</sup>

Quinn's letter on the State Aid Abolition Act was tabled with the petition, as the key part of the case against the priest's claim. Pring, as Attorney-General, in the Ipswich cabinet, gave his opinion against M'Ginty, "that every minister must not only officiate, but must officiate under lawful authority, before he can claim the benefit of this Act". "But surely the Attorney-General", countered the pro-Government Queensland Times, "must on consideration become aware that he himself was committing an illegal act in styling "lawful" an authority the exercise of which was at least unrecognised by the laws of Queensland or Great Britain".<sup>57</sup> And then something on M'Ginty's "moral courage" and "public spirit". Challinor, another of the Ipswich men, moved in M'Ginty's favour, and only three voted against.<sup>58</sup> Poor Pring, who had recently encouraged another Prelate, his days were numbered; a tipsy speech to the House in September, 1865,

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55. Ibid.

56. Q.T. 5 May, 1863.

57. Q.T. 15 May, 1863.

58. Q.T. 5 May, 1863.



and he resigned and joined the opposition.<sup>59</sup>

Recalled to his duties at Ipswich the following November, 1863,<sup>60</sup> M'Ginty stood for too much that the Bishop would prefer the people to forget. He appeared with the clergy at the foundation of the new Saint Stephen's in January 1864,<sup>61</sup> and thence was sent, where his pioneer virtues would stand him in good stead, to Bowen, patrolling what was then the far northern fringe of Quinn's land.<sup>62</sup>

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59. Q.T. 16 September, 1865. For Pring as a Tufnellite, see Q.T. 3 January, 1865.  
 60. Q.T. 10 November, 1863.  
 61. N.A. 16 January, 1864.  
 62. N.A. 16 February, 1864.

iv. Macdonnell, 1859-1864.

There was one more flicker of insurgence before the end - an unexpected revival by Polding's erstwhile challenger, Randal Macdonnell, who had moved from the Paddington High School to higher things, as chief inspector for the General system of Queensland. Some said the promotion was due, at Sir Charles Nicholson's instance, to his known anti-clericalism. Certainly, he persisted in a "bitter and irreverant antagonism" (Quinn's own term for it) towards the Bishop, and took no part, so report had him proclaim, "in any Catholic movement in the colony".<sup>1</sup> Quinn remonstrated with him; as he recounted in an open letter addressed to Macdonnell,

I have frequently, in private, exhorted you to lay aside your partisanship, to live an obedient and edifying Catholic. . . I besought you before you got married to weigh well the step you were about to take, and unless you could calculate on ceasing to be the violent and restless partisan you had hitherto shown yourself, that it would be unjust to associate with yourself the excellent girl you were about to marry in the misery which was sure to overtake you.

I have brought you, when in Sydney, to Mr. Duncan, a gentleman well-known and much respected in Brisbane, and to whose opinion and judgment you professed much deference. . .

In vain. - There were two Randal Macdonnell's in Brisbane, by ironical coincidence - the other was

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1. Most of the documents relevant are reproduced in N.A. 17 November, 1864.
  2. Cf. N.A. 30 December, 1862.

the publisher of the North Australian - and taking advantage of a mistaken invitation, the Inspector of Schools suddenly turned up at a meeting a propos the Cathedral fund. Without doubt he was partly moved to take such action, by an attack on his Inspectorship which had been published in the Queensland Times; there, the suspicion had been voiced that, as a Catholic, he could possibly be engaged in sabotage of the National System.<sup>3</sup> At the meeting in question he proceeded to clear himself of such suspicion; the report of the apparition in the North Australian gave him a faintly satanic air:

In a sitting posture, and reclining on his walking-stick, he announced to the meeting that he had come there that night. . .to congratulate the meeting that the lay element was at last admitted by the Bishop to take part in the regulation of the temporal affairs of the Church. . .

And went ~~on~~ on to say, according to this very partisan account, "that the Bishop was a trafficker and a speculator with Church monies; that he was on the brink of insolvency". Macdonnell described this report in general terms as "grossly incorrect"; but there was no denying the impression his intervention made. "Convinced that the funds subscribed for Saint Stephen's building, not only have not been applied for any other purpose, but have never been

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3. Q.T. 20 October, 1864.



under your Lordship's control", a large (four hundred) meeting chaired by Dunne loyally repudiated Macdonnell in an address to Quinn. His Lordship, no longer a novice in colonial politics, echoed a speaker at the meeting when in the course of his reply he traced the history of R. Macdonnell (and we note in passing how much more succinct and forceful his expression had become):

He has quarrelled with, and misrepresented every Ecclesiastical Superior he has had since his arrival in Australia. He accounts as one of the greatest achievements of his life, that he helped to frame an impeachment to be brought before the Sacred Tribunal of Propaganda, against the venerated Archbishop of Sydney. He still glories in the course, which has proved, in his case, to be the road to promotion; and he leaves the honorable men, who fell victims to his cunning, to wash the stain off their characters with tears of repentance.

Moreover, Quinn maintained, "the slanderous accusations you brought against me at the meeting are but the public expression of what you have long been privately circulating". Macdonnell now capped his offences by assuming the Bishop to have guided the proceedings of the meeting and the text of its resolutions. Challenged by Quinn, who waived his episcopal privileges in the matter, to prove his charges, he neither withdrew nor substantiated them. Quinn, never angry, bore in mind the Council of Trent's advice, that he was a pastor and not a striker; but firmly stated what he thought the alternatives for Macdonnell were - to live quietly and obediently within the Church, or else get out of it.

v. Press Warfare.

The newspapers, which, while vocal, were largely confined to the sidelines during the contest between Quinn and his subjects, were at the very centre of the Bishop's other troubles. The two chief Brisbane papers, the Queensland Guardian and the Moreton Bay Courier, were each in the hands of a non-conformist clergyman;<sup>1</sup> like the Sydney Morning Herald and the South Australian Register of an earlier date they carried on the grand old Protestant tradition by an issue-to-issue travesty of the Catholic religion. The Guardian stood the closer to the Government.<sup>2</sup> But Ipswich featured something far more virulent. Up to the end of September 1861 there were two papers in the town, the North Australian, somewhat orange, and the Ipswich Herald, by no means green, but preferred among the Catholics. In a radical regrouping, the Ipswich Herald ceased publication, to be succeeded by the Queensland Times, under the former editor of the North Australian,<sup>3</sup> and in close collusion with Macalister and (therefore) subsequently with the Herbert ministry; while the North Australian was

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1. Cf. N.A. 7 November, 1863.

2. N.A. 30 June, 1863.

3. Q.T. 18 March, 1862. For collusion of Times with the government, see its premature disclosure of statistical returns, N.A. 31 March, 1864.

thenceforth edited by Belford, a moderate Catholic.

Belford's position was not an easy one, if he was to hold on both to his clientele and to his convictions. His opening manifesto was too too cautious.<sup>4</sup> Among conventional nineteenth century phrases - declaring his purpose to "inculcate the advantages of education and moral culture", "decry class legislation", and on "purely religious affairs" to be no more than a "simple record" - only in an obliquity of expression could the seeds of future policy be discerned: to "conserve and defend every existing right", to "judge with caution all proposed alterations of existing laws", to "support and defend. . .the political rights, the religious equality, and freedom of opinion of every section of the community". Where more explicit, he managed to be quite ambiguous: "we shall be guided by the principles admitted in the Act for the Abolition of State-aid to Religion, -viz., that it is unjust to impose taxation for an object that cannot, on conscientious grounds, be availed of by a large proportion" of the people. This use of the state-aid Bill to contest the education enactments of the Government was adroit; but the parallel document in the Queensland Times had far more cutting edge:

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4. N.A. 1 October, 1861.



The present education system of this colony will have our energetic support. . . By some it has been characterised as a godless system. . . such, however, regard everything as godless, or worse than godless, which does not inculcate their own peculiar tenets. . . Whilst on this subject, we may at once state that being, as we are, in a Protestant country, and under a Protestant government, our principles are founded on the broadest basis of Protestantism.<sup>5</sup>

Belford could not expect to get away with his near double-talk for long. The Courier of October 4 inferred from his sinuous phrasing that something was being held back; but even then took it for granted that the North Australian was a Catholic paper, "an organ which may be expected to mirror the sentiments of the wisest among them" - "knowing into whose hands the North Australian has fallen, we feel assured that it will be conducted with equal ability and moderation". There is nothing to suggest that this personal compliment to Belford had any edge of irony; but he vigorously repudiated the suggestion that he was a hired advocate. The suggestion was linked with an Ipswich rumour that recent events - M'Ginty's troubles over the Grammar School and Conolly - had determined the Catholics to buy up so potent a foe. But Belford, drawing a clear distinction "between a purchase by an individual happening to belong to a particular body, and one by some person avowedly representing himself to be and

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5. Q.T. 8 October, 1861.

acting as an agent on behalf of the whole", maintained that "the Catholics did not want the North Australian as an organ, and the Catholics did not buy the journal",<sup>6</sup> As a denial, note, this left something to be desired - if not the Catholics, then perhaps some Catholics, bought the paper; and certainly not Belford himself. The Times was not likely to lay aside so subtle an advantage in competing for circulation; and a good chance to press it came the following March when Belford and Quinn sailed on the same ship to Sydney.<sup>7</sup> The purpose, announced the Times, with an accuracy sustained by the event, was to purchase steam presses with a view to bringing the North Australian out thrice weekly; and this, asserted the Times, was made practicable, not by circulation, but by Quinn's financing it, and the clergy brow-beating the people into supporting it.<sup>8</sup> These last assertions, the North Australian declared to be "groundless and malicious", the product of jealousy at its prosperity.<sup>9</sup> But the Times kept up its fire in the face of this "unqualified denial".<sup>10</sup> "Sir, we are suspicious", said its quasi-editorial agent

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6. N.A. 8 October, 1861.  
 7. Q.T. 18 March, 1862.  
 8. Q.T. 11 March, 1862.  
 9. N.A. 21 March, 1862.  
 10. Q.T. 21 March, 1862.

provocateur, Eleutheria,

and we have reason for it. . . We know what Roman Catholicism is. . . the North Australian is a Roman Catholic paper, and designed to advance the interests of the Roman Catholic Church. It does not show its colours, and wherefore? Because it dare not. Its existence is dependent on such concealment. It is at present mainly supported by Protestant subscribers, there not being as yet a sufficient number of Roman Catholics in the district who can read.

The ~~two~~ North Australian took its place in a larger pattern; Eleutheria naturally had

no desire to excite sectarian animosities. They have been excited, and it is not in your (the Times') power to allay them. In Ipswich we have tasted the sweets of Popery, and it will be long ere the flavour is forgotten; nor is it to be expected that we can forget the aspect of a people who remain unassimilated and unamalgamated in our midst, and whose thoughts, words, actions and even looks are those of unceasing and uncompromising hostility.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, ~~the~~, following the pattern of the Sydney Sentinel, of Lang's inspiration, a generation earlier, the Queensland Times, which had first essayed an air of detachment, now became more and more openly orange - and more and more, as the way was with such organs, Catholic à rebours.

O'Sullivan publicly withdrew his subscription at this juncture, alleging that the Times was stirring up sectarian feeling with an eye on the coming election;

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11. Q.T. 21 March, 1862.



Macalister was before the constituency, known to be "a determined enemy to State-aid to sectarian teaching, whether inculcated from the pulpit, or in the school-room",<sup>12</sup> and, equally, to be opposed to the "jobbery and abuse" and "concentrated selfishness" of Quinn's immigration promotion.<sup>13</sup> Much Protestant indignation was displayed, lest the funds M'Ginty handed to the Bishop had <sup>been</sup> ~~mis~~ "misappropriated, and devoted to political purposes", namely, to the campaign against Macalister.<sup>14</sup> Never rabid, the North Australian continued to give some ground for the suspicion that it was officially Catholic, by its consistent support of the Bishop in all his ventures, and by its colophon, published By Belford for a proprietor unnamed. Hence its shift to Brisbane<sup>15</sup> in September 1863 was interpreted as a shift to the Bishop's headquarters. The two papers, each now appearing thrice weekly, had

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12. Q.T. 21 April, 1863, O'Sullivan's withdrawal of subscription was 1862 (Q.T. March 28); but there is no anachronism in quoting from the 1863 elections, as Macalister's positions on these points did not change.
13. Q.T. 26 May, 1863
14. Q.T. 17 April, 1863
15. N.A. 15 September, 1863 and Q.T. of same date.
16. In Q.T. 26 May, 1863, nevertheless, Macalister puts forward his politics in the advertising columns. I by no means consider this circumstance (probably a disguise) outweighs the complete coincidence of policy between the politician and the editor.

settled into a routine of contradicting each other on almost every public issue; the Times being as closely -or as it would say, as slavishly - identified with Macalister in his undertakings as the North Australian was with Quinn.<sup>16</sup>

vi. The Immigration Laws; their use and abuse

Queensland was all in the future. Hence the themes of Macalister's 1863 campaign were the points at which Quinn came into head-on collision with the ministry; immigration and education policies bore most closely on the rate and direction of growth.

Taking a hint from J.D. Lang - who took the mere £1000 he was voted in consequence as something of a slight<sup>1</sup> - the Herbert government resolved to build up population by the investment of its one big asset, wide open space.<sup>2</sup> As summarised by the North Australian<sup>3</sup>, "the few clauses of the Crown Lands Act of 1861, relating to immigrants under the land order system. . .gave every immigrant, who came here unassisted by the public money, a land order for £18 on arrival, and another for £12, payable after two years' residence"; against these preemptive rights, land was to be made available at the upset

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1. Q.T. 20 September, 1864. Lang's claims as originator, ibid., 29 September, 1864 (from Empire).
  2. Q.T. 7 February, 1862.
  3. N.A. 16 July, 1864. Lang, Queensland, gives the Unoccupied Crown Lands Act (Append. D) and the ~~Act~~ Act for Alienation of Crown Lands (Append. E). In this latter, the key clauses, on which the N.A. here fastens, were 5 (£1 per acre minimum - backed by Lang, to discourage speculation), 10 (areas reserved for selection by immigrants at the minimum price), 13 (minimum size of holding), 20 (land orders for unassisted immigrants of £18 on arrival, £12 after two years - to offset the migratory habits of migrants). Cf. N.A. 9 September, 1862, 25 September, 1862.



price of £1 an acre. In addition, the Government supplied such unassisted migrants with their first week's food and shelter after arrival. At the same time, there was a program of assisted migration. As administered, however, both schemes tended against the relative numerical strength of Catholicism in Queensland. The agent for the promotion and supervision of subsidised emigration from the U.K., Jordan, did not set foot in John Bull's other island during his first fifteen months; every inquiry from thence, it was alleged, was parried with:

I beg to inform you that your application for a FREE passage to Queensland is, for the present, declined, the ship now going being full, the accommodation for free passages on board each ship being limited, and the candidates very many, necessarily confine the selection.

There are a few berths still vacant for paying passengers, if you wish to avail yourself of the present opportunity of getting out,

I am, yours obediently,

H. Jordan

Queensland Emigration Commissioner<sup>4</sup>

Was not ~~not~~ this tantamount to "no Irish need apply"? Few, of course, wishing to emigrate from Ireland, were in a position to finance themselves.

There was policy, not ineptitude, behind this administration. The law which held out such glowing promises to the migrant, gave the existing executive

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4. N.A. 23 October, 1862. Cf. N.A. 7 May, 1863.

power to regulate the day-to-day detail of immigration, "and this power", contended the North Australian,

was set to work systematically to defraud the immigrant, by the depreciation of his land order. Firstly, it was not to be available for the purchase of town lands; secondly, it was not to be transferable until six months after date of issue; and lastly, the £12 land order was altogether swept away. All these alterations were made, step by step, at various intervals, until at length land orders available for the purchase of preemptive rights, and those only at the upset price, were sold in the market at £9, £10, or even at £8. Thus the immigrant and the country were both cheated for the benefit of the squatter.<sup>5</sup> . .

Till finally, as we shall see, "Mr. HERBERT announced his opinion that the land order system having answered as an advertisement it was time it should be discontinued. . .whereupon it is said Mr. JORDAN came home".<sup>6</sup> - What, we should explain, had made the immigrant so helpless was that land was surveyed and sold only in thirty acre lots. He needed unusually large savings to wait out the two year period till the second order became available; or, when this was discontinued, to make up the difference between £18 and £30, and still have something over to develop his land; the migrant, indeed, was highly unlikely to have such savings - as Dunne remarked, in answer to the

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5. N.A. 16 July, 1864.

6. Ibid.

question, Who should emigrate?, "None who can do well at home".<sup>7</sup> So here was material for a proletariat. But what induced Herbert's critics to suspect that it was his design, no accident, to import a labouring class as distinct from a yeomanry, was evidence, circumstantial but strong. The cabinet clique saw the American Civil War as their opportunity to make Queensland a great cotton-grower, using Coolie labour; and this, well-known through the Queensland Times, betrayed the whole bias of their thinking.<sup>8</sup> The historian can argue back, also, from their remarkably bold attempts in 1863-4 to restrict the franchise, in particular by a literacy test which must eliminate the majority of the labouring classes from the poll.<sup>9</sup>

By their own account of it, this oligarchy met with no opposition so formidable as the Catholics'. Immediately it was in Belford's hands, the North Australian instituted a running criticism of an

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7. N.A. 25 June, 1863. For land orders on the market, Ibid., 28 August, 1862, 6 September, 1862.
  8. Q.T. 15 July, 1862. Lang, *op. cit.*, devotes an entire chapter (chapter viii) to the virtues of cotton. The Alienation Act (note 3), clause 21, provided bounties for it.
  9. Q.T. 22 October, 1863, 12 November, 1863;  
N.A. 16 June, 1864, 16 July, 1864.



administration that was bringing in so many "inmates of British poor houses".<sup>10</sup> But above all, the Bishop saw the original Crown Lands' Act as a great chance to circumvent the government's anti-Irish discrimination: he could at once relieve Irish distress, and settle comfortably in Queensland a "useful population", and guard the immigrant girl from the prostitution to which many had been reduced in the older colonies - he founded a Queensland Immigration Society on the principle of mutual aid.<sup>11</sup> Finance was to some in part from prospective immigrants, in part from the grateful remittances of immigrants who had made good. But more was needed, at least in the first instance. There was talk of the Society taking over the remainder of the Australian Donegal Relief funds.<sup>12</sup> Though Quinn declined this course when he found the administrator's of these funds not unanimous, the suggestion was not without its significance: just as Bermingham, and Barry and O'Grady had been the moving spirits of Donegal Relief,<sup>13</sup> so their old crony Dunne was the first salesman in Ireland of Queensland immigration. A circular to monied Irish Catholics

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10. N.A. 4 October, 1861.

11. N.A. 21 October, 1862.

12. Q.T. 17 December, 1861.

13. Argus 8 June, 1858 (Barry); F.J. 19 January, 1861 (Bermingham); Adv. 8 January, 1876 (O'Grady).

whom he hoped, for too various reasons, to interest in the scheme, found its way into the columns of the Queensland Times,<sup>14</sup> its many vulnerable passages italicised. He proved, helped by a blissful ignorance of the 30-acre rule, that given the land order system

there can be but little difficulty in carrying out a project by which Catholicity would be planted in a new country, and many of our poor, half-starving people rescued from poverty and distress, and placed in affluence and comfort. . . All we want then is, a few good Catholics to invest a few hundred pounds in a most Catholic project, by which they can make cent. per cent. in less than twelve months.<sup>15</sup>

One way and another, an initial capital of £3000 was found.<sup>16</sup> But Quinn reproved the circular, and let the government know of his disapproval;<sup>17</sup> while the Society in fact concentrated on Irish immigrants, of whom by far the greater number were Catholic, its prospectus was explicit that its operation "shall not exclude the members of any creed or country".<sup>18</sup> So it was with all three documents before it, Dunnè's blunder, Quinn's disclaimer, and the Prospectus, that ~~the~~ Government "gave their deliberate approbation to the Prospectus".<sup>19</sup>

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14. Q.T. 26 May, 1863.  
 15. Ibid.  
 16. Q.T. 7 February, 1862.  
 17. N.A. 6 June, 1863.  
 18. N.A. 15 November, 1862.  
 19. N.A. 6 June, 1863.

The Society gave Dunne's energy its day of triumph; he looked on it as expiation for earlier vagaries, too.<sup>20</sup> But the first ship sent out, renamed (with some point) the Erin-go-bragh,<sup>21</sup> was a leaky old tub, ill-equipped and ill-provided (or easy to accuse of being both), visited by plague, and allegedly sabotaged.<sup>22</sup> Dunne himself came out as ship's chaplain. Considering the epic horrors of the voyage, it speaks volumes for the immigrants' confidence in him that no one came forward with recriminations; particularly considering that not all were Irish, nor all Catholics. However, one embittered passenger by the next ship, the Chatsworth, W. O'Carroll, who had lost a child on the voyage, and received on arrival one land order less than he had (quite unjustifiably) counted on, received the utmost encouragement from the government press (the Guardian and the Times) to bring forward his bitterness in the shape of allegations, and make the

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20. Adv. 7 July, 1894, 30 July, 1947.

21. "Ireland-across-the-seas".

22. Moran's account, p. 613 et seq. For a contemporary account, N.A. 1 May, 1862, 15 July, 1862 (anxiety over length of voyage), 5 August, 1862 (plague), 16 September, 1862. There was, however, advance publicity in a contrary sense; see F.J. 26 April, 1862.



Erin-go-bragh one of the documents of the case: avarice was the motive, fraud the method, of the Society's organisers.<sup>23</sup> There is every suggestion, behind the attempt of these papers to sustain O'Carroll's charges, of a cold determination to discredit the Society, whose unique crime was success. Likewise, when the Chatsworth immigrants landed, the Guardian was quick to accuse the Society of monopolising shelter and rations at the expense of other immigrants; for a few hours, while things were explained, government rations were stopped altogether.<sup>24</sup> But a circumstantial rebuttal of the charges was published in the Courier,<sup>25</sup> and the Guardian and the Times dropped the subject. Subsequently a committee of inquiry, headed by the Anglican Bishop Tufnell - the earliest public instance of his friendliness towards the Catholics - dealt with the charges item by item, and carefully documented its conclusion that there was

no reason to believe that the "Queensland Immigration Society" showed any undue partiality on account of creed or country to immigrants who came out under its auspices, or that it used any undue influence to induce them to attribute (sic) to its funds.<sup>26</sup>

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23. Q.T. 30 September, 1862, 7 October, 1862.  
 24. N.A. 9 September, 1862, 13 September, 1862;  
Q.T. 9 September, 1862.  
 25. In Q.T. 9 September, 1862. Dunne's own rebuttal, in Courier of September 11, was reproduced in Q.T. 30 September, 1862.  
 26. N.A. 21 October, 1862.

O'Carroll did not turn up to substantiate his charges before the committee; but he did turn up again to accuse the committee of deliberately holding its hearings in his absence.<sup>27</sup> None of the other witnesses gave him any support.<sup>28</sup>

But this particular kind of Reformed religion has never been troubled by want of evidence. Ten months before, Eleutheria had found the "existence in our midst of this national and ecclesiastical organisation. . . a disgrace to the intelligence and liberal feelings of the nineteenth century", a sinister aggression on the part of a "people opposed to the free principles of the British constitution, ever rejoicing in everything that checks the influence and stays the onward march of British civilisation".<sup>29</sup> Besides, it had been argued more recently, "this colony might be involved in liabilities amounting to two millions and three quarters sterling, in the short space of two and a half years", and the Society "may realise a profit of nearly three millions and a quarter sterling", in the same short space, by introducing, according to plan, 93,176 immigrants.<sup>30</sup> The Times' correspondent had suggested that the best way

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27. Q.T. 31 October, 1862, N.A. 30 October, 1862.

28. N.A. 21 October, 1862 (report of the Committee).

29. Q.T. 14 January, 1862.

30. Q.T. 30 September, 1862.

of securing the onward march of British civilisation was to preserve in the peopling of the colony the sacred population ratios obtaining between the nations of the British Isles; while the paper itself had been urging the cancellation of the land order system.<sup>31</sup> Herbert, to make a long story short, proceeded to bring both measures into effect. He began with a ruling that the sanction given the Society was not official, and a statement that Jordan was under instructions to go to Ireland.<sup>32</sup> He himself slipped off to England, his mission unexplained. While his allies jockeyed for place in Brisbane,<sup>33</sup> and Dunne sailed home to honour and acclaim,<sup>34</sup> he brought the Queensland Immigration Society smartly to an end. All immigrants must be screened by Jordan's office in London - "the Queensland Emigration Office", he informed Quinn's brother, now the Society's chief agent at the Irish end, "is now prepared to do for Ireland what your Society has hitherto done".<sup>35</sup> Concessions had been made to the Society originally in response to strong representations that Irishmen were put at a disadvantage as to assisted emigration, but "Mr. Jordan is now in a position to meet the requirements of Irish

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31. Ibid. Urging - or rather, threatening.  
Cf. 25 November, 1862.

32. Q.T. 10 October, 1862.

33. N.A. 29 July, 1862.

34. N.A. 19 May, 1863.

35. Q.T. 26 May, 1863 (much material in this issue).



emigration, and " - Cæsar will not go halves - "it must now be entirely conducted under his supervision".<sup>36</sup> Without waiting for Parliament to parley, he named the existing national proportions of the British Isles as a basic principle of all future selection; the shipments actually planned by the Society might proceed, then no more.<sup>37</sup> That Jordan had, in close concert with M. Quinn, just finished advertising the old scheme through the length and breadth of Ireland, was no concern of his.<sup>38</sup> It now turned out that Jordan had at no stage been guilty of the formulation of the obnoxious policies, and was no party to this last breach of faith; resigning, he returned to Queensland, and vindicated his name, at least in Catholic eyes, before a Select Committee, forcing a disconcerting volte face on both the Times and the North Australian.<sup>39</sup> This same Committee sought chiefly to end the moral scandals that attached to some

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36. Ibid.

37. N.A. 26 May, 1863.

38. See M. Quinn to J. Quinn, February 24, 1863, reproduced in N.A. 7 May, 1863, on all these manoeuvres. For Jordan in Ireland see also Q.T. 30 December, 1862. <sup>1</sup> give the Quinn to Quinn letter, Appendix D.

39. N.A. 17 November, 1863 (anti-Jordan), 17 May, 1864 (Jordan resigns), 28 July, 1864 (P.10).

Q.T. pro-Jordan, 14 May, 1864.



of the Government vessels; but was more conspicuous in bringing to light, through Jordan's evidence, the consistent hostility of the executive to the land order system, the too many shipments from London (with its effect on the quality of migrant), and the lucrative monopoly of Mackay, Baines and Co. Exit Jordan "this modern martyr".<sup>40</sup>

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40. N.A. 26 July, 1864; 6 August, 1864 (quote).  
Quinn's evidence to Committee, 17 November, 1863.

vii. The Social Dynamics of Educational Theory

It does not pertain to the episcopal office as such to do what Quinn did in the case of immigration; but Christianity in Queensland in the year of Our Lord 1863 had nothing to gain by allowing itself to be pushed around. When the Catholics (and even the Mercy nuns were not exempted) were charged with a lust for political supremacy, "A Real Coward" answered with keen sarcasm:

The "dominion" and "privileges", too, which we have attained ought to be gratefully acknowledged. . .the Governor is a Catholic; the Upper House, all Catholic; the Assembly, all Catholic, except one; the Judges, all Catholics; all the Police Magistrates in the colony, Catholic; every human being in the Telegraphic Department. . .all the Postmasters. . . Crown Lands Commissioners, all Catholics; every Magistrate in West Moreton. . .nine out of every ten of the subordinate officers of the Civil Service. . .nineteen out of twenty of the special Jurors. . .the Colonial Secretary a bigoted virulent and party Catholic; the Attorney-General, if not a Catholic, is anything that suits his purpose.<sup>1</sup>

The same correspondent voiced a common Catholic conviction when he went on to argue that this unnatural Protestant ascendancy was maintained by conscious conspiracy:

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1. Q.T. 8 December, 1863. On Commission of the Peace, cf. Q.T. 16 January, 1864. Gorry was subsequently put on, ibid. 10 January, 1865 - by no means the Catholics' first choice as a spokesman, etc. On nuns, in this context, N.A. 30 June, 1863.



Did not all the candidates who were returned at the last elections come on the hustings with the cry of sectarianism in their mouths? - and were they not elected by the illegal society of which I speak?<sup>2</sup>

The Loyal Orange Lodge had passed its zenith. But the Queensland press of this period told the growing strength of freemasonry, and indicated its rapport with the oligarchy. The strength gathered by the foundation of a Provincial Grand Lodge was demonstrated on such civic occasions as the foundation of the Ipswich School of Arts,<sup>3</sup> and of the Brisbane Town Hall.<sup>4</sup> More alarming from a Catholic point of view, because suggesting a carry-over from Orangeism, was an appeal in the Guardian calling on all Irish masons to accomplish the "higher objects" (no further precision given) of the order, under the direction of the Master "who is absolute king, from whose decision, in ordinary cases, there is no appeal".<sup>5</sup> That this body stood for a concerted aggression against every claim of the Church as a supernatural polity, became clear at this time after Pius IX's excommunication of all masons. The counter of a British masonic leader, reproduced in the

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2. Q.T. 17 December, 1863.
  3. N.A. 15 October, 1863. For the union of the Queensland masons, cf. N.A. 30 April, 1863;  
Q.T. 21 November, 1862.
  4. N.A. 30 January, 1864.
  5. Q.T. 13 October, 1863.

Queensland Times from the columns of its London namesake, was entirely in keeping with the Ipswich paper's general tone; it was, to these children of the Enlightenment thus summarily excluded from commerce with an outmoded superstition they professed to contemn,

a pitiable sight. . .to behold in the nineteenth century, this venerable Rip-Van-Winkle of the Vatican, stone-blind alike to the storied past and the pregnant future, groping his way amidst the darkness of bygone ages in search of obsolete weapons with which to assault freedom of thought and speech. . .in the vain attempt to make men religious by paralysing their minds through terror. . .by its virulent attack on an ancient and honorable community, which flourished when Popes were not, and shall continue to flourish in undecaying vigour when they are not.<sup>6</sup>

Against a conception of "freedom of thought and speech" advanced mainly in the interests of secularism, Quinn from the first preached the Christian doctrine of toleration, the Christian's duty, not to sacrifice truth for the sake of peace, but, when confronted with error, to bear and forbear.<sup>7</sup> "The mission of the Catholic Church was to do all the good she could to mankind, and to leave to time and the will of the Dispenser of all good the removal of error and

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6. Q.T. 26 February, 1865. Archbishop Vaughan's Hidden Springs remains Australia's boldest treatment of the methods and objectives of masonry in relation to Catholicism.

7. F.J. 1 January, 1862.

prejudice".<sup>8</sup> In 1864,<sup>724</sup> he named respect for the conscientious convictions of others "a primary law in society" and "the true spirit of Catholicity", and urged the Catholics to announce their position boldly, for the benefit of men of good will, deploring the fact that "the chain of bondage. . . had left its traces" in the form of excessive timidity.<sup>9</sup> He thought to reinforce his point with an appeal to Ireland - "Irishmen were tolerant in their character "(we seem to have heard this said of other nations), "and left all differences of religious opinion as a matter existing between the creature and the Creator".<sup>10</sup> His enemies, of course, were not impressed. The newspaper war, the M'Ginty episode, the immigration uproar followed hard on one another to convince them that "the sole object of this system is the consolidation of a political power destructive both to the religious and civil liberty of mankind"; the system being characterised by its "stealthy feline step", "falsehood and evasions to keep the people misinformed", and "mock indignation".<sup>11</sup> Some, no doubt, saw all three at work in Quinn's pronouncements on toleration itself.

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8. N.A. 24 December, 1861.

9. N.A. 2 August, 1864.

10. N.A. 16 April, 1864.

11. Q.T. 25 March, 1862.



In Queensland, as in the other colonies, the Dissenters lined up with unbelievers to oppose any form of union of church and state, even in the schoolroom; Quinn, with studied affront, called all his opponents on the education question "Dissenters".<sup>12</sup> The press, too, leaned heavily to the secularist side. The Catholics, as elsewhere, opposed the separation of secular from religious instruction on a plea of conscience. The Anglicans, nominally the largest group, hung disunited in the balance. What gave the debate in Queensland its peculiar flavour was the overbearing confidence of the secularisers; not only had they the spirit of the age in their favour, and the preceding debates of the other colonies; in Queensland alone, they were in a position of prior occupation, an "inconsiderable section who took advantage of their infant Legislature to legalise their monopoly of State education".<sup>13</sup> They used other arguments; but what really counted was that the National System was there. When a Committee of Inquiry was mooted, Herbert simply stone-walled: it "would have the practical effect of injuring that system" - or, as another said, "would revive the

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12. N.A. 17 September, 1864. Q.T. retorted the nickname, 5 January, 1865.

13. N.A. 18 August, 1864.

discussions which it was so undesirable to have".<sup>14</sup>

When, however, they did discuss - and it was only in Parliament that they could silence the voice of protest - the Queensland secularisers showed themselves legitimate heirs of the Grand Whiggery, begging their way from question to question. Always the assurance that religious and secular instruction can be separated, and if they can they must, for the sake of social unity: "why should we refuse the portion of education which the state can give, on the ground that we want something more which the State can not give?"<sup>15</sup> Social unity, after all, is necessarily precarious for those who conceive "state", as they conceive "church", as a "social compact amongst all its members for mutual privileges and rights".<sup>16</sup> But if the state is a bargain, its rule is really the rule of those with the biggest bargaining power, the majority; and so, overriding minority thoughts, they perpetuated the tired old *petitio principii*, that the denominationalists were asking for some special favour: why do "schools established on the sectarian principles. . . come to the general public for pecuniary assistance?"<sup>17</sup> So the logic slides: the

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14. N.A. 12 September, 1863 (debate in the house on education).

15. Q.T. 3 November, 1864.

16. Q.T. 24 March, 1863.

17. N.A. 1 July, 1862.

majority has become "the general public" whom it is wicked to resist: "if people were so bigoted that they would not allow their children to mix with other children in obtaining secular education. . .let them educate themselves" (Macalister).<sup>18</sup> The indiscreet Pring might opine, at this point, that anyway "the best place for religion to be taught was at home";<sup>19</sup> but more often the reiterated assertion that the state (meaning the majority) had the duty to educate tended to slide into the very different assertion that it alone had the strict duty to educate, others did so only by concession.<sup>20</sup> Whether for this reason, or for some other, they never permitted their cherished system to compete on strictly equal terms with denominational schools. By the Primary Schools Act/<sup>of</sup> the first session of Parliament, any school assisted by the Board had to follow the National Schools routine from 9-12 a.m., and 2-4 p.m., and use its books;<sup>21</sup> religion had to be squeezed in elsewhere, like lunch and sport, no consideration given for what it must lose in the child's esteem by being squeezed in. But in any case, no denominational school could be assisted but those

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18. N.A. 12 September, 1863.

19. Ibid.

20. Q.T. 19 December, 1862.

21. Q.T. 17 March, 1863 (a good exposition). Cf. Lang op. cit., Append. G.



existing prior to the Act, when the total population of Queensland had been less than 30,000. Nor were even these safe, but only provided the National schools of the area were insufficient.<sup>22</sup> In a word, the Act was so framed, so extended by regulation, and so administered, as to monopolise all education revenue for the National schools. So this narrow weltanschauung guaranteed its own perpetuation, as the very foundation of Queensland society.

Those who a few years before had denounced a system which committed the state to subsidising contradictory religious teachings, once they had won their point, magnanimously refrained from stickling at so small a matter as the principle of contradiction: "all civilised religions" - the Times reproduced what a Victorian paper argued against Gavan Duffy - "may repose unhurt within the great arms of secular education". And in this century of light, the nineteenth, how civilised all religion has become:

It is true that the creed of Saint Athanasius is still read on certain occasions. . .but the intelligent thinking portion of the people recoil from such bigotry. . .The Church of England - that is, the men and women who constitute it - don't believe that all will certainly be lost who are unable to follow the worthy saint through all the curious and whimsical intricacies.<sup>23</sup>

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22. Ibid.

23. Q.T. 3 November, 1864.

That . . . stubborn clerarchy which followed the worthy saint rather than the Colonial Secretary, and continued to read him with an air of conviction on the Sundays after Trinity, did so for some sinister un-nineteenth century end of their own. Was not the Bishop's Pastoral of 1862 "inconsistent with the liberty of the subject"?<sup>24</sup> But time would tell; Rome, like Canterbury, was a house divided against itself. On education, "we deny. . . that Bishop Quinn's view is really that of the more intelligent portion of the Catholic body";<sup>25</sup> "the strenuous opposition" in the United Kingdom and all the colonies, to the only enlightened course is "not the result of popular conviction, but of ecclesiastical dictation".<sup>26</sup>

Just as the Queensland secularists swam with the main stream of liberalism, so the Queensland Catholics did, as alleged, reproduce arguments then being repeated in every English speaking country. Quinn made an unusually shrewd point when, preaching in Sydney, he put the strongest emphasis on the account in Genesis of the origins of the human race, on the sanctity and knowledge which Adam and Eve abdicated, and therefore saw education as specifically "intended to

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24. Q.T. 9 December, 1862.

25. Q.T. 19 December, 1862.

26. Q.T. 8 October, 1863. Q.T. 18 October, 1864, conceded the contrary.

repair the damage that had been caused to the human race by original sin".<sup>27</sup> But this profound ideological divergence, between, on the one hand, the philosophy of materialistic evolution, with its attendant moral subjectivism which saw man as, in the last analysis, bound by no law but of his own making; and on the other, the philosophia perennis, seeing man as a special creation, bound by a law implanted in, identical with, his very nature, and sin as a mysterious lesion in nature, inexplicable but a fact: - this, the real matter at stake, was only just coming to the fore, and that rather in Melbourne ~~rather~~ than elsewhere in Australia, with Higinbotham, Cole the bookseller, and Marcus Clarke. What forced itself on the attention in Queensland was rather the party-political aspect of the question, the clash of interests, the kind of toleration to be extended to an intransigent minority. The Catholics were, in the main, hot from Ireland, Gavan Duffy's Ireland, post-famine, agitated by fenianism;<sup>28</sup> and they were under a Bishop made to measure. They were further marked out as an enclave, a party interest, by the

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27. F.J. 20 December, 1862.

28. On Fenianism as an issue, Q.T. 21 December, 1865, 26 December, 1865.



short course of Queensland's own history, the press warfare, the immigration disputes. Above all, in the Catholics themselves, natural motives, legitimate but not specifically religious, were mingled with supernatural. "We are mere Irishman", complained O'Sullivan to the Times,

who were in our childish days prohibited by Act of Parliament from going to school, and that little we do know we had to steal. And now we are feeling the effects of that great and general ignorance, being to a man excluded from every branch of the Legislature of our adopted country, and from every position of importance in the State. Nor do you feel such exclusion to be a libel on the boasted spirit of freedom and equality sung in almost every number of your paper.<sup>29</sup>

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29. Q.T. 10 November, 1864.

viii. The Politics of Education

The very first trial of strength gave an index of the ultimate outcome.<sup>1</sup> Under the Grammar Schools Act, the government was pledged to advance £2000 towards the building of a secondary school in any locality which could itself raise £1000 towards the undertaking. Immediately on arrival, taking a nothing-ventured-nothing-gained view of this provision, Quinn blandly organised the Catholics of Ipswich to subscribe £1000, and then approach the government to fulfil its part of the contract. The result was intended to be a school open to all, and where all might come without fear of proselytism, but under the control of the Catholics, its tone suited to their requirements. These proceedings, not made public till the £1000 was in hand (thus giving outsiders no opportunity to subscribe) gave rise to "some little excitement. . . in Ipswich". The North Australian, apprehensive "that this proceeding was of a sectarian character", set out, by analysis of the Bill, to prove that the intention of the Legislature was non-sectarian education; in particular, of the seven trustees, the government had the nomination of four, and a power of veto over the subscribers' choice for the remaining three. Hence, meeting blandness with blandness, the paper (still

anti-Papal at the time) concluded: "under these circumstances we do not think our Catholic fellow townsmen can be charged with sectarianism. . .they have set an example in this matter which is worthy of imitation".<sup>1</sup> This "imitation", of course, checkmated the Bishop's move. The meeting, called after two postponements - maybe weather, maybe politics - proposed a committee of fourteen, three of them Catholics, to raise the £1000; when O'Sullivan proposed, by way of amendment, a committee of seven, three of them Catholics, the meeting degenerated. O'Sullivan ended up describing the fourteen as, in the mass, "a lot of narrow-minded little bigots"; Reed, a North of Ireland presbyterian minister, who began "sincerely" hoping that "they would have no religious feeling excited, but that they would go into the matter as Queenslanders, hand in hand", declared himself, "after the disreputable conduct of the evening", "heartily ashamed that he was an Irishman". And on this happy note the meeting was adjourned.<sup>2</sup> But delay meant nothing. The adjourned meeting, by a vote of 281 to 199, determined the character of

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1. N.A. 28 June, 1861. The account of the matter in the Brisbane papers is summarised by Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, vol. ii, pp. 318-9.
  2. N.A. 23 August, 1861. Postponements, *ibid.* 30 July, 1861, 6 August, 1861.



Queensland's first, and long its only, Grammar School, against "the desire of the Catholics. . . to crush every liberal feeling and liberal movement by brute force".<sup>3</sup> Thus, as M'Ginty observed,<sup>4</sup> the Catholics' firm stand by their rights had brought into existence a school of great benefit to others, but which they could not use. For the £1000 was found within six months,<sup>5</sup> the school opened within two years;<sup>6</sup> but the Bishop had compelled the Catholics, including the reluctant M'Ginty, to resign from the Fund Committee, and later, Gorry to resign when appointed a trustee by the government.<sup>7</sup> Bowen and the executive sought to entice Catholic support;<sup>8</sup> and a few, a very few children of Catholic parents did attend the school;<sup>9</sup> on the whole, the Bishop's will prevailed, despite the concurrent troubles with M'Ginty and O'Sullivan.

Quinn's leadership on the education issue was to continue thus controversial. Perhaps he was so unwise as to disregard the experience of his peers in other colonies; perhaps, given a brand-new colony,

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3. N.A. 27 August, 1861 (the quotation). Adjourned meeting in N.A. 30 August, 1861.
  4. Q.T. 15 October, 1861. He quoted Courier of June 28, 1861.
  5. Q.T. 14 March, 1862.
  6. Q.T. 29 September, 1863.
  7. N.A. 30 August, 1861, Q.T. 23 September, 1862, 24 April, 1863.
  8. Cf. Q.T. 6 October, 1864.
  9. N.A. 15 October, 1863.

he thought it worth while testing the resolve of the secularisers, making one more attempt to galvanise the denominationalist conscience. But we should get a distorted picture of the man if we failed to note the steadier side of his administration, the well-secured base from which he operated. His initial visitation of Brisbane and Ipswich on arrival in 1861,<sup>10</sup> he followed up with tours of the northern coastal strip as far as Maryborough,<sup>11</sup> and then the Downs,<sup>12</sup> before the end of the year. There were at once moves to build churches at the larger centres, such as Warwick,<sup>13</sup> which soon had Cani as resident pastor, Toowoomba,<sup>14</sup> where Larkin was eventually put in charge,<sup>15</sup> and Dalby, where Devitt went in 1865.<sup>16</sup> In September, 1862, Quinn gathered his scattered shepherds for a retreat, according to the Tridentine rule, in Ipswich:<sup>17</sup> an important disciplinary measure, quite apart from its spiritual advantages. But the majority of the clergy were working most of the time in Brisbane and Ipswich and their districts; there it

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10. There is a picture of Quinn as missionary-bishop in N.A. 22 October, 1863. Cf. F.J. 14 August, 1861, 20 November, 1861.
  11. N.A. 6 September, 1861.
  12. N.A. 6 December, 1861.
  13. N.A. 26 July, 1862.
  14. Ibid. - Reneban outlined the program in a letter home, see A.H. Annual, 1953-4, P. 159. (Letter of September, 1862).
  15. N.A. 6 February, 1864.
  16. G.T. 17 October, 1865.
  17. N.A. 13 September, 1862.

was the foundations of the diocese were laid. There were obstacles to be encountered apart from the poverty and inertia of the Irish immigrants. The executive proved ready to embarrass the Bishop even strictly within his own sphere, by taking advantage of a legal technicality to apply a rule of forfeiture to a deposit (ten per cent) on £2236 worth of auctioned land; even though, as Quinn protested, his failure to confirm it was due to a delay in the Government's own telegraphic office.<sup>18</sup> And some suspected that bidding at these same public land auctions was calculated to raise the price of land sought by the Church. Though this accusation was retorted in various forms by the Bishop's resourceful critics - that he dissuaded prospective bidders from competing with the Church, in order to buy cheap and sell later at a profit; or that the Catholics deliberately bid up the price of land wanted by other denominations<sup>19</sup> - the figures favour the Bishop: a relatively high price for Church lands, a relatively low one for land purchased, in the instance, particularly alleged, by one of the sects.<sup>20</sup> Organisation went some

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18. N.A. 16 January, 1864 (monthly summary).

19. See correspondence in Q.T. 28 November, 1863, on (1, 3, 5 & 8 December).

20. Q.T. 12 December, 1863.



of the way to meet the situation: funds for a Cathedral in Brisbane were successfully promoted by a Committee tactfully composed of both clergy and laity under the presidency of the Bishop.<sup>21</sup> This provided both a framework and a mood favourable to the building of schools as well; and Ipswich, under Father Brun, soon organised a building society;<sup>22</sup> while Renehan caused just one more tremor of Protestant apprehension in Brisbane by a detailed census of its Catholics, touching such particulars as age, income, occupation, and marital status.<sup>23</sup>

Yet all this, at once more energetic and more systematic than anything attempted (or indeed required) elsewhere in Australia up to this stage - though South Australia was now running a nervous second - all this was body without soul had not the nuns been at hand. Primary education held the key to the future. Busy priests like Larkin and Hodebourg at Toowoomba might erect a school building, a fine structure by local standards, and run a school as best they could themselves;<sup>24</sup> but this could never be more than a temporary expedient. Even a Grammar

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21. N.A. 16 April, 1864.

22. N.A. 17 May, 1864.

23. Q.T. 22 October, 1863. Renehan's defence in N.A. of same date.

24. N.A. 17 March, 1864.

School was not of the first importance for a flock so circumstanced as Quinn's, despite the Ipswich gesture, and the Grammar School actually provided in a Brisbane house under the unordained student Devitt, in 1861.<sup>25</sup> The primary need was primary education - all the more important for the future in that only in this age-group were the sexes evenly balanced; - primary education, moreover, which must compete with a privileged state system, able already to find some £6500 p.a. for mere running expenses.<sup>26</sup> The nuns had arrived for the contest to "nothing but the bare boards"; for in fine Irish style (we are inclined to suspect) "our dear Reverend Mother preferred selecting everything for our convent herself".<sup>27</sup> Amid this privation, they were robbed - of rugs, small valuables, silk for making vestments.<sup>28</sup> Yet by September (1861), the daily attendance at their school was two hundred.<sup>29</sup> By 1864, with convents in Brisbane and Ipswich, the Irish Sisters of Mercy were evidently setting their stamp on young colonials. Their prize day in Brisbane that year featured "beautiful specimens of embroidery"; a long musical

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25. N.A. 17 May, 1864.

26. N.A. Ibid.

27. N.A. 25 June, 1861 (reproduced from F.J.)

28. F.J. 5 June, 1861.

29. Renehan in A.H. Annual loc. cit.

program included The Minstrel Boy, selections from II Figlia del Reggimento, Hail! thou Star of Ocean, and a hymn to the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>30</sup> Their numbers had already increased from the original five; a reception and a profession at the beginning of 1863 was deemed, as the taste was in early colonial days, worth a fairly detailed account in the Courier.<sup>31</sup> Their foundation in Ipswich was on the contentious auction-purchase of land, and presumably financed through M'Ginty's rather publicised fund. The way was paved when three of the nuns assisted the Bishop and three of his priests to make the Holy Week and Easter of 1864 a mission to the people; at the end of the mission, the Bishop gave a favourable reception to a deputation requesting that the nuns be allowed to stay on in Ipswich.<sup>32</sup> The foundation took place at the end of July - the feast of Quinn's name-saint, the apostle James, "whose virtues", he said, "I should endeavour to imitate". O'Sullivan, back in grace, though not in the favour of the electorate, took the

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30. N.A. 27 December, 1864.

31. Q.T. 6 February, 1863. Cf. other notices from hostile sources, Q.T. 17 November, 1864, and N.A. 18 February, 1862 (reproduced from Guardian).

32. N.A. 7 April, 1863.



occasion to object "to having to pay taxes to support a system he did not believe in".<sup>33</sup> But even on this side of the happy occasion there were compensations - the Protestants of Ipswich set aside their misgivings about scheming prelates long enough to support the Sisters' bazaar: "we dont believe the Sisters would take our money under false pretences", conceded the Times warily.<sup>34</sup>

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33. N.A. 2 August, 1864. Cf. F.J. 10 August, 1864.

34. Q.T. 30 December, 1865. The amount was fabulous, as the Times guessed: £3000 (Moran, p. 619). Alas! Bishop Quinn was the founder of Catholic lotteries.

ix. The Campaign of the Two Bishops. 1864-5.

Quinn had one more arrow in his quiver before he would call a truce with the state's education laws.

Early Anglican history in Queensland resembled that of the other colonies, but with more articulate parties and sharper dividing lines. Bishop Tufnell, a man of High Church conceptions, particularly regarding the episcopal authority, clashed with his laity, and suffered from friction with his clergy, before Quinn arrived in the colony; the incidents so closely resembled those involving Quinn with M'Ginty and O'Sullivan, that we must suspect that the Anglican example, here as elsewhere, had a direct causal influence.<sup>1</sup> The most notable difference between Quinn's case and Tufnell's was probably the inexhaustible tact and patience of the Englishman; the unsympathetic might even consider he went too far, and declined into namby-pamby at times — as when, for instance, a meeting in Rockhampton challenged him to his face, and filed out before his eyes, without rebuke or exhortation.<sup>2</sup> But as in all colonial

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1. It was the tendency of the pre-Belford North Australian to see to this. Deniehy's suit against O'Farrell (who had named him an infidel), *ibid.* 22 January, 1861, was bracketed with King v. Barker (19 February, 1861), and the local opposition to Tufnell (8 February, 1861).
  2. Q.T. 19 November, 1864.

politics, there was a bizarre mixture of the genteel and the very blunt:

The Mayor said his Lordship misunderstood him ... His Lordship assured the Mayor he was in error. The Mayor said he was asked to put his hand in his pocket, and he had a right to a voice in the appointment of the clergy.<sup>3</sup>

The Queensland Times set, who saw the abolition of state aid as a gate-way opening on Protestant reunion,<sup>4</sup> gave the Puseyite Prelate due warning to learn from the experiences of Nixon and Barker (the latter was currently being challenged in the civil court by one of his clergy) the colonial limits of prelacy:

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3. N.A. 12 February, 1861  
 4. N.A. 8 February, 1861. Cf. also Q.T. 20 October, 1864, "the National System is the Protestant System" - this intended as a commendation. Also Q.T. 17 October 1863, for a Congregationalist who saw the Congregational Union as in a common cause with the C. of E., the Presbyterians and Wesleyans. Cf. Q.T. 1 December, 1864 from the London Review, hoping for the "comprehension into one Catholic body of the scattered elements of English Protestantism, to constitute one national church", a later phase of the Evangelical Alliance.



His Lordship the Bishop comes here with all the old notions of a State Church, and a Bishop's infallibility, to a community where the ruler is "ruled by, and incompetent to do any act without the concurrence of his ministers who are ruled in their turn by the people . . ." 5

The Bishop must read the signs of the times, swim with the incoming tide of democracy. But the Bishop did not think so; he sought, as Perry and Barker did (and with no more success) to reinforce his authority by Act of Parliament;<sup>6</sup> nor did he think state-controlled education the one channell of enlightenment entitled to monopolise revenue. In Broughton's tradition, he quoted Broughton with effect against the secularists;

To suppose that teaching them nothing which is absolutely false (even if that point could be insured) will compensate for omitting to teach them what is certainly true, can never be admitted by anyone who understood the true foundation of the Christian Church.<sup>7</sup>

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5. N.A. 8 February, 1861. For a crazier manifestation of this spirit in the C. of E. see Agnew's efforts in F.J. 23 July, 1861.
  6. N.A. 9 August, 1862. The phrase "seeking to give the force of law to the Bishop in governing the Church of England", seems a good one.
  7. Q.T. 10 January, 1865

Apparently his adhesion to the dogmatic principle meant more to him even than his claims regarding the episcopal authority. Broughton, it is true, could not have separated the two; but the ground had slipped away from under the feet of the intransigently Anglican, and Tufnell, appealing to the ideal of toleration, agreed to share the public platform with Quinn, if so he might promote the cause of denominational education.

The Herbert-Macalister junta saw the alliance forming long before it was hinted in a friendlier press. As early as March 1863 the Times took alarm at the thought of the two Bishops, nominally representing two-thirds of the colony's population, petitioning Parliament in favour of state aid to denominational education.<sup>8</sup> "Is it in accordance with common justice that the public should be called upon to pay the cost of one, or two, or three forms of sectarian teaching,"<sup>9</sup> asked the paper; at the same

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8. Q.T. 17 March, 1863

9. Ibid.

time, putting some stress on the divisions of opinion within the broad embrace of Anglicanism;<sup>10</sup> while a correspondent freely aspersed the existing church-run schools as "a system into which was pitch-forked any worn-out dissipated crawler as schoolmaster".<sup>11</sup> Subsequently, the tone of the Parliamentary debate on education goaded the denominationalists to a last desperate bid for (precisely) common justice; and at a meeting in Ipswich Tufnell first appeared in open alliance with the Catholics, explicitly defending this course of action.<sup>12</sup> Both he and Quinn, at this point, took a politic line - Tufnell making it clear that he was not attacking the actual existence of the National System, but only its monopoly of revenue; Quinn (which worried Gould and Polding), that he favoured the National System in the outback.<sup>13</sup>

There were no fresh developments over the summer, which does not favour daylight public meetings in Queensland. But the following July (1864), Tufnell made an extremely pointed attack on the General Board's report, an attack endorsed in every particular

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10. Ibid. (and other issues of this period).

11. Ibid.

12. N.A. 15 October, 1863. For bearing of education debate, ibid. 12 September, 1863.

13. On this, see Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, i, p. 172.



by the North Australian: education under the existing system was "far too costly" and "not of general utility"; "the power sought by the Board to defray the cost of school building, is opposed to the spirit of the original law, and is evidence of the unpopularity of the scheme", the failure of local self-help arising not from the people's poverty, but from their disapproval of the system.<sup>14</sup> The two Bishops, in the sequel, encouraged and took part in large public meetings of protest in a number of the principal towns of the colony - Dalby, Toowoomba, Drayton, Ipswich, Brisbane, in order.<sup>15</sup> Tufnell fell in exactly with the Catholics' opinion of the politics of the matter, when he maintained that the protests against the secularist national system were popular in origin, not clerical, and that the general will of the colony was being defeated by the force and fraud of a minority.<sup>16</sup> This last charge, of course, was freely retorted; and the Times pulled no punches in its verbal assault on those two "spirited and spiritual entrepreneurs", coalescing to "rear the rising race in narrow and confined ideas, and so take away the nobleness of the human mind".<sup>17</sup> But phrases like the "blind fury

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14. N.A. 16 July, 1864 (monthly summary). Cf. Q.T. 12 July, 1864.

15. See monthly summaries in N.A. 17 September, 1864, 15 October, 1864; Q.T. 10 January, 1865.

16. See Q.T. 6 December, 1864, 10 January, 1865.

17. Q.T. 29 September, 1864.

of that bigoted section", or to the effect that Tufnell, "blindly infatuated", "acted the buffoon"; or argument (for instance) that "the most odious kind of tyranny, the most brutal violence, and perhaps bloodshed might result from the senseless agitation he (Tufnell) was carrying on"<sup>18</sup> - this continual display of intellectual bad temper by the defenders of the nobleness of the human mind fits in well enough with Tufnell's allegation that force and the threat of force were their chief counter to the Bishops' campaign.<sup>19</sup> The one instance where the secularist press circumstantially alleged mob violence on the part of the Bishops' followers, concerned the Ipswich meeting.<sup>20</sup> Challinor, one of the cabinet, was conducting a stubborn filibuster till the sun set, so that the meeting would have to disperse without achieving its object. He and the sympathetic chairman broke off and fled in the face of the angry surging crowd, and so left the denominationalists free to accomplish their designs - vain designs, of course, amounting to no more than petitions to the very government thus prepared to take

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18. Q.T. 8 October, 1864.

19. See note 16.

20. See note 18 above.

the public platform against them. Macalister, indeed, having "swallowed his invectives" against Herbert, was now chairman of the Board of Education.<sup>21</sup> The last battle of the campaign was the Maryborough election in February 1865 - Maryborough, even more than Ipswich, was an orange-green symbiosis.<sup>22</sup> The victory of a Catholic at the poll was again greeted with extraordinary virulence by the Times - assertions about the "Irish party maddened by drink" and also "harangued in the Catholic Church", in "scenes of brute force": "denominational education and opposition to the government has triumphed through brute force".<sup>23</sup> That forceful, brutal prelate, Tufnell, took ship for England in February, 1865, leaving church and state at peace, and his own church, the Times was sure, better governed by virtue of his absence.<sup>24</sup>

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21. N.A. 19 May, 1864. Macalister, in opposition, had described Herbert and Pring as "two political adventurers pitchforked into the Assembly". For his translation, N.A. 14 June, 1862.
22. N.A. 17 September, 1864.
23. Q.T. 7 February, 1864.
24. Tufnell's departure, Q.T. 16 February, 1865; the consequent benefits, 17 October, 1865. For a more friendly estimate of Tufnell's first decade, Rowland, A Century of the English Church in N.S.W., p. 123.



So ended the last serious attempt to sustain the mid-Victorian compromise giving organised religion semi-official status in Eastern Australian Society. In the West, socially stagnant and governed paternally, Frederick Weld put through a Bill which prolonged the subsidisation of religious education till 1895. "I like your Bill a good deal," Ferguson, the South Australian Governor, observed to him, but added: "I dont think we should have the least chance of carrying it out here, and expect to find irreligious education a sine qua non of any Bill."<sup>25</sup> The Catholics had to learn to live with a terminology which described this "irreligious education" as neutral, rational, free, and their own as a conditioning, biassed, prejudiced; and it was the main business of the generation for whom Quinn was the path-finder to rouse a "Catholic spirit. . .grown very torpid",<sup>26</sup> as Vaughan judged it, to stand in the multitude of the ancients that are wise, and join themselves from their heart to their wisdom, and hear every discourse of God. If Quinn and his fellows (several of them linked to him "da stretta parentela",<sup>27</sup> as Polding put it) considered an Irish

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25. Lady Weld, Sir Frederick Weld, Catholic Historical Society Archives.

26. Archbishop Vaughan - to his father, March 15, 1880 (by courtesy of Dr. E.M. O'Brien).

27. Letter from Polding, while in Rome 1866, to Propaganda, on the composition of the Australian episcopate. SAA

clergy, and a part-factitious folk-tie with Ireland, no small part of the answer, this must not obscure the nature of the disciplinary crisis we have been concerned with - something, not so much racial, as a matter of acclimatisation of Catholic thinking and organisation to the liberal day, in full and early flood in this country. So far as an Irish clergy was indeed part of the answer, it was not precisely because they came from the tir-na-og, but because, thanks to O'Connell, they had the touch.<sup>28</sup>

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28. Appendix D is intended as a sample of the Quinn "touch".

APPENDICES

## Note on the Appendices:

Appendix A indicates the proportions, the mere numerical weight, of the Catholic witness in the colonies, 1840-65.

Appendix B shows this minority correcting current hostile misconceptions of its tenets, goals and procedures.

Appendix C gives the proper solution, at a theoretical level, of the problem which so profoundly troubled this minority at this time, the sanctions guaranteeing ecclesiastical authority, vis-a-vis the Christian multitude, once prelates have no share in the power and purse of the state.

Appendix D illustrates an additional element in the solution of this problem as it in fact worked out, an element essential at the pragmatic level for Australian Catholics in 1860: a clergy prepared to shoulder a more general social responsibility, and resolute in defending the people against policies grounded, historically and logically, in the hostile presumptions repudiated in Appendix B.



APPENDIX AStatistical

The accompanying tables are based on the colonial censuses and statistical registers of the period, parliamentary papers and ecclesiastical publications (almanacs, in particular). They do not pretend to great accuracy, and the round figures on clergy and religious are no more than well-informed guesses in a number of instances - it would require a very painstaking perusal of archives to fix on more exact figures. These tables, then, give a fair picture as to proportions and trends, and I doubt if statistics have any other use in this field. On the growth of the Catholic schools systems - assisted and unassisted by the state - consult the rather more exact tables in Fogarty's Catholic Education in Australia; but even these are neither exhaustive nor definitive.

Note the following:

(a) The figures for churches limp through want of an agreed definition of terms. Thus the twenty-three I list for South Australia in 1861 included slab-and-shingle huts without floors. Generally speaking, we may say that the Victorian returns were somewhat swollen in this fashion, the New South Wales not.

(b) The only complete statistical cross-section of religions in Australian history is the Commonwealth census of 1911. This gives

- (1) the figure 70% as the proportion of Irish-born Australians professing Catholicism, a figure confirmed (with some margin either way) by spot-checks on migration after 1851.
- (11) figures for mixed marriages, with some retrospective value for the whole period prior to the decree Ne Temere. In 1911, of 135,000 Catholic husbands, 93,000 lived with Catholic wives, 22,000 did not live with their wives (whose religion was not ascertained), the balance were mixed marriages. Of 156,000 Catholic wives, 93,000 (of course) lived with Catholic husbands, 28,000 were not living with their husbands, the balance of 35,000 were in mixed marriages.

On the relative poverty and depressed social standing of the Catholics, there are few statistical indices. We might mention, however, their suburban distribution - few, say, in Kew or Prahran. Their illiteracy rates were generally higher, in our period, and particularly among adults, than those of the

community as a whole. On higher education we have no good evidence till the turn of the century, when of 1700 teachers in the Catholic schools of New South Wales, but ten had degrees (compared with 180 of a similar number of teachers in other private schools).

The gold decade, W.D. Borrie told an Australian University Seminar in October 1958, "witnessed a great volume of internal migration". The precise direction and volume of this cannot now be determined; its nett effect on the mere numerical increment of any one colony appears to have been small; but it had some importance, we may suppose, in making the composition of the population, and the outlook of the colonists, alike in the different colonies.



(Population in '000's)

| <u>1841</u>          | <u>N.S.W.</u> | <u>Tas.</u> | <u>W.A.</u> | <u>S.A.</u> | <u>Vic.</u> | <u>Q.</u> | <u>Aust.</u><br><u>(very</u><br><u>round)</u> |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|---|
| Pop.                 | 111           | 51          | 3           | 15          | 20          | -         | 200   |
| Cath.                | 35            | 4           | -           | 1           | 3           | -         | 44  |
| Irish-born Catholics |               |             |             |             |             |           | 35  |
| Sees                 | 1             | -           | -           | -           | -           | -         | 1   |
| Parishes             | 14            | 3           | -           | 1           | 2           | -         | 20  |
| Churches             | 25            | 3           | -           | -           | -           | -         | 28  |
| Clergy               | 20            | 3           | -           | 1           | 2           | -         | 26  |
| Religious & students | 10            | -           | -           | -           | -           | -         | 10  |
| <br><u>1851</u>      |               |             |             |             |             |           |   |
| Pop.                 | 188           | 69          | 7           | 67          | 97          | 9         | 438   |
| Cath.                | 55            | 13          | 2           | 6           | 18          | 2         | 96  |
| Irish-born Catholics | 27            | 6           | 1           | 3           | 11          | 1         | 49  |
| Sees                 | 2             | 1           | 2           | 1           | 1           | -         | 7   |
| Parishes             | 23            | 6           | 3           | 6           | 9           | 1         | 63  |
| Churches             | 30            | 3           | 2           | 6           | 5           | 1         | 47  |
| Clergy               | 35            | 6           | 4           | 8           | 9           | 1         | 63  |
| Religious & students | 46            | 4           | 50          | 2           | -           | -         | 100   |
| <br><u>1861</u>      |               |             |             |             |             |           |   |
| Pop.                 | 357           | 90          | 16          | 131         | 540         | 34        | 1168  |
| Cath.                | 100           | 20          | 4           | 15          | 110         | 8         | 257   |
| Irish-born Catholics | 38            | 7           | 3           | 6           | 62          | 4         | 120   |
| Sees                 | 1             | 1           | 2           | 1           | 1           | 1         | 7   |
| Parishes             | 35            | 9           | 8           | 8           | 19          | 2         | 81  |
| Churches             | 70            |             | 4           | 23          | 64          | 2         | 170   |
| Clergy               | 64            | 16          | 10          | 16          | 40          | 5         | 150   |
| Religious            | 56            | 4           | 60          | 3           | 8           | 4         | 136   |
| <br><u>1871</u>      |               |             |             |             |             |           |   |
| Pop.                 | 517           | 102         | 25          | 189         | 746         | 122       | 1701  |
| Cath.                | 148           | 23          | 7           | 29          | 171         | 32        | 408   |
| Irish-born Catholics | 45            | 5           | 1           | 12          | 70          | 15        | 150   |
| Sees                 | 4             | 1           | 2           | 1           | 1           | 1         | 10  |
| Parishes             | 62            | 14          | 12          | 16          | 29          | 11        | 144   |
| Churches             | 207           | -           | 8           | 42          | 305         | 11        | 600   |
| Clergy               | 115           | -           | 10          | 30          | 66          | 30        | 250   |
| Religious            | 120           | 10          | 70          | 85          | 45          | 20        | 350   |

APPENDIX B

Murphy's Anathemata

(Reproduced from Adelaide Observer, 11 October 1845)

## A VINDICATION OF THE DOCTRINES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

In order to manifest in the strongest terms the abhorrence in which the Catholic Church has always held, and still continues to hold, the following religious tenets, which excusable ignorance, or almost unpardonable malice still persists in imputing to the members of the Catholic communion - We hereby direct, that the ensuing anathemas be publickly read in this place of worship, on the first Sunday of every month, and that the faithful then present, shall seriously and sincerely respond to each of them, Amen.

1st.- Cursed is he that commits idolatry, that prays to images or relics, for help or assistance, or worships them for God. R. Amen.

2d.- Cursed is every Goddess worshipper, that believes the Virgin Mary to be any more than a creature, that honours her, worships her, or puts his trust in her more than God, that believes her above her Son, or that she can in anything command him. R. Amen.

3d.- Cursed is he that believes the saints in Heaven to be his Redeemers, that prays to them as such, or that gives God's honour to them or to any creature whatsoever. R. Amen.

4th.- Cursed is he who believes that the flesh and blood of Christ are present in the Sacrament in a gross and carnal manner, or who worships or makes Gods of the empty elements of bread and wine. R. Amen.

5th.- Cursed is he who believes that the Pope, Bishops, or Priests can give leave to commit sin, or that the pardon of sins may be purchased for a sum of money. R. Amen.

6th.- Cursed is he who believes that priests can forgive sins, whether the sinner repent or not, or that there is any power in Heaven or on earth, that can forgive sins, without a hearty repentance and serious purpose of amendment. R. Amen.

7th.- Cursed is he who contemns the Holy Word of God, or who hides it from the people with the Intention of keeping them in ignorance and error, and of concealing from them the knowledge of their duty. R. Amen.

8th.- Cursed is he who believes he can merit salvation by his own good works, or make condign satisfaction for the guilt of his sins or the eternal pains due to them, independently of the merits and passion of Christ. R. Amen.

9th.- Cursed is he who undervalues the Word of God, or who forsakes the Holy Scriptures in order to follow mere human traditions. R. Amen.



10th.- Cursed is he who omits any of the Ten Commandments or who keeps the people from the knowledge of any one of them, to the end that they may not have occasion of discovering the truth. R.Amen.

11th.- Cursed is he who preaches to the people in unknown tongues, tongues, such as they understand not, or who uses any other means to keep them in ignorance. R.Amen.

12th.- Cursed is he who believes that the Pope can give to any one upon any account whatsoever a dispensation to tell a lie or to swear falsely. R.Amen.

13th.- Cursed is he that encourages the commission of sin, or who teaches men to defer amendment of their lives on the presumption of their death-bed repentance. R.Amen.

14th.- Cursed is he who places all true religion and worship of God in nothing but pompous show and mere ceremonies, or who teaches the people that it is superfluous to and unnecessary to serve God in spirit and truth. R.Amen.

15th.- Cursed is he who teaches that it is lawful to do any wicked thing, provided it be for the interest or good of the Church, or that any evil may be done in order that good may be derived from it. R.Amen.

16th.- Cursed is he who believes that the Pope can validly absolve subjects from their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, or that there is any power on earth which can license men to massacre their neighbours to destroy their native country, on pretence of promoting the interests of the Catholic cause or religion. R.Amen.

17th.- Cursed are we if amongst all these wicked principles and damnable doctrines, commonly laid at our doors, any one of them be the faith of our church, and cursed are we, if we do not heartily detest all these abominable practices in the same manner as those do, who so unceasingly urge them against us. R.Amen.

18th.- Cursed are we if in answering and saying "Amen" to any of these anathemas, we should use any equivocation or mental reservation, or should not assent to them in the common and obvious sense of the words. R.Amen.

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As for the disputes, errors, or doctrines of particular Catholic divines in this or any other matter whatsoever, the Catholic Church is no way responsible for them. Personal misdemeanors of what nature soever ought not to be imputed to the Catholic Church, when not justifiable by the tenets of her faith and doctrine. Wherefore, although the stories of the Gunpowder Plot, or of the Massacre at Paris on Bartholomew's Day, had been exactly true (which yet for the most part are misstated) nevertheless, Catholics ought not to suffer for such offences, any more than the eleven Apostles ought to have suffered for the treachery of Judas.

Religious persecution is no tenet of the Catholic Church. If the mere fact of Catholics having used violence against any person of a different communion were a proof that persecution is a



tenet of our faith, this would clearly prove, that the same doctrine equally makes part of the creed of almost all denominations of Protestants, because it cannot be denied that the reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries carried on the most oppressive persecution against those who differed from them in religious opinions.

With respect to the general councils of the Church, there is an essential difference between defining articles of faith, and ordering exterior points of discipline. The former are considered immutable truths and regard the whole Church, the latter are frequently limited as to time and place, and have no force whatsoever upon individuals, until they are received and published by the civil power, in what regards civil matters, and by the ecclesiastical, in what appertains to the church.

Sweet Jesus bless our Sovereign, pardon our enemies, grant us patience, and establish peace and charity in this our adopted country!

(Signed)

FRANCIS, Bishop of Adelaide.

October 1st, 1845.

APPENDIX C

## Simony and Voluntarism

(Sacerdos's reply to Peter Pilgrim, reproduced from Freeman's Journal of April 13, 1859)

TO "PETER PILGRIM."

MY OWN DEAR PETER- "I am all amazement at your intrepidity" in venturing to lay before the public such distortions and misrepresentations of my letter as are displayed in the 10th number of your "Prosings". But it won't all do, Peter. You cannot, by your frequent "suppressions of truth", "beggings of the question", quibbling on words, or any amount of disingenuous reasoning, destroy the effect which I have reason to know my letter has produced on the Catholic mind in this colony. Up to the present I certainly did believe in the "purity of your intentions" in everything you wrote. But I confess that I am now beginning to have serious misgivings even on that point. I can scarcely convince myself that all the misstatements, unfair reasonings, and personalities contained in your last production, could have entirely escaped your notice - in plain words, that some of them at least were not wilful.

You deny having accused the priests of this colony of Simony in their "every day practice". You "never did so". "You merely accused a few priests of avarice!" And, "in making Simony the main question, I have totally misunderstood, or, at any rate, completely misrepresented your argument."

Now, my dear Peter, you will allow that your whole "prosings" (No.7) were an answer to a "Convert", who proposed to you certain doubts on matters treated of in your "prosings" generally. I will give your own words - your "ipsissima verba" in replying to a "Convert", and leave to yourself to say if I omit anything bearing on the main point. You say: "These are his doubts."

"He wishes to know to what I allude when I speak of the clergy taking 'fees for sacred offices'! By 'fees for sacred offices' I mean charging £1 and upwards for administering baptism and from £5 to £10 for celebrating a marriage. I hope I may be wrong; but, after consulting several of the best authorities, including the great St. Thomas, I am utterly unable to distinguish the every day practice of this colony from that which is thus defined by the 'Angel of the school', and adopted by all subsequent Theologians - 'Simony is a deliberate will of buying or selling for a temporal price anything spiritual or annexed to it as such.' "

I do not at all wonder, Peter, that you are "sorry" and unwilling to see, in plain English, the awful crime of which you accused the priests of this colony in their "everyday practice". You left it in the original Latin as food for the minds of



certain kindred spirits, whom I need not more particularly describe, but shrunk from presenting it in its naked deformity to the general body of the faithful, who are now in a laudable indignation against the author of such a false and impious charge. Yes, the most plain and sensible laymen (some of them having no knowledge or suspicion whatever as to who either "Peter Pilgrim" or "Sacerdos" may be) have said to me: "It was very wrong, very bad indeed, of 'Peter Pilgrim'. whoever he is, to say that the priests sell the sacraments; for, if they charge for them, they surely sell them. But sure the most ignorant Catholic in the colony would not believe that. Why, 'Peter Pilgrim' sometimes speaks like a heretic. According to him, the Church was all right in former times; but it is all wrong now! He must surely know that these 'fees' are everywhere received in all parts of the world, which could not surely be the case of the Church did not approve of it. And if it be wrong to pay them or take them, then the Church must have fallen into error in that point at least. And 'Peter Pilgrim' can never get out of this." Now, Peter, such is the language of some of the humblest of your fellow-members in the Church. It is all in vain, therefore, for you to say that because "you do not know personally perhaps half the priests in this colony, how could you accuse them of simony or any other crime". Why, your words are on record, Peter, and you have not yet either contradicted or retracted them. You are therefore accountable for them, as you are not yet believed to be insane.

To charge £1 or any sum for a certain thing is surely to sell that thing. And this you declare to be the "everyday practice of this colony" with regard to the sacraments - baptism and marriage - which you will surely not deny to be things spiritual. In fact, it would be impossible for you to make the charge in plainer terms than you have done. To take the fee, which is certainly the every day practice of this colony, is to "charge" for the sacrament, you say - to exchange it for a "temporal price", and receive its value. And then you honestly enough express your "utter inability to distinguish" between Simony and charging for the Sacraments. How could you? or any one else? To charge for the sacraments is the very essence of Simony; but your confused ideas upon this subject are often so ambiguously expressed that it is difficult to come at your meaning. You say - "according to Sacerdos, without a contract expressed or implied there can be no Simony. According to St. Thomas, as I read his definition, it is not necessary that in order to constitute one species of Simony, there should be any contract expressed or implied". I am certainly puzzled to come at your meaning here. Whatever you mean, or wish to prove, the literal meaning of your words is, that, according to your understanding of St. Thomas, there is at least one species or kind of Simony that may exist without a contract - to which a contract expressed or implied is not essential. If this be your meaning (and your next sentence inclines me to think it is ) I totally deny its truth, and



again repeat, that "without a contract, expressed or implied, there can be no Simony" - no kind of Simony whatever. Go back to your Ligorio, Peter, and open it again at the same place; tom.2, liber 4, Sub.iii, art.1, n.49. You will there find these words:- "Simonia non consistit sine pactione aliqua, tacita vel expressa, et obligatione ex pacto". In English, "Without a contract or agreement expressed or implied, and an obligation arising from that agreement, there can be no Simony". Now, what do you think of that, Peter? A little further on you will find the divisions of Simony. You will find that it is either mental, conventional, real, or confidential. And that not even mental Simony can exist without a contract - implied of course in that case. "Mentalis est (Simonia) cum quisdat temporale cum animo obligande ad reddendum spirituale, aut e converso." From this you see that to constitute even mental Simony some external act is necessary - that something temporal must be given, done, or performed with the intention of binding another to confer something spiritual, or vice versa. But your logic on the matter runs thus: "The very wish or desire - the simple act of the will - voluntas - is all that St. Thomas requires to constitute the crime of Simony;" therefore, in order to constitute one species of Simony, it is not necessary that there should be any contract expressed or implied, nor any thing given, or received, or promised, or asked, far less bargained for. The priest is guilty of Simony, not only by taking a fee on the occasion of the administration of the Sacraments, but even by the least wish or desire that his people should thus contribute to his support.

Such is your conclusion, Peter, most legitimately drawn from your mode of argumentation, from the collocation and plain natural meaning of your words and phrases, and from the whole tenor of your writings on this subject. But I will do you the justice to suppose that by the words wish or desire perhaps you did not mean the wish or desire to receive the "fee" as a right, as something justly due for the necessary support of the clergy, or even as a voluntary offering. Perhaps you meant the wish or desire to sell what is spiritual for a temporal price. Such wish or desire deliberately entertained certainly does constitute the "crime of Simony." But in that case you confound the crime or guilt of simony with simony itself. And you dexterously introduce the former for the latter, saying: "Here then we are at direct issue, and ... I have no objection to a friendly tilt with 'Sacerdos' on the true definition of simony". As much as to say, that you have given "the true definition of simony" according to St. Thomas, by saying that "the very wish or desire - the simple act of the will - is all that he requires to constitute the crime or guilt of simony!" Oh, Peter! this confounding of two things so essentially distinct as simony and the guilt of simony, and your disingenuous substitution of the one for the other, is quite characteristic!

We know from the highest authority (St. Matt. c.5,v.28) that by the wish or desire to commit any wicked act the guilt

attached to the act itself is immediately incurred. But yet, what a difference between the wish and the act! What a difference, for example, between the deliberate wish to murder a man, and actually stabbing him through the heart, or shooting him through the head, or hanging him by the neck till his body be dead! Also, how great is the difference between a wilful desire to injure a man by slander and defamation, but at the same time restraining one's tongue or pen, through any motive, however selfish or servile - what a vast difference, I say, between such desire and giving one's tongue all sorts of liberties against that person, or writing a spiteful, malicious, and lying letter against him - perhaps accusing him of crimes which he never at all committed, or with the continual neglect of duties which he regularly discharged!

Now, there is just the same difference between simony and the crime or guilt of simony; and yet, when it suits your purpose, Peter, you confound the latter with the former, and substitute the one for the other, in order to carry out your views per fas aut nefas. You substitute the crime (i.e., the guilt of simony incurred by an internal act of the will, of which even the Church cannot judge) - this you substitute for simony itself - an external, outward act, subject to ecclesiastical censures - and with one species of which, namely, real simony, you accused wholesale the priests of this colony. And to this change of terms you resort when hard pressed, for the sole purpose of proving that no contract, expressed or implied, is necessary to constitute simony. The simple act of the will, the mere wish or desire, (but what wish or desire you mean is left in sublime obscurity) is, you say, sufficient, according to St. Thomas, to constitute the crime of Simony. And as the wish or desire is known by the deed, therefore every priest that receives or takes any fee on the occasion of the administration of the sacraments is guilty of Simony!!

This is your reasoning, Peter. Sic argumentaris Domine, doctissime Theologiae professor. But "if this mode of changing the terms were permitted in logic it would be easy to prove or disprove anything". Thus, Peter Pilgrim, by an ill-directed zeal, and by misrepresenting Catholic doctrines and principles, is vainly attempting to do what he calls "purging the sanctuary;" therefore all the learning of Cardinal Wiseman and Doctor Newman, and all the labours, piety, and prayer of all our foreign missionaries in every part of the world, are of no avail for the propagation of the Catholic faith!! Beautiful! admirable! specimen of ratiocination!

But notwithstanding that the above is the clear chain of your reasoning, Peter, still you have the "intrepidity (at which I am all amazement)" to say that "you did not expressly accuse even one priest in this colony of Simony". Most



expressly you did: and not one, but the whole of them, unless you make some distinction between simonia and simony, the latter of which I grant you did not express according to its English orthography. But you surely expressed your utter "inability to distinguish the 'every-day practice of this colony' in taking fees for sacred offices", by which you mean "charging £1 and upwards for administering baptism, and from £5 to £10 for celebrating a marriage"; you expressed your "utter inability to distinguish", i.e. to make any difference between "this every-day practice" and what St. Thomas, adopted by all subsequent theologians, defines to be simony - the buying or selling a spiritual thing for a temporal price.

And, now, my dear Peter, knowing how terse, lucid, and powerfully logical you are in all your writings, I take leave to close this part of my subject by presenting you with the following syllogism in return for the finished enthymene with which you favoured me. It is this: To take a fee, any fee whatever, on the occasion of the administration of the sacraments, is to charge for the sacraments, to sell them, and commit simony; but to take the fee is the "every-day practice of this colony" - of all the priest in the colony: therefore all the priests in the colony are "guilty of simony in their every-day practice!" Come, now, Peter, "quid dicis ad Majorem?" Will you risk your honour, candour, veracity and reputation in general before the public, by saying that the major proposition of the above syllogism is not as substantially expressed in your "prosings" (No.7) as it is now by me? You are asked by a "Convert" to what you allude when you speak of the clergy taking "fees for sacred offices". Your answer is that "you mean charging £1 and upwards for administering baptism, and from £5 to £10 for celebrating a marriage". To "charge" for a sacrament is to sell it, to sell it is to commit simony. The major is therefore undeniable, and, the major being granted, all the rest follow. I must, therefore, repeat what I said both first and last, viz., that "you most plainly and openly accuse the priests of this colony of simony in their 'every-day practice!'". This undeniably is your wholesale general accusation. And I did not think you could descend to such puerility as to say that you did not make it, because "you left the name of the crime and its definition in a language unintelligible to the general reader!" and because you "do not know, personally, perhaps, half the priests of this colony! Admirable reasons for denying a patent fact!" As well might you say that you never wrote anything in condemnation of "fees for sacred offices", because your 'prosings' were not written in Greek. Oh! Peter! Peter!

"It was quite needless", you say, "for 'Sacerdos' to prove from St. Thomas that 'it is lawful to give or receive something for the support of the ministers of religion'. You have never, either in theory or practice, denied this." Peter! what is coming over you? Have you any regard at all for what you say? Well, you know that I did not quote St. Thomas simply for the purpose mentioned by you. I did not quote him



to prove that it is lawful in general to give or receive something for the support of the ministers of religion. So far was I from quoting St. Thomas to prove the lawfulness of contributing to the support of the ministers of religion, that I expressly mentioned that it was a duty to do so - an obligation imposed by the Divine Law from which even the Church could not dispense. But I did quote St. Thomas to prove that it is lawful to give or receive something for the support of the ministers of religion on the occasion of the administration of the sacraments - that it is lawful for the faithful to contribute at the very time they are baptised or married to the support of their pastors, according to the approved custom of the Church - that it is lawful to do the very thing which you call a "horrid vice!" "wicked acts!" in fact, "simony!" This is what I quoted St. Thomas for, as well you know. Oh, Peter! let the public judge of your candour and sincerity in this point.

Peter! your own quotation from my letter proves that you are not speaking the truth when you say I made light of the Council of Elvira. I did nothing of the sort. I said in effect that it was only a Provincial Council, and as such I allowed its full weight and authority by saying that its canons were binding on all the clergy within the province, but nowhere out of it. Nor do I in the least contradict myself in this matter, as you most unfairly try to show by suppressing half the sentence from which you quoted, and by omitting from the part you did quote the following words, viz., "from the words of this Council!" After proving from the words of the Council that it was "customary (ut fieri solebat)" before the Council was held to drop the baptismal offering into the "Concha", and stating that it is now "customary to lay it on a table or in any convenient place where the ceremony is performed", I said, without asking a question, which you make me do by transposing my words - I said, "How therefore you can discover from the words of this Council any difference between their discipline and ours - how you can make out that the offering was then an 'unsolicited gift', a 'fee purely voluntary', but is now a charge which is compulsory, is not quite clear to me". This is the whole sentence, of which you quoted only the half, transposed my words, and made me ask a question in order to make me contradict myself. But it is clear from my words that I was speaking of the baptismal offering that was customary to be made in that part of the Spanish church represented by the Council of Elvira before the Council was held, and not of the discipline after the Council. What I meant to say, and clearly enough did say, was, that the baptismal offering is now as voluntary as it was before the Council of Elvira, and that it was then (before the Council) as compulsory as it is now. In other words: that it was voluntary then and is voluntary now. Whereas you say, without the shadow of authority from the words of the Council,

that the offering was then, i.e. before the time of the Council, an "unsolicited gift" a "fee purely voluntary", but assert that it is now a charge which is always compulsory. Peter! your unfair dealing is here plain to everybody.

But "the Church", you say, "allows nothing but voluntary offerings". I deny it altogether. The obligation of making offerings for the support of the clergy (which is all I contend for) is so obligatory that even the church, so far from "allowing nothing but voluntary offerings", could not, as I have already said, dispense with the obligation, nor make it voluntary, i.e., optional with the faithful whether to make these offerings or not. I know how you can quibble on the word "voluntary", Peter; but this is not to be wondered at considering the other parts of your 'prosings' No. 10. On that part of my letter where I say that the offerings made on the occasion of the administration of the sacraments are simply contributions of the faithful for the support of their pastor, and therefore that the term "voluntary" is not an exact, proper description of them, you remark: "I believe him. When they have ceased to be voluntary in fact" (you mean by the exaction of the clergy) "the name is a delusion. Now, in order at once and for ever to put a stop to such caviling, know you, Peter, and all "to whom these presents may come", that the offerings are "voluntary" at the time of making them: that there is no obligation whatever to give anything on the occasion of a baptism or a marriage, if the parties have at other times duly contributed to the support of their pastor. But the offerings are not "voluntary" in the sense that they may be omitted altogether, or paid, or not paid, according to caprice or pleasure. To make offerings for the support of the ministers of religion is a duty imposed on the faithful by the divine law, for which I tell you once more the Church cannot dispense. They are, therefore, obligatory. But to make them on the occasion of the administration of the sacraments is only a custom - a custom however sanctioned and approved by the Church - and in this sense the offerings may be called "voluntary", inasmuch as it is optional with the parties whether to pay them then or at any other time.

I am not done with Elvira yet, Peter. It is a pleasure to me to dwell on what is agreeable to you. And this Council, I am sure, must be particularly so, being, as "you are all admiration" at its 48th canon, as "expressive of the mind of the Church" in condemning and prohibiting all offerings of the faithful on the occasion of the administration of the sacraments. "Expressive of the mind of the Church!" What are you thinking of, Peter? A Provincial Council expressive of the mind of the Church! Don't you know that the Church would have subsisted in all its purity and integrity if the whole kingdom of Spain had been submerged in the sea or sunk by an earthquake on the first morning of the assembling of the Council at Elvira? A Provincial Council expressive of the mind of the Church! But, my dear Peter, what do you think of the National Council of Thurles, presided at by Pius IX. in



the person of his Apostolic Delegate, and of three or four Provincial Councils held since in the same country, which I will not name through respect for your feelings? What do you think of these councils, each and all of them approving and sanctioning the very thing which you say is "condemned by Fathers, and Councils, and Popes", viz., that "it is lawful for the faithful on the occasion of the administration of the sacraments, to contribute to the support of their pastor". In order not to be misunderstood, I may here observe, that the decrees even of a Provincial Council on matters of discipline, when approved by the Holy See, are expressive of the mind of the Church as to the discipline befitting that particular province. But I deny that such decrees, even when so approved, are of the least obligation on other parts of the Church unless received by the bishops thereof.

I hope, Peter, you will no longer say that I disrespectfully treated the Council of Elvira, but, on the contrary, admit that I have given it a fair share of attention, and acknowledged the full extent of its authority. As to the general Council, Lateran, so far from disputing its authority, I heartily subscribe to every thing it teaches. "And if any one be found rash" and sacrilegious "enough to violate its decree by exacting" (as a price before hand) the least thing, for the burial of the dead, the blessing of marriages, or, in fine, for the other sacraments, I heartily wish and pray that for the good of his soul his body may be punished like Giezi, whose crime he imitates by these shameful actions".

This prayer ought, I think, to convince you that I do not, as you say, "defend the exacting of fees" as opposed to the prohibition of Pope Gelasius. And as to your saying that I "defend the squabbling about them before the altar", it is altogether unworthy of notice. But here I take leave to say that you never did hear any priest "squabbling about them before the altar". What I said was that a priest could lawfully rebuke even before the altar those who are in the habit of refusing him his rights - who never contribute anything to his support, whilst he knows they could very well do so. I said he could rebuke such parties for this the same as for the neglect of any other duty. But all this is widely different from squabbling. And no reasonable person will believe, Peter that you could so bona fide distort and pervert an opponent's arguments to the extent you have done. You even say "that according to Sacerdos, the clergy may lawfully hoard up to an indefinite period, or as long as they live, money which he admits is not their own but the absolute property of the church". This is the substance of what you say without any qualification or exception whatever. But I hope I will not be blamed by those who have read my clear language, and I trust correct doctrine on this matter, for condescending to notice such palpable misrepresentation. I certainly did say that all the revenue a priest receives as such is the absolute property of the church. But it by no means follows that it is not his



own also. It is the absolute property of the church in the sense that the priest cannot, without sin, apply it to any purely secular purpose unconnected with the cause of charity, religion, or education. But it is also his own property in the sense that he has right to live on it, and use it for proper maintenance during the period of his natural life. I do not say, as you attribute to me, that a priest may lawfully hoard up to the time of his death the total surplus, if it be anything considerable, that remains after his proper support. All I contend for is, that if he can he may lawfully make a reasonable provision - mark that, a reasonable provision - for old age, sickness, or accidents. Then, if he wants it, he has it, and has a right to it, who wrought for it. If he does not want it, it is there for the Church. Such is the doctrine I defend, Peter. And by saying that "all your notions of the self-denying character of the Catholic missionary priesthood vanish" at the maintenance of such doctrine, believe me, you are destroying your character with the Catholic public for prudence, sincerity, and truth, and lowering yourself in the estimation of all moderate men. Why, Peter, you confound counsels and precepts; you make no distinction between them. If a priest chooses to renounce all, he is to be applauded; if he does not, no living man can lawfully censure him for doing only what I contend for. So, in like manner, Peter, if you choose to renounce everything you may possess, and to devote yourself entirely to the good of religion by becoming my servant and attendant through the bush, it would certainly be a noble, heroic sacrifice on your part, meriting "a hundred fold and life everlasting;" but, if you do not choose to do so, neither I nor any one else has any right to find fault with you. I must now repeat, endorse, and confirm the substance of my last letter - viz., that it is perfectly lawful for the faithful, in accordance with the approved custom of the Church, to contribute to the support of their pastors on the occasion of the administration of the Sacraments, and that it is equally lawful for the pastors to receive such offerings as contributions to their support; also, that it is lawful for the clergy to make a reasonable provision for old age, sickness, or accidents.

In conclusion, Peter, I do assure you that I sympathize with you on the position in which the last number of your prosings places you before the public, as Logician, Theologian, and - I was going to say Christian, but I cannot trust myself to speak of the levity and irreverence shown in the second last paragraph. I do candidly and charitably assure you that I think you are as much out of your sphere in dabbling in Theology as was Sir Isaac Newton when he dived into the Apocalypse and attempted to reveal the Revelations! I would counsel you in all sincerity to desist from your present course in fighting against the Church, lest your "candlestick be", at last, "removed" - lest you lose the faith altogether, and, like the philosopher, end in Deism or Infidelity: quod absit et Deus avertat. But if you must continue - if your call to "purge

the sanctuary" be such as that you cannot resist, then I would advise you to do the work by prayer in private, for your "prosings", your public exhibitions, affording as they do painful evidence of confusion of ideas and distorted views in Theology, must inevitably defeat your purpose.

I must not finish, however, without giving you your merit, Peter. I do believe then that your writings have done some good. It is natural to suppose that throughout the colony there have been some, perhaps many, who entertained the same notions as yourself concerning "fees for sacred offices", and what you call a "priest's hoarding up monies that legitimately belong to the church". And I hope that you have been the occasion of bringing many, if not all, of these to a better understanding on this matter. I am certain it has been so in some cases. I therefore expect a large increase in the amount of those fees throughout the colony, and consequently that the clergy will have much more to expend on those religious, charitable, and social purposes you have so much at heart, than if your prosings had not been given to the world. And, expecting this increase in clerical income, I cannot help regretting and expressing my great disappointment (a disappointment which I am sure, was felt by others) that for some cause or other you did not, in your last prosings, make the slightest allusion to several questions contained in my letter, which I deemed of great importance, and to which I respectfully requested your answer.

Now, Peter, not knowing whether you may continue to write or choose henceforth to pray for the "purification of the sanctuary", I beg once more to lay before you the same questions, which I now however reduce to two; but will add another altogether new, and arrange them numerically for your greater convenience.

1. When is a priest bound in conscience, and under pain of sin, to hand over, for church purposes, the whole of his income not actually required for proper maintenance, which, according to you, Peter, he is bound to do sometime before his death. But when is it to be done? Is it weekly, monthly, or yearly? So that, abstracting from his clothes, books, furniture, and horse, he must at the end of each week, month, or year, as the case may be, be as destitute of silver and gold, and their equivalent, as was St. Peter going into the temple to pray?  
If not

2. How long can he without sin retain, not the whole of the surplus, mind you that, Peter, if it be any thing considerable, but a reasonable share of it subject to his own use in case he may come to require it? Now mind you, Peter, what I want to learn from you by these two questions is, when is the priest bound, under pain of sin, to hand over for church purposes, &c. the whole of his income not required for his proper maintenance? You maintain that he cannot keep any of it until his death. What I want to know is the particular time at which he is bound, under pain of sin, to give it all up, to



hand over the whole of it. Your answer to this will settle everything at issue between us respecting the retention or resignation of ecclesiastical property.

3. What do you think of the Council of Thurles? Do you hold it to be of equal, greater, or less authority in the Church than the Council of Elvira?

Now, Peter, in the event of your continuing to write, instead of henceforth praying for the purification of the sanctuary, I will expect separate answers to these questions at your earliest convenience. And, in the event of my not receiving them separately, and according to number as arranged by me, no matter from what cause it may arise, I will not hold myself bound, by any motive whatever, to take any further notice of your "prosings".

SACERDOS.

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Compare the following from Finn's Chronicles of Early Melbourne, p. 150:

The following notification, evidently authorised, appears in Kerr's Port Phillip Directory for 1842:-

"There are no fees exacted in the Roman Catholic Church, excepting for burial, and these have never been demanded or received in Melbourne. Marriage, as well as baptism, is considered a sacrament, and were a Roman Catholic clergyman to demand remuneration for the administration of any sacrament, he would be held to have committed simony, and be punishable for that offence. It is customary for the flock, according to their goodwill and means to make presents or voluntary offerings on such occasions; but there is no specific law in the Church affixing any fees. The return to the Government of fees received by the Roman Catholic chaplain of Melbourne has hitherto been" nil.



APPENDIX D.

## Irish Immigration to Queensland

(Letter from M. Quinn, later Bishop of Bathurst, to his brother James, dated 24<sup>th</sup> February 1863, reprod. from North Australian 7 May 1863, which took it from the Courier.)

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"Father Dunne has arrived safe, and brought us all news from Brisbane, but unfortunately we had more news touching the Emigration movement than he was able to give us. In fact Mr. Herbert had issued orders to have our Emigration movement stopped before Father Dunne had arrived.

"Though you will have a knowledge of this fact long before this letter comes to hand, yet I deem it necessary to give you an historic account of it, in order that you may be able to meet Mr. Herbert on his arrival at Brisbane, as he proceeds to Queensland by this mail. Shortly after I had sent my last letter to you, I asked for an interview with Messrs. Herbert and Jordan, in consequence of an offer from an Italian Nobleman of Milan, to send out to Queensland one thousand adults well skilled in everything connected with the cultivation of the vine. The day for an audience was named, and I proceeded to London, where I remained ten days, endeavouring to come at the bottom of what I suspected to be his ~~business~~ plot. I had two interviews with Mr. Herbert. In the first I spoke of the Italians who were anxious to emigrate to Queensland. On this point he said he could give no definite answer till he had communicated with the Queensland Government. The question of the Land Order System then turned up, and the use which our Society was making of it. Mr. Herbert frankly and explicitly stated, showing his final determination: first, that all emigration from Ireland should be practically stopped for the present, as his government had come to the resolve to act in Irish emigration business on the same principles as the other Australian colonies, viz., to send an equal number in the ratio of the population of the three portions of the United Kingdom. Secondly - That after I had sent the 450 to whom I promised passages I should send no more. This was plain, and put in the most unmistakeable language. I in the first instance did no more than ask a few questions to make myself certain of his meaning. After bidding Mr. Herbert goodbye in the most friendly manner, I went to my hotel and took a memorandum of our conversation. Next day I called on Mr. Herbert again, and after asking him to excuse me for occupying his time by a second visit, when every moment must be precious

to him, now on the eve of his departure for Queensland, I commenced by saying that after reflecting on our conversation of the previous day, I found that his prohibition to send out any more emigrants to Queensland, or the suppression of our Society, was of far deeper importance than I had at first been led to believe. In fact, I said, "Mr. Herbert the matter stands thus - your Government sends an Immigration Commissioner to the United Kingdom to procure immigrants or a population for Queensland. He lectures and corresponds with thousands in England. Meantime our Society is founded in Brisbane and is sanctioned by the Governor in Council, and I believe the document so sanctioning it has your name attached to it as Colonial Secretary. I am appointed agent to the Society. Mr. Jordan, after having lectured in England and Scotland, comes over to Ireland; I receive him most cordially; I introduce him to the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor, to the principal members of the Chamber of Commerce, to every one of the newspaper proprietors of every shade of politics and religion. I assist at his lectures and obtain for him an immense audience on two occasions; I give him letters of introduction through the country - in a word - I enter and sail in the same boat with him, and consequently become responsible for the promises he held out to the people. And more, relying on the good faith of the Queensland Government regarding the land-order system, I issue a prospectus and promise to send the people out for a small sum which goes to defray the necessary expense of clerks, correspondence, &c., &c., the land-orders paying their passages. Scarcely has Mr. Jordan ceased to lecture in Ireland, and returned to England, when you announce that every promise he has made, every inducement he has held out to the Irish people to emigrate to Queensland is null and void, and that the Society which the Governor in Council sanctioned, must cease its operations." Here Mr. Herbert interrupted me, and said, "But Dr. Quinn, the number that has been sent from Ireland far exceeds its due proportion, and it is only just that emigration should cease from that portion of the Kingdom till England and Scotland have sent their share." "You will pardon me" I replied, "Mr. Herbert, if I say that it is not for me to offer an opinion on this matter of due proportion of which you speak. I am not a citizen of Queensland, and, therefore, it is not my business to speak of this or any other subject in as far as they affect the interests of Queensland. My brother, the Bishop, has given his whole life to the colony, and his talents, his energy, and his high position gives him a right to speak on these matters. It will be for him to say whether he agrees with you or not on this question of due proportion, a subject on which the Queensland will yet have to decide. On this matter, as I said, it is not my direct business to offer an opinion, but I have a right to place before you and your Government, the peculiar and distressing position in which your late



regulations place me. On the faith of the promises which Mr. Jordan held out, backed by me, the emigration movement took deep root in Ireland. Many small farmers have already sold out their small holdings, and very many have made arrangements to sell out at the end of the spring and the commencement of the summer. There are thousands in Ireland who hold me responsible for the move which has been made for emigration, and it was on the faith of your Government and the promises made by Mr. Jordan that I thus made myself responsible. Neither Mr. Jordan nor I ever said a word about this 'due proportion' of which you speak. On the contrary, both of us proclaimed that in the new colony of Queensland - three times as large as France - there was room enough for more than the whole kingdom could send; and that the colony would give a welcome to all emigrants from Europe, without distinction of creed or country. How then can I face those people when I return to Ireland and tell them that all emigration from that part of Her Majesty's dominions must cease, as far as I am concerned. One landlord a member of Parliament has written against me already, and I do not know the moment I may be denounced in Parliament for having raised the minds of the people to emigrate, and then told them they could not go." Mr. Herbert here admitted the awkwardness of my position, and asked what I would suggest. I said I considered that the Queensland Government were bound to act on the same principle as the Home Government in this and every such matter, viz., to give due notice of the changes they were about to make. I thought that six months in the colony and eight months at home would be little enough. This would give me time to give notice to the people, and to receive my numbers each month so as to have none after the expiration of eight months. Mr. Herbert said he considered the proposal a fair one, and would give it his due consideration, promising to write me on the subject. Father Dunne has told you of what happened on my last visit to London, and enclosed my letter to Mr. Jordan; you will see that I asked for an immediate answer, in order to send it by this mail. I received no answer, and that fact leaves the question more open and more susceptible of discussion with you.

"Yours, &c.,

"MATHEW QUINN.

"Right Rev. Dr. Quinn, Bishop of Brisbane."



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Atlas

Weekly Register

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Freeman's Journal

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## Melbourne

Port Phillip Patriot and Morning Advertiser  
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## Tasmania

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## South Australia

South Australian Register  
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## Queensland

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