

AN OVERVIEW OF BRISBANE CATHOLICHISTORYREV. T. P. BOLAND

In a brief overview of a century and more of history of the church in this state, it may serve to begin with the official origin of the colony of Queensland. On 10 December, 1859, representatives of various groups and organisations in the community met to present an address to the first Governor, Sir George Ferguson Bowen. In reply, His Excellency spoke approvingly of the place of each group in Queensland. Two groups were unrepresented: the Roman Catholics and the Aborigines. Whatever circumstances were responsible for the omissions, they may be the key to the understanding of events that a simple chronology provides. We are looking at the story of the integration of the Roman Catholic Church into Queensland society; and we are seeing the more complicated question of the church's witness in justice and charity through that same society. The one may be seen as by and large a success; the other a mixture of credit and shame.

Of course, the colony and the church had a pre-history. It is essential to recognise that the church begins when the first Catholic arrives, be that bishop, priest or lay person. The origins of our story must be seen with those Irishmen listed among the convicts in the Moreton Bay penal settlement 1824-1842, and among their guards. Since these were by definition transients, we may look for our Founding Father to a ticket-of-leave man named Murphy on the Patrick Lesley station. No inhabitants of the territory were more permanent - despite the white invasion - than the aborigines. The Passionist Mission on Stradbroke Island 1843-1846 (1847?) can claim to be the first continuous work of the church in Queensland. However, in accord with the view, endorsed by Vatican II, that the Eucharist is the summit and the source of all church action and existence, the Queensland hierarchy celebrated the centenary of the province's existence in 1943, one hundred years after the first known Mass was celebrated in what is now Queensland. This was during the pastoral visit of Archbishop Polding to the penal settlement and surrounding areas. It was an absolute beginning. Archbishop Duhig, preaching at the centenary Mass, remarked with a viewpoint characteristic of himself, that the church then possessed not one shilling's worth of property. It certainly possessed on the spot no organisation for pastoral mission. Polding supplied this with the Stradbroke Island settlement and regular visits by priests to Brisbane, especially after free settlers were allowed after the abandonment of the convict establishment. He built the putative Pugin St Stephen's and by 1859 there were two parishes, one in Brisbane and the other in Ipswich. The priests were Fathers Hanly and M'Ginty.

(This rapid survey passes over Cardinal Moran's romantic story of the Spanish settlement at Gladstone. The evidence was demolished by another archbishop historian, a more reliable one, Eris O'Brien. Further interest in pre-Cook European contact with the area may force a revision yet again; but the de Quiros story, though its enormous symbolic value remains, is discredited.)

In 1859, the Crown set up a new colony. In accordance with its established policy, Rome set up a new diocese to work it. Despite Polding's endeavours to get an Englishman - or at least a Benedictine - the first bishop was an Irishman, James Quinn. The appointment may highlight what he inherited and what he did not. Queensland avoided the English-Irish and Benedictine-secular disputes. It avoided the worst of the convict problem. It inherited the mission circuit style of pastoral care Polding had created. In so vast an area as Queensland, with its population scattered the length of its littoral and rapidly pushing inland, that was essential. There is an entry in the early Brisbane baptism registers

in which the address of the baby is recorded as "Halfway to Gympie". That is not helpful to later researchers, but it highlights vividly the kind of diocese Brisbane was and remained until comparatively recently. It inherited a sense of opening opportunity for Irishmen. Comparatively few Irish Roman Catholics had at this stage come to the colonies as settlers of substance. Approximately 50,000 had come as convicts, many more as bounty migrants. Macquarie's assistance to the emancipated and the hard work of many others had demonstrated that Australia offered opportunities to the poor farmer in Ireland. By 1859, the flood of gold seekers was beginning.

Along with these opportunities went a resentment from more established elements in the colonies. It has been estimated that the Irish were approximately one in three of the population. Dr John Dunmore Lang, a Presbyterian divine of generous heart and generous wrath, proposed in a pamphlet *The Question of Questions: or Shall This Colony Become a Province of Popery?* A colonial office policy decided that the various nationalities should be kept in the same proportion they enjoyed in the United Kingdom.

The phrasing of that decision indicated an important qualification to be put to the reputed Irish radicalism in the colony. At this stage most Irish protest was directed against the policies of the Westminster Parliament, and later against the Parliament itself. It was not against the Crown or the Union as such. A man like Kevin Izod O'Doherty was transported as a Young Irishman and John Flood as a Fenian. Both entered the service of the Crown in Queensland with no sense of contradiction.

Another United Kingdom inheritance, by way of New South Wales, was the birth of the movement for a secular society. In a sense, all the Christian churches were established by Governor Bourke's Church Act of 1836. As the colony of Queensland was formed, Fathers Hanly and McGinty were paid salaries by the government. The first session of the Queensland Parliament in 1860 abolished the Act for the new colony and James Quinn welcomed the decision. What was abolished then was aid for churches and clergy. It left intact that other inheritance from New South Wales, aid for church schools. The inheritance included the unseemly wrangling of the churches about what system of schools and religious instruction should be financed; it included the resentment of many contributors to the fund over what was considered the wasteful expenditure on two systems of schools competing in the same small town with the limited resources of money and personnel available. The campaign for free, compulsory and secular education was approaching its height. "Secular" did not necessarily mean irreligious. In most colonies at most times it did not; but there was an increasing body of opinion, especially in newspapers, intellectually convinced of just that. The diocese of Brisbane entered the controversy as it entered its irrational stage.

With such vital social questions at so critical a stage, much depended on the leadership of the church as to whether Roman Catholics fitted into Queensland and affected the growth of Queensland or not. Granted the episcopal policy of the church and the fixation on authority in the colonies noted by Professor Roe, it is inevitable that for the sake of study we consider the development of the church in Brisbane by episcopates.

The first thing to settle about the first bishop is his name. For fifty-eight of his sixty-four years he called himself James Quinn. In 1875, in a fit of Hibernian fervour at the centenary of the birth of Daniel O'Connell, he declared himself O'Quinn. For the last six years of his life, he occasionally remembered the O. His will was signed "O'Quinn" and his great legacy of land to the diocese is still called the O'Quinn Estate. Quinn or O'Quinn, the confusion tells us much about him.

Irish, of comfortable stock, talented, with a gift for decision-making if not for administration, with abundant energy, vision to see the meaning of the future in the brief phase of origin, the courage to commit the church to positions beyond its present place and power, impatient of those who could not share his optimism, he was one of the colony's achievers. He had charm and flexibility for governments and other churches; a pastoral concern for the whole of his flock, an imperious and ruthless authoritarianism for the clergy and religious who had to put his plans into effect. He initiated a kind of rule that remained characteristic till Vatican II. It was intensely centralised on himself, yet, by the - in this instance - liberating effect of distance, reliant on local initiative. How those two tendencies developed - centralisation and devolution - depended on the differing characters of his successors.

He quickly quashed incipient Lay Trusteeism in his diocese. Many of his problems sprang from the lack of resources. He came to a diocese with no provision for the bishop's administration and plenty for the individual parishes. He disputed a will being executed by Father M'Ginty in Ipswich. He removed the parish priest and got the government to cut off his remaining salary. When a lay committee organised opposition in the parish, he personally challenged them from the altar and threatened canonical sanctions. A revolt was quickly settled. His charm restored his respect and even admiration among the laity, but Father M'Ginty finished his career in remote Bowen.

Some of his colleagues fared worse. Half a dozen walked out of the diocese over the impossibility of Quinn's financial regulations, again reinforced by sanctions. He showed little concern at being left with a handful of priests to cover the whole of Queensland. He valued his authority over numbers. In the same way he let go the only order of religious priests he had, the Augustinians of the Assumption.

The studies of Sr Frances O'Donoghue and Sr Anne McLay have documented his domineering attitude to convent affairs in the Sisters of Mercy. He used - rather dubiously - his canonical expertise and the lack of any effective appeal to enforce his will in internal affairs. The discretion and courage of Mother Vincent Whitty and the alliance of the redoubtable Mother Brigid Conlon saw him through without the departure of these nuns. However, he did accept the withdrawal of the Sisters of St Joseph rather than surrender his authority. He displayed more flexibility over what he saw as essential policies than he is usually credited with; but the non-negotiable matter was local versus central government. The Josephites were an Australia-wide organisation with ultimate authority outside the diocese. The Sisters of Mercy were of diocesan right. He wanted only the later. The Josephites left the diocese gradually in the last three years of his episcopate amid clamorous criticism of Bishop Quinn.

His relations with the Christian Brothers were happier. For them the fact of central government was established. There was no diocesan alternative. Despite the friction between them and some Irish bishops, Quinn got on well with that other strong Irishman, Brother Ambrose Treacy. Together they created the strong boarding school tradition that was so powerful a pastoral instrument in the remote areas. It is good to relate that he left only the most cherished memories in the local product, the Sisters of Perpetual Adoration. They were the foundation of his ally in the Josephite dispute, Father Julian Tenison Woods. Their way of life, charitable and devout, posed no threat to his authority or his policies.

Quinn's first policy was to have a church to develop. In a population of just over 28,000 in the whole of Queensland, he counted approximately 7,000 Roman Catholics. The colonial parliament adopted an immigration scheme based on Land Orders to attract a population. Quinn decided to make use of it to bring Roman Catholics,

especially Irish Roman Catholics, to his church. His Queensland Immigration (Emigration) Society brought out up to 4,000 Irishmen between 1862 and 1865, mainly 1862 - 1863. Not surprisingly, the government took fright and closed down his operation in the interests of preserving the United Kingdom proportional representation. Quinn's objective had been to settle as many as possible on the land. Certain areas, Waterford, (transferred to Kerry), Pine Mountain and the Gladfield district near Warwick are easily identifiable as his settlements. However, the majority drifted into urban employment; but he initiated a rural policy to which the church remained committed for a century.

Having brought his Irish Roman Catholics to the colony he set himself to gaining their access to the opportunities it offered. The principal means was through education. There were two pieces of legislation he sought to use. The new colony took over the New South Wales system of education, with vested and non-vested Boards of Education responsible to the government. The Queensland government passed a Grammar Schools Act in 1860, which provided for government funding for secondary schools on certain terms, one of which was the lodging of one thousand pounds as earnest of authentic application. In Brisbane, the first applicant was Bishop Quinn, which so embarrassed the government that regulations had to be amended to exclude him. The primary schools seemed safe; but the challenge was not long delayed. Not all Roman Catholics were convinced of the need for Catholic schools. W. A. Duncan, having been a thorn in Polding's side on leadership issues in Sydney, publicly adopted the "secular" principle in Brisbane. However, the other churches were opting out of the fight. Some of the churches opposed State Aid on the principle of religious freedom. Others, relying on the then strength of the Sunday School movement, believed that a basically Christian content in State Schools was acceptable, especially as the primary beneficiaries of the dual system were Anglicans and Roman Catholics. Quinn's strategy was directed towards stiffening the determination of the Anglicans and allowing the Anglican bishop, Dr Tufnell, to take the lead in public advocacy, as more acceptable to the community. Bishop Tufnell, in fact, was unable to carry his synod with him. When a critical election was due in 1865, the two bishops campaigned through south-east Queensland, speaking together to stormy street meetings. Their efforts were in vain, Tufnell alienated sympathy by discreditable association with the wily Irishman, and the Roman Catholics became isolated in their insistence on separate schools. The beginnings of sectarian strife were in evidence. Only Quinn's determined goodwill and urbanity saved Brisbane from the worst effects of the division seen elsewhere.

In 1875, the Education Act was passed introducing free, secular and compulsory education to be fully enforced by 1880. This was just one year before Quinn's death. He firmly believed that by political cabals in the shaky pre-party period of Queensland politics he could gain what was lost. For this objective he was prepared to accept conditions that seemed intolerable to many, including the removal of all signs of religion from the school buildings. On the other hand, Quinn swallowed his pride and co-operated with the new Department of Public Instruction, despite its lack of sympathy with his ideals. Most valuable was the agreement to subject Catholic schools to departmental inspection. This was the root from which flowed the scholarship system, the guarantee of the future extensive Catholic secondary school system, and indirectly, the support of the primary.

Bishop Quinn had battled well for the establishment of his Irish Catholic dioceses. There were comparatively few non-Irish Roman Catholics. Concerning the aborigines, he displayed a sympathetic interest, but he did not succeed in establishing an enduring presence among them. Two priests, Pierre Marie Bucas and the transient Duncan McNab, devoted their considerable talents to the care of the declining people and the Christian witness of their lives. Fr McNab was more than usually well equipped for such a

mission; but he became quickly dissatisfied with the official lack of support in Queensland from church and state. Bishop Quinn had recognised as essential principle, that Rome should endeavour to establish a mission group capable of sharing the nomadic life of the aborigines. However, Rome endeavoured to combine the mission to the aborigines with the normal pastoral care of the white population. Before Quinn's death, the future bishop, John Cani, first bishop of Rockhampton, was appointed officially to the care of North Queensland. Once there, however, he devoted more of his attention to persuading Rome to establish missions in New Guinea. The long period of neglect of the aborigines by the Roman Catholic Church had begun.

Bishop James Quinn died in 1881, sincerely mourned by his fellow citizens, leaving a reputation marred by his authoritarian ways in his own church, but having established a legacy of good relations with the community and a soundly established plant for the base of the future mission.

His successor in Brisbane was Robert Dunne. The diocese was divided and Robert Dunne inherited the section including the present dioceses of Brisbane and Toowoomba. John Cani took over what is now Rockhampton and Townsville. Robert Dunne shared much of the Irish experiences of his predecessor, James Quinn. He had been on the staff of Quinn's school of St Lawrence O'Toole in Harcourt Street, Dublin. In many ways he remained the school master till the day he died. Yet in character he was in complete contrast with his predecessor - and with his successor, James Duhig. One might say that the episcopate of Robert Dunne served to keep the two apart. He was a careful man, meticulous in the keeping of books, insistent on the maintenance of the letter of every law, at least the ones he chose to observe himself. In many ways he was more authoritarian than James Quinn. Quinn's preoccupation with action prevented his minute control of the action of his clergy and parishes. Dunne's ever active mind made it possible for him, until age overtook him, to keep close control of all that happened in his reduced diocese.

In the new diocese he inherited fifteen parishes from Quinn. He added one more in the eighties, despite a considerable Irish migration in that time. A special steamship company arranged passages via Queensland ports, rather than the southern route, by a special agreement with the Queensland government. One of the migrants it brought was James Duhig in 1885. In 1890, Dunne made his only *ad limina* report to Rome and went on to Ireland to try to find more priests. On his return he established more parishes - nine in the 1890s, most of them within two years of his visit. In the first decade of the twentieth century he opened two more. In the seven years left to him (he died in 1917) twenty more were established, only three before the arrival of James Duhig as his coadjutor in 1912. Even then it required the pressure of the Apostolic Delegate to get any action.

This seeming inactivity was not due to any indolence or inertia in Robert Dunne. He worked at his desk as hard as Quinn in the saddle. He was not fond of travel as Duhig was, but his policy was dictated by what he saw as needs rather than by his own inclination. He saw his task as consolidation. James Quinn had overtaxed the finances and the personnel of the diocese. Dunne's exact and business-like mentality abhorred debts and deficit budgeting. He usually refused to open parishes until the area proved it could support the clergy and religious and pay for the plant. Since he kept control of all accounts, he knew exactly what could or could not be done.

He had a different idea of how to run a parish from Quinn or Duhig. In this he

enjoyed the great advantage of having been a parish priest. Neither of the other two had; Quinn had hardly been a curate. Robert Dunne was parish priest of Toowoomba in the 1870s. His power then covered an area from which he, as bishop, later cut off six more parishes and his successor much more. He was content to see parishes stay that size. He preferred a community of priests for their own spiritual profit, rather than priests living alone in isolated areas. He kept up the circuit system of periodical visitation of organised quarters of the parish. He himself maintained the pastoral intimacy of the diocese by this method, despite a certain aloofness of character.

There was another reason for this system; it was easier to control from the centre. I have spoken of 'parishes'; Dunne spoke frequently of 'missions'. There was a certain canonical autonomy in the parish structure. The Australian colonies were under the administration of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fidei, which dealt usually in mission territories, where more control was allowed to the bishop. The Australian hierarchy found that convenient in creating their dioceses out of nothing; but by the 1890s Rome was exerting pressure on them to adapt themselves to the general practice of the church. Cardinal Moran endeavoured to bring the hierarchy into line; but Robert Dunne obstinately held out. The effect of this showed most clearly in the city. Distance - usually seen as the tyrant in Australian affairs - gave some freedom of action in the bush. In Brisbane, Dunne allowed no parish autonomy. He controlled all funds, decided personally all parish action. Weddings, even baptisms, were performed, when possible, in St Stephen's Cathedral. When James Duhig was ordained deacon in Rome in 1895, he wrote in jocular fashion that he could baptise now as lawfully as Fr Fouhy, but it was Fouhy in St Stephen's. There was little place for initiative in the Brisbane church of those years.

On the question of schools Dunne had his own ideas. He was a school master, and he knew how schools were run; but he was a bishop and he was convinced that his schools were more than educational institutions. They were an essential instrument of the total ministry of the church. The pastoral care of Brisbane had been entrusted by Rome to him; his was the responsibility, and he believed that his should be the right to determine that policy. As parish priest of Toowoomba he had resisted the right of All Hallows to determine the personnel of the Toowoomba school and - through the staff - the education, religious as well as secular, of parishioners. So long as State aid continued he believed in lay teachers directly responsible to the parish priest. He was slower than Quinn to see that that policy would be impossible for a long time. Even after 1880 he tried to maintain St James's and St Kilian's, the future St Laurence's, under that control. On the centralised government issue he advised Bishop Quinn against accepting even the Christian Brothers.

When it became obvious that his policy could not succeed, he was always pragmatic enough to accept the situation and make the best of it. He came to rely on the Sisters of Mercy and the Christian Brothers, to appreciate their share of the common mission and to develop affectionate relations with them. However, he would have no more orders in his diocese. Even when the resources of the sisters were severely overstrained he resisted the firm pressure of Rome to bring in new congregations.

He would have no religious priests at all. The Redemptorist Fathers established a house at Tweed Heads, on the boundary of the diocese, to gain access to Queensland. Dunne arranged series of sermons in his cathedral from time to time to provide the specialised topics on Catholic instruction and devotion. These he gave himself personally or through his clergy as often as possible. At a time when the parish mission and retreats were being cultivated in the south, he deprived his diocese of this rich spiritual resource.

There was another side to his education policy. He accepted the education system of Catholic schools, but he was more deeply convinced of the formational role of the Catholic home. While not denying the mutual dependence of the two, he spoke most warmly of the Catholic home. He announced his policy as being hearths before schools. He did his best to encourage the stability and sanctity of the Catholic home. He had been part of the machinery of administration of Bishop Quinn's migration scheme, and he remained convinced of the value of Irish migration to Queensland. However, he was not satisfied simply to see numbers added to his diocese. He pursued, even more actively than Quinn, the policy of settlement of Irish Catholics in the colony. He was anxious that they should obtain steady jobs which would enable them to set up families; but above all he wished to see them settled on the land. He committed the church even more deeply to the rural orientation, believing that the virtues of the Christian home were more easily maintained in the rural or village community than in the city. As parish priest of Toowoomba he took a close interest in the sub-division of the large station properties on the Downs and announced publicly, even in church, the dates of the sales, the locations of the sub-divisions and the desirability of the land. He, certainly as much as Quinn, is responsible for the closeness of Catholic settlement in certain areas of the Darling Downs. In those places where Quinn migrants were established, he kept a school-masterly eye on the preservation of these Catholic areas. He wrote a sharp letter to the parish priest of Ipswich in the 1890s when he observed that some of the Catholic settlers in the vicinity of Rosewood were selling out and allowing the properties to go to the Lutherans in their place.

Perhaps the most convincing example of his seriousness was in the establishment of the parish of Caboolture. He had observed the extension of the northern railway from Brisbane and the policy of the Queensland government in opening up the land for small farming districts on either side of the line. He watched carefully the names of the purchasers of these properties and noted that comparatively few of the names were Irish. I said earlier that he 'usually' refused to open a parish until the money was clearly there. In this case, he advanced the money himself for the establishment of the parish and the support of the priest on the condition that the parish priest appointed would guarantee to him that he would persuade the Irishmen labouring on the line to take up some of the properties being offered. Anyone who knows the area and the proportion of Catholics in it before the recent readjustment in population will know that he failed.

In other public affairs in the colony he maintained a low profile. He was not without his political influence, but he preferred to exercise this quite privately. He maintained friendly relations with a number of public officials, but he relied on the Catholic members of the existing establishment to exert his influence for him. In the latter years we might see this in the special place of such Members of the Legislative Council as G. W. Grey, T. C. Beirne and Frank McDonnell. At an earlier period, his reliance is less obvious.

On the matter of the establishment of the Roman Catholic community in colonial life, he appreciated the value of the success of the Catholic schools in opening the way to advancement for the future generations. He developed an obsessional interest in the results of these examinations, and even when he was absent from Queensland, the results had to be sent to him as soon as they appeared. The process of upward mobility was well under way, and Dunne was one of the most anxious followers of its progress.

On matters outside the immediate concern of his Irish Roman Catholic diocesans, he did not adopt public stances. During the strikes of the 1890s, while not making any strong anti-Labor statements like some other church leaders, he evinced little

sympathy with their cause. His political associations were very much in the conservative interest. On the matter of the aborigines, he had little to say. There was no organised effort on their behalf in his own diocese, and when Rome endeavoured to push the Australian hierarchy into more concern for the northern area of Australia where the aborigines survived most strongly, he declared that he had no more interest in the Daly River than in the Yang-tse-Kiang.

The problem of centralisation is in the strength of the man at the centre. Robert Dunne had never been an activist. From the turn of the century, he was visiting his diocese less and less. He still maintained the constant stream of letters and accounts by which he maintained control; but the administration of the diocese was running down. Rome itself was unable to get him to change his ways, and till 1910 he held out in sole control. He asked his protege, Bishop James Duhig of Rockhampton, to help him out. Duhig and Bishop O'Connor of Armidale, to a much less extent, began to do the hard work of the administration of the by now Archdiocese of Brisbane. Dunne had been announced Archbishop of Brisbane in 1895 with the suffragans of Rockhampton and Cooktown constituting his province. James Duhig took on the enormous task of parochial visitation and the administration of confirmation in the vast diocese of Brisbane as well as in his own even more vast diocese of Rockhampton. One of the methods used by Rome to gauge the effectiveness of a bishop's administration is the regularity of this visitation and confirmation. In 1910 and 1911, Duhig discovered himself administering the sacrament to staggering crowds even in small country towns. The situation is best illustrated in Dunne's own cathedral. On 21 August, 1910, he confirmed 875 men, women and children. The number of people and their sponsors could not fit into the church and he had to administer the sacrament in the open air. It was clear that this could not go on and Dunne agreed to look for a coadjutor with the right of succession. In his own devious way, he ensured the succession of James Duhig.

Together from 1912 to 1917 they started to gather the loose reins of the control of the diocese. Their working together was by no means smooth as Dunne was reluctant to relinquish his own personal command. However, they maintained a public co-operation, and Duhig, despite his difficulties, retained his affection and admiration for the grand old man who had been so much his mentor. Their policies and attitudes were different, and it was clear that a new era would begin in 1917. In that year Robert Dunne died, once again much respected and mourned by his fellow citizens. The mourning in some official circles was the more sincere, since they feared the giant energy of the younger man waiting to take control.

James Duhig was born in Broadford, Co Limerick, Ireland, in 1871. He spent some time in England and came to Brisbane with his family in 1885. After a short spell at St Joseph's, Gregory Terrace, he worked in the city for five years. He returned to Gregory Terrace in 1890 to cram for studies for the priesthood and went to Rome in 1891. A student of the Irish College there, he went to the Propaganda University. He was ordained in 1896. He was a curate in Ipswich, 1897-1905, briefly administrator of St Stephen's Cathedral before being Bishop of Rockhampton, 1905-1912. He returned to Brisbane as coadjutor to Robert Dunne, 1912-1917. He was Archbishop of Brisbane 1917-1965. His long reign marked a localisation of the Brisbane church. Born in Ireland, he grew up an Irish Australian. He saw his Irish-Australian church become Australian.

When he returned to Brisbane in 1912, his best friends among the clergy were the young Australians. He fostered their promotion. When the Manly Union was formed in 1914, with its firmly Australian policy, he was one of the bishops who welcomed it.



He accepted the claim that Australian-born had as much talent for and the right to bishoprics as Irish-born. In this, many of his episcopal colleagues did not concur. Problems arose when the second Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Cattaneo, began to apply Roman policy in such a way as to exclude the Irish-born. In the subsequent Irish-Australian affray of the 1920s and 1930s, his position was ambivalent. He welcomed the appointment of Terence McGuire, President of the Manly Union, to Townsville in 1930; but he constantly pushed the claims of the Irish, especially his Vicar General, Monsignor John English. All the time he stressed to the Irish and the Irish-Australians - like the Hibernians - that the Brisbane church was an Australian church.

The two strong pillars of the Australian church for half a century were Daniel Mannix and James Duhig. On most matters they thought alike, but on one major policy they differed sharply. It was about Irish affairs. The autonomy of Ireland was always close to the hearts of most Irish-Australians as well as Irishmen. James Duhig was vitally interested, but Mannix was partisan. Duhig argued for justice but within a framework that would not alienate the largely Irish-descended Australian church from the Australian community. In particular, Irish politics were never to disturb the peace in his church or the peace established with Brisbane society.

In 1916, he was engaged in a campaign to convince the Australian public that Roman Catholics were as loyal as anyone. The Dublin Easter Rising intensified the suspicions of the Empire loyalists and stirred unmanageable emotions among members of his church. Like most Irish-Australians, he condemned the Rising at first, but the bloody suppression and the brutal tactics of the Black and Tans in the subsequent Anglo-Irish War made it impossible to remain neutral. His diplomatic handling of public and Catholic reactions over the next six years preserved the happy community relations that characterised the Brisbane archdiocese. His silence during the Conscription referenda of 1916-1917 was misinterpreted by both sides, but it damped down the fires of racial and sectarian hatreds.

Duhig disapproved totally of Mannix's Republicanism, especially when de Valera's rejection of the Anglo-Irish Treaty led to civil war in Ireland in 1922. In Ireland itself, Duhig denounced de Valera, Mannix's hero. In Australia, he adopted the attitude that in the Irish Free State autonomy was established. Any further developments were for Irishmen to determine. This attitude was denounced with continuity in the two privately-owned Catholic newspapers in Brisbane. By the end of the 1920s, he had purchased one of them, *The Age*, and made it the *Catholic Leader*, the archdiocesan newspaper. In 1923, the extremists came to his aid by their excesses. Archbishop Mannix invited two representatives of the de Valera faction to Australia. Duhig - with almost all the other bishops - was outraged. In Brisbane, the extremism with which they denounced church authorities opposed to the Civil War - including, it seems, the Pope - drew even the extremists to Duhig's side. From that time, Irishism declined and Duhig's Australian policy was undisturbed.

The key to his administration was harmony. In his assiduous pursuit of it within his church and between the church and the Brisbane community, he created an atmosphere of acceptance, an essential integration. There were problems along the way.

As he took over the diocese, he found himself unwillingly in a controversy with the other churches in Brisbane over the new prominence of Roman Catholics in public positions. There had been Roman Catholics in government before, even one Premier, T. J. Byrnes; but in 1915 the Labor government of T. J. Ryan was returned with a high

proportion of his co-religionists in parliament and even in the cabinet. At the same time the public service appointments gave concern. Since entry was by public examination, and since the State scholarships made possible a strong Roman Catholic secondary school system, while the State made little provision, the proportion of Roman Catholic opportunities was much higher than the proportions of the population. In 1916, nine out of fifteen professional positions went to candidates from Roman Catholic schools. Public discontent reached its height when Ryan appointed T. W. McCawley to preside over the new Court of Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration. In January, 1917, a Protestant Civil and Religious Liberty League was formed to defend the freedom of British subjects from the machinations of Rome. Clergy read the examination results from pulpits and responded firmly but moderately. His determination to avoid sectarian bickering, even in those difficult years, won respect for him and his church.

Neither he nor anyone else denied that patronage existed in government. He simply denied that he exploited it unduly in the interests of his church. He certainly was a skilled exponent of the system. He sedulously cultivated the politicians of all parties. Labor men were more amenable, but he was neither the patron nor the client of any one party. He disliked sectionalism of all kinds. He believed it was the duty of all public figures to co-operate with each other for the good of the state. He allowed no animosity to cut him off from either side of the House or any possible government. He went further and visited regularly the public service officials in all departments, especially those that concerned him and his people; Public Instruction, Police, Railways, Lands. His long-lasting friendship with J. D. Story, Under-secretary for Public Instruction and University Chancellor, was the principal example of his style, fruitful for church and community.

The objective he pursued most industriously in all this was a share of tax moneys for his schools. Following the example of his predecessor, Archbishop Robert Dunne, he learned not to rely on pressure tactics, while keeping the issue alive. He refused to have the highly politicised Australian Catholic Federation. Mannix favoured its tactics in Melbourne and by it produced his first split in the Labor Party during World War I. When the Moore administration (1929-1932) severely curtailed the scholarships available to Catholic schools, he reacted strongly, making use of the organisation of the Knights of the Southern Cross. After the defeat of Moore, he co-operated with Presbyterian Premier William Forgan Smith to devise a scheme of Commonwealth intervention to secure his objective. Bishops elsewhere were unable to win such backing and the system came into force only under Prime Minister Menzies thirty years later.

The alternative proposed by the bishops was the Catholic Taxpayers' Association. This was a high profile organisation, not designed as a pressure group, but menacing in its intensity. Duhig reluctantly allowed it to function in 1937. The result was a devastating backlash of sectarianism that even produced a political party, the Protestant Labor Party. For months, the newspapers filled daily with abuse of the church. Roman Catholics were subjected to discrimination in business, academic and social life. Duhig had laboured to destroy any ghetto or ghetto mentality in Brisbane. The walls seemed to be rising against him. His dignified refusal to indulge in slanging matches won him again the respect that was lost. The episode was ugly and not of his making, but his leadership made the restored harmony more enduring.

The last outburst was external as much as internal. It followed the extension of the Labor split in Queensland in 1957. The church was again seen as conspiring against her neighbours. Since the decision was among members of his flock as well as between

church and community it was bitter and lasting. His efforts to restore harmony were more successful outside than within. In 1957, he was eighty-six years old. He had not the energy that carried him through the previous outbreaks. Yet his prestige was enormous and this maintained his church's reputation.

He is remembered as James the Builder. He certainly was that. Churches, schools hospitals, religious and charitable houses rose all through his episcopate. The years after World War II saw an extraordinary phase of opening of new parishes and new buildings. Between 1945 and 1950, he opened nine new parishes, six of them in 1946. Between 1951 and 1965, he opened twenty-three more, only three of them in the 1960s. In the post-war years, he added thirty-two parishes to his existing seventy-seven, a rise of more than 40 0/0. He opened eighteen secondary schools and thirty primary. He introduced seventeen new religious orders to the diocese. It was an active old age.

Duhig never liked his cathedral, St Stephen's. It was small, dark and - though conveniently situated - not dominant in the city. In the 1920s, he built Roman basilicas on prominent sites all round the city's hills. From his first days in Brisbane as bishop, he planned a cathedral to loom over the city and hills of Brisbane to speak to the citizens of faith and beauty. In September, 1929, his friend, Cardinal Cerretti, came as Papal Legate to lay the foundation stone. It was a spectacular success, but it was followed closely by the depression. The cathedral never rose beyond the crypt. We might well think that the post-war expansion for which he abandoned Holy Name was a more remarkable achievement. Even more remarkable was his spiritual building. When he died in 1965, Premier Frank Nicklin recognised that his church and community building was his major achievement.

James Duhig died in the final year of the Second Vatican Council. He did not follow its decisions closely, but he had built a church in Brisbane open to its own people, which was the outline of the conciliar renewal. The Brisbane church was 106 years old. It had a districtive history under three bishops who, each in his own way, led it to the threshold of a new age. The years that follow are not the business of the historian. All he can say is that the Brisbane church has been blessed by the grace of God.

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