

THE PARISH HISTORY

- A Study of a Faith Community

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In the still rapidly expanding and developing field of what is generally termed social history, parish history does not rate yet as a sub-field, though it fits into a number of well-established areas within the form. A parish history may be regarded as a regional study, a religious study, an urban or rural study, or it may simply come under the heading of local history, but from one of the more recent definitions of parish, that of "a faith community", parish history at this time may be firmly placed in the area of community study.

Rather than considering, specifically, the old-new Parish of Lutwyche, it might be profitable to consider the methods available to all writers of community history, their place in historiography generally, and how they might be applied to a parish history, with particular reference to the history of Holy Cross.

In 1955 an examination of 94 definitions of community revealed that the only element common to all was people. The terms time and space recurred with some degree of regularity, but the only consensus that could be reached was people in time and space.

It follows from the breadth of this definition, that a researcher may pursue any aspects of the lives of people that he chooses, provided that he does so with integrity, and the integrity that pertains to his own particular discipline.

In response to a question posed in 1984 as to where in Australia were the boundaries of urban history, social history and community history, Professor Max Kelly, whose specialist area is Paddington in Sydney, answered that

Australian scholarship relative to "things urban" has refused of late to accept the prerequisite nature of such boundaries. On balance, however, it is the history of society within cities and towns, the individual, the group, the community, that is starting to be drawn most clearly. The result, often eclectic and smudged, not dominated by theory, indicates a vigorous determination to put people in their place in their time⁽¹⁾.

Two other requirements, however, have emerged as essential to the writing of community history. The first is that community must turn outwards, and relate to the wider society, consonant with the place of the twentieth century in the cosmic world, and the second is that it should turn inwards, to determine the sentiment, or the spirit that animates it - its life force. These may appear to be out of order, and that it would be more sensible to establish the spirit of a society first, but this is how they evolved chronologically, and it is often in determining an intangible, such as a sentiment, that a recorder of community encounters one of his greatest difficulties.

A parish of its nature and its structure, is probably better able to conform to all of these demands than most models of community. A parish has a time frame, dating from its foundation, or its first gathering as a community, to the present or to when it was closed as a parish. A parish history will have a time frame, traditionally one that coincides with a Jubilee, but this is not necessary. It can be bounded by any two points that the historian regards as significant to the life of that parish. It could date from the foundation to an encyclical, from the building of a church to its replacement by another one, or from the foundation to the end of a broad trend, such as the end of the Irish migrant Church in the 1930s.

The Jubilee, however, provides the catalyst for the researcher, and it also provides a reading public, carried on the wave of euphoria that usually, and rightly, accompanies such a celebration.

The space frame of a parish is determined by its boundaries. Boundaries, however, may change. Local government boundaries change. The boundaries of the parish of Holy Cross changed dramatically just as the writing of its history was approaching completion. The community began its life in 1886 as Holy Cross Church, Lutwyche, and was described in the Press of the day as being the width of the Government road from the Lutwyche Railway Station⁽²⁾. It was the only church between St. Patrick's in Fortitude Valley, and the Chapel of St. Vincent's Home at Nudgee. At this time, under the centralisation policy of Archbishop Dunne, it was not a parish, but a station, much like the modern Mass Centre. From about the turn of the century, part of the area, which included the church and the new Railway Station became known as Wooloowin, and

the parish was known as Holy Cross, Woolloowin for more than eighty years of its life. In 1986, because of the rationalisation process necessary to distribute resources most efficiently to meet present needs, three parishes were combined to become the parish of Lutwyche: Woolloowin at the centre, Windsor on the city side, which had joined Holy Cross in 1985, and Kalinga, outbound, which reverted to Woolloowin in the Centenary year. The district of Lutwyche abuts on all three, but it was the name of none. The original boundaries had narrowed, as a constantly increasing residential population led to parts being cut off, forming parishes in their own right, leaving only the core of the original area. They widened again, this time in accordance with a reverse demographic trend, a decrease in population, the result of the encroachment of industry and commerce. The change in boundaries, and the change in name, of a faith community one hundred years old, are indicative of the twin themes of all social history - continuity and change, not two separate branches as in dichotomy, but simultaneous and interacting processes, one often dependent on the other. Without change continuity may be in jeopardy.

Having conformed to the definition of community, the parish and its study, should be able to conform to the other two conceptual requirements. A parish is part of a district to which it will relate. It is part of a diocese to which it will relate, and it is part of a Universal Church.

Little analysis is needed to establish its life force. That is contained in its definition. The life force of a parish is its faith.

Any parish now celebrating its centenary will have had its origins in part of the worldwide phenomenon that was industrialisation and urbanisation, when people began living in circumstances never before experienced. The building of churches close to Australian commercial centres was the response of the Church in Australia to this new way of life. Historians too responded to the new conditions. New lifestyles demanded new methods of recording them. The watershed of human experience coincided with a watershed in historiography.

To this point history was the story of the dominant characters of a society. It began by recording the lives of the ancient heroes, and entered the Christian tradition in the lives of the saints. It continued through the rise of the nation state, becoming the story of kings, queens and statesmen. Histories were chronological accounts of the great deeds of great men, and often used, not only to glorify the characters, but to buttress the system of which they were part.

This was to change, and the new approach, ideally, was to be from below, to record the non-dominant characters of this new way of life, the masses, or the ordinary people.

New approaches, new theories and new methods led to the incorporation of new disciplines beginning with economics, later extending to anthropology and sociology, with a multitude of sub-fields constantly emerging. While interdisciplinary studies became an integral part of the new forms, intellectual variation within the disciplines caused problems, more often than integration solved them.

These trends had become evident about the turn of the century in England and America, the two most industrialized nations, but social history, particularly in England, soon became socialist history, and was used, not to reinforce an old system, but to promote an emerging one. It was from France, however, that the greatest influence on modern historiography was to come. Here a group of historians who became known as the "Annalistes" from the name of the Journal that promoted their ideas, developed a theory, the centrality of which was that human experience could only be portrayed by capturing human life in all its variety. Everything surrounding man had some influence upon him, and some part to play in his life - as it does. Environment, natural and built, was now to be considered, the economy of the society in which man lived, its social and political structures. The aim was to write the "histoire totale". This too was an ideal, and it was unattainable. The stage was too vast, the backdrop too wide. Limitations on the frame, to implement the concept, pointed in the direction of local history, an early setting for community study, where it was hoped that a society in miniature might achieve the aim of totality. Even at local level, however, the stage proved too big, and now in some cases, not big enough, for the increasing number of actors, and their ever increasing appurtenances. This precluded the development of important sub-themes, and the presentation of detail.

In "The Irish in Australia" Professor Patrick O'Farrell had all the ingredients of community - people in time and space. The life force of his people was their Irish birth or heritage, his time frame was two centuries, and his space frame a continent.

Recognising his problem, O'Farrell outlined it as

an impossible subject, too vast, too various, too complex, and certainly too elusive. Why attempt it when some degree of failure is assured? Obviously for the sake of achieving whatever can be managed of success... I would also like to think... that its gaps, deficiencies and superficialities will annoy others into doing something to remedy them with the further research all aspects of the subject require⁽³⁾.

Ronald Lawson, in his "Brisbane in the 1890s: A Study of an Australian Urban Society", had a considerably reduced time and space frame relative to that of

O'Farrell. His space was colonial Brisbane, and his time the last decade of the nineteenth century, but Lawson's sentiments are similar:

it was necessary to tread a path between two extremes:... to deal with a large number of aspects of the society which... would have resulted in a superficial study... on the other hand, to treat each aspect at such depth as to exclude all others... In consequence its scope had to be carefully limited⁽⁴⁾.

Lawson also hoped that his

examination of one urban society would help to prepare the way for later historians to make a general re-evaluation of the role of Australian cities in the development of a national society⁽⁵⁾.

The writer of any overview, which both these works in fact became, can only hope that the unexplored themes will be further researched.

Reducing the stage still further to the space of a Brisbane parish, though in this case with the time frame of a century, still leaves the frustration of unexplored themes, and the difficulty of presenting detail, because the small society is the microcosm of the whole society.

Another development of the twentieth century, the quantitative revolution was to provide another difficulty in a field of already galloping ideas, concepts and disciplines. This was to be the method that would tell the story of man from below - the ordinary, inarticulate man who made the masses. This method of history by numbers uses as its sources censuses, parish registers, court records, and at local level Votes and Proceedings, Post Office Directories, Electoral Rolls and Pugh's Almanac. It yields information on birth, death, nuptial and fertility rates, as well as occupations and religions of people not likely to be included in any more personalised documentation.

The data base furnished from the sources is then subjected to analysis and interpretation, disagreement and manipulation. Another difficulty was the inability to reach a wide reading public, and most difficult of all, in the light of the later demands how to quantify sentiment or feeling.

The new methods of historiography of the twentieth century by now must appear to be a catalogue of inadequacies. They are not, but after the first flush of innovative excitement, theories and concepts had to become method and reality, and the

implementing of exciting new theories proved no easier in the world of historiography than in any other field of endeavour.

Tried and true methods adapted to later conditions and modes of thought, and in the light of modern scholarship, were found to be more in order that the innovators first thought. All that was old was not useless, and much that was new, while difficult to implement, was valuable. Statistical evidence was no more conclusive on its own than was narrative, but there was no doubt as to the value of the additional dimension, that of precision. Both old and new could complement each other, and interrelate. The continuity and change of the societies they were portraying were now subject to analysis in the field of historiography itself.

The old chronological narrative returned, but now figures could be incorporated into the narration. "Many people", in the interests of precision became 38% of the people, or 62.4% of the population, according to the style of language used, the figures coming from a statistical analysis in the first place.

A Press report of 1936 records that a canvass taken in 1885 showed that 200 families would benefit if a church were built in Lutwyche.⁽⁶⁾ All that is revealed from the narrative, and all that is required to be revealed at this level of writing, is that 200 Catholic families lived somewhere between the Valley and Nudgee. A statistical analysis drawn from local Brisbane sources could reveal how many of them were actually Catholics, how many the partners in a mixed marriage, how many were native born, their age structure, occupation and where they were concentrated in the area, all of which would be essential at another level of research.

The environment of the "Annalists" now became important. The topography of a city was seen to influence the way its people lived. Unsealed roads, and what was eventually to become a radical pattern of transport played some part in the establishment and placement of a church four miles from the Valley. A railway station in the centre of the area explained the high proportion of railway workers that have formed part of this community.

The economy of a society was now seen to be important. The move to build a church at Lutwyche was initiated in September, 1885, the crest of the economic boom of the eighties. Within fifteen months of that meeting, with the church built, the community was in serious financial difficulty. Financial difficulty may be attributed to any number of factors, such as over-ambitious projects, or mismanagement, but there appears to be no evidence of this in Holy Cross, and it is much more likely that Lutwyche was simply reflecting in microcosm the Queensland economy, and the downturn of the second half of the decade which lead into the major depression of 1893.

In 1929, the year of the first issue of the "Annales", L.B.Namier, in England, experimented with a method of personal case histories that was later to be of value in the field of comparative studies. An examination of these case histories, of ordinary members of the House of Commons in the eighteenth century, in fact revealed that the House was a microcosm of the landed and monied society of the day.

Again in England, as late as 1982, Mark Billings used the institution rather than the locality as the pivot of community, and used as well the case history method, now called collective biography, or prosopography. Billings maintained:

that membership of an organisation whose "raison d'etre" is either known or discernible indicates the member's tacit agreement, at least, with the views of that institution, and his acceptance by other members⁽⁷⁾.

His model was the nineteenth century Manchester Literary and Philosophy Society. Its investigative members, of which he used fifteen, were described as

Unitarian Dissenting, wealthy free-traders, their cultural interests the fashionable sciences of the day, their fear the revolution of the working class⁽⁸⁾.

The same "Curriculum Vitae" could be applied to a late nineteenth century Australian parish, or any institution within it, and would read: Irish Catholic, 70% at least wage dependent⁽⁹⁾, their culture the colonial working class culture of the day, but heavily encompassed in their Irish heritage, and their fear, discrimination that would impose economic hardship.

Both of these English models are examples of the group acknowledged by Max Kelly as a method of portraying Australian society. One of the advantages of studying the small, structured group is to establish if it is representative of the society of which it forms part, or if it is atypical. Typical or not, it will still play its part in forming the fabric of that society.

One association in Woolloowin, the Holy Cross Guild, warrants further research because at the point of writing it appeared to be atypical of its society, at least in origin. Established in 1892 by the resident priest, Father Dunham, still not a Parish Priest, its guiding light was the barrister, E.J.Sydes. Sydes was atypical of his society in that he was Australian born from Warwick. Father Dunham was atypical of the local Catholic Society, and its priests in particular, in that he was English born, though his priestly formation had been at All Hallows'(Dublin). Sydes had studied and practised in

Sydney, returning to Woollooin for a time before leaving again to join the Jesuits. Professor O'Farrell records that in 1890, the Australian Holy Catholic Guild, established in Sydney in 1845 under Benedictine auspices, refused to merge with the Sydney Hibernians, the point at issue at that time being the insurance provisions of both in their role as benefit societies. O'Farrell attributes this to the fact that

the Guild had its own life, deriving from the Benedictine phase of Australian Catholic history⁽¹⁰⁾.

The motion moved by E.J.Sydes in 1892 to initiate the Holy Cross Guild in the colonial backwater that was Lutwyche, reads:

That a society be formed, to be primarily a Literary and Debating Society, independent of any other organisation already existing in the parish⁽¹¹⁾.

Records indicate that the only other organisation in the parish was the Hibernian Society. While the evidence is not conclusive, it at least indicates the strong possibility of the existence of a strand, or more likely the attempt to introduce a strand of a Benedictine-based culture into an Irish working class parish in Brisbane. Only further research into the lives of the investigable characters, in particular E.J.Sydes and Father Dunham, and the comparison of this parish history with others of the time, will help to make that evidence conclusive.

Another example of the value, and the limitations, of examining the lives of investigable members in a small group is illustrated by another incident in the life of this organisation. Soon after its foundation, moves were made to admit non-Catholics. Disagreement between the members who wanted this, and the pastor who objected, led to the matter being taken to the Archbishop. The Archbishop ruled in favour of the members, though the decision had to be revoked because of disharmony between the one non-Catholic member admitted, and some of the Catholics. To further examine either of these situations, the historian is required to enter into the area of motivation. In the latter case some light on the mental processes of the Archbishop might be found in his correspondence. It is possible that there could be some documentation pertaining to E.J.Sydes held by the Jesuits that could throw some light on his thinking and his attitudes, perhaps in his own writings, and it is possible that there is some, somewhere on Father Dunham, but all these are conditionals, and documentation is needed for any further development of either of these sub-themes - the existence of a minority national culture and an ecumenism out of its time.

Motivation is regarded as one validation of the return of the oldest form of history

writing, that of biography. Never abandoned, but devalued to some extent by the new focus on the masses at the turn of the century, it has returned with a force that has turned the wheel of historiography full circle. Investigation of motive has been justified by the fact that it must be recognised that the actions of individuals influence history, and it is only in the light of the emotional make-up, temperament and prejudices of an individual, and the fullest details of the circumstances of his actions, that these actions can hope to be understood.

Another defence of biography is that in political systems where power is concentrated in the hands of one man, such as in Nazi Germany, or Russia, full-scale lives of Hitler and Stalin are indispensable to a portrayal of national life^(1,2). This raises the question as to whether society can be adequately portrayed without its leader, with whatever degree of power he wields. The answer is that it can, but it rarely does, largely because the leader, regardless of whether he has been effective or not, will have related to more aspects of a society than anyone else in it, and it is in the lives of the more dominant characters of any society that the documentary evidence necessary for serious research is most likely to be found - in short, in its investigable members.

Biography became a favourite form of portraying Australian society. The subjects to begin were mostly Churchmen, though Burger's life of Neville Bonner was a notable departure from the pattern. Now, however in the light of the new thinking, if the man was worth portraying, he had to be portrayed in his humanity, with all that that implied. This was to be the Cromwellian "warts and all" approach. A watershed in this type of writing, significant not only for its technical developments, but for its funding by the Australian Council's Literature Board, came in 1982 with "The Bishop of Botany Bay" by Sister Frances O'Donoghue. Here the Archbishop was portrayed in his weaknesses as well as his strengths as he related to his people, and to Sydney society in general. Although the old triumphalist approach had gone, the end result was triumphalist, in that the story of human endeavour and achievement always is.

1986 was rich, not only in the quality, but in the variety of its biography. First came the autobiography "A Fortunate Life: The extraordinary life of an ordinary bloke" by Albert Facey. This is purely oral history, transcribed by the Fremantle Arts Centre Press. Without entering into the great oral history debate, it must be conceded that it has its place in history, if only for the avenues of research that it may open. It is a valuable exercise in parish investigation, though the cross-checking and counter-checking required is time-consuming and often frustrating. Later in 1986 was the release of the phenomenon of the biography of the biographer, with Garry Kinane's life of "George Johnston", of the biography-novel, "My Brother Jack", and finally, as the year was almost closed, came the biography-community study par excellence, the peak of a form, with a time frame almost identical with the span between the two

Vatican Councils, a space frame that was global, and an integration of the disciplines dreamed of by the Annalists. This integration was orchestrated by the dominant character, the leader, as he related with his environment, and to his people, and from the Aquinas Memorial Lecture of 1986,

he was one of them, he led them, he communicated to them... the vision... In writing the life of "James Duhig" I was writing the story of his people⁽¹³⁾.

In writing the story of a people then the historian has many methods from which to choose, many combinations of those methods, many models to compare their working out, to assess their degree of success or failure, and their relevance to his own particular subject, in this case a community, more specifically a parish community.

To here the community study that is a Parish History has been largely considered in relation to the requirements of people in time and space, and the spirit that activates them, their "raison d'être". It now needs to establish a method, or a device, or a technique to relate that parish community to the society in which it lives, and the Church of which it is a part. With all the difficulties that face recorders of community, the writer dealing with any faith community has an advantage over those presenting many other models. The agent, or the motor, that will carry that community into the wider society and the wider Church, often both together, will be its own life force, its faith, and for all practical purposes this will be seen to be done by its investigable members, and their varying degrees of dominance, as they live out that faith in the circumstances peculiar to their own lives.

Established in the reign of Pope Leo XIII, this community was just five years old when the response of the Universal Church to the new life-styles of most of its members came with "Rerum Novarum: The Condition of the Working Classes". The year before, John Murtagh Macrossan, member of the faith community of Holy Cross, that same year to be Colonial secretary of what he hoped would soon be the State of Queensland, proposed a bill "for the supervision and regulation of Factories and Workrooms, and the limitation of the hours of working in Shops"⁽¹⁴⁾. It failed, but it was one of the many attempts at social legislation made by Macrossan, some with more success than others.

Two years later, a draper from Ennis, by then the Secretary of the Shop Assistants' Association in Brisbane, addressed an emotive meeting at Taringa, where he detailed the appalling conditions experienced by some workers in Brisbane, and demanded the legislation for which Macrossan had moved. The Factories Act of Queensland followed in 1896 and the Factories and Shops Act in 1900. Also in 1900, Frank

McDonnell, by now a member of the Queensland Parliament, was largely responsible for the legislation that would enable Queensland students to take out their scholarships at Catholic schools, one of the most influential factors, and certainly the most at legislative level, in the upward social mobility of a people.

In the year of the Encyclical, a clerk from Stoneleigh Street left for Rome to begin his studies for the priesthood. He was of no importance whatsoever in colonial Brisbane society, and his only significance in the space frame of Lutwyche was that he had the initiative and generosity to instruct Confirmation candidates of the working class like himself around a log fire at night in the churchyard in the next street. Twenty-six years later he returned to that community as its Archbishop. Macrossan dominated the Queensland stage throughout the years of his life in Lutwyche. James Duhig, and Frank McDonnell - though the exact date of the commencement of his residence is not clear - offer an opportunity for the study of life cycles, that is the specialist research area of some historians.

At the Golden Jubilee in 1936, probably the highest point in the life of a parish described in the "Telegraph" of the day as "the prize of the metropolitan priesthood"⁽¹⁵⁾, another great Pontificate was moving to a close. The investigable members of the community, according to the Billings model would at that time read: Australian Catholics of Irish parents, largely salary dependent, their culture the middle class culture of the day, still encompassed in their heritage, and their fear, the ideology of totalitarians. Saturated with the works of the Chester-Belloc, of Knox and Lunn and their contemporary and compatriot, Sheed, members of the Christian Brothers' Old Boys' Association, and the Holy Name society, these investigable members were now mobilizing to form part of the vanguard of that laity forbidden to be inactive.

In writing the history of a parish, a whole decade, or a whole aspect of the life of the Church in a decade at local level has to be compressed into a single sentence, as this was. Fitting the material into the concrete, tangible and external space, not the space frame of the subject, but the space frame of the book, is one of the parish historian's greatest difficulties, the same difficulties that faced O'Farrell and Lawson. Here the enforced economy language may call upon what is termed "supporting evidence", and one of the most useful pieces of this evidence is the photograph, though it is now moving from a "support" to a form in itself, with the rise of the pictorial history. The photograph can illustrate a past society in numerous ways, such as dress, pose, natural environment, buildings and furniture. When the parish history is opened and scanned, and its pages found to be punctuated by photographs of the pastors, with mini-biographies underneath, as they all are, and perhaps the same treatment given to other local worthies, with photographs of various First Communion Classes and Sodality groups, it is not necessarily a bland chronological triumphalism, but an acceptable mix

of the methods available to the contemporary historian.

In 1943 the response of another generation to the directive of Pius XI came with the formation of the Cardijn groups. At this point, a parish established in the 1880s offers a field for generational studies. A single generational study, being 25 years, could start at any time, but the more groups there are to study, the more firmly a pattern of a society emerges. This community has one family at least that covers its entire time frame, that of foundation parishioner James Carroll, whose local quarry donated 10,000 bricks to the building of the first church in 1886, and whose role in that faith community has continued unbroken to 1986, when a fourth-generation family member carried the Book for the first Reading at the Centenary Mass.

Life cycles, generation studies and family history are all sub-themes that may emanate from a parish history. Others are women's studies, Aboriginal history, history of education, of religious congregations, and ethnic studies. This last is a fertile field in all the older parishes, beginning with the Irish migrant experience of the 1880s, or earlier, and later the migration of the post-war years, in this particular parish the Italian experience, and finally the various strands of Asiatic migration.

These later groups, like the later parish teams, those of the 70s and 80s, the local response to the last great universal exhortations, those of the Council of the 60s, can only be chronicled. They are the province of the historian of the future, not of the present. What then is the role of the historian of the present, particularly at parish level? The parish, and the organisations within it, will have the pragmatic role of providing a base for comparative studies at Diocesan, national or international level. When a wider history of the Church is done, the parish will take its place, however minutely in the sum of its parts. Like all history, parish history has a teaching role. As history books go into schools, the parish history is now moving into parish schools, and in one case at least is being studied by a Parish Council in an endeavour to draw a parish profile.

History has many roles, and in all of them the historian has the responsibility of bringing the dimness of the past to the light of the present, as objectively as he can, with the facts of his sources at his disposal, but with the affinity to which he is not only entitled, but which is a prerequisite for the fullest interpretation of those facts. This combination of objectivity and affinity is one of the heaviest demands made on an historian. History has always had the capacity to influence thought and action. The role of the philosophers in the French Revolution, and the Prussian concept of monarchy embodied in German historiography, and its role in centuries of European disorder and global disaster have long been the concern of historians, and the subject of their analyses. More recently the role of Irish historiography has come under

scrutiny to consider the part it may have played in the distress of today. Historians, like the men whose story they tell, have to suffer the evil they do living after them while the good is often interred with their bones. They do, however, have a positive role. In bringing the dim past to the fluorescent present, a society can see the events of that past in the past of its own culture, to see what in that older society is still useful, adaptable and essential to the present and to the future, with whatever contingencies that may hold. This is of value in a transitional society, which superficially at least, seems all change with no continuity. It is of particular value in a transitional Church, part of that society in our time, not only transitional but pluralist as well.

The historian of the Church, whatever his method, be it the individual, the group or the community, whatever the size of his stage, be it the vastness of the Universal Church, or its smallest institutional microcosm, the parish, is charged with recording his society as truthfully and compassionately as he can, from which would emerge the story of its change in all its colour, along with that of its continuity - the message breathed by its life force, resonated and articulated by its actors, of the news that ought to be good.

Notes:

1. Max Kelly, "Urban history goes social: some recent work in Australia", Urban History Yearbook, 1984 p.72
2. Australian 28 August, 1886
3. Patrick O'Farrell, The Irish in Australia, Sydney: UNSW Press 1987 p.1
4. Ronald Lawson, Brisbane in the 1890s: A Study of Australian Urban Society, Brisbane, Qld Uni. Press 1971, p.xxii
5. *ibid* p.40
6. Telegraph 9 September, 1936 p.18
7. Mark Billinge, "Reconstructing societies in the past: the collective biography of local communities", Period and Place, Cambridge: Cambridge Uni. Press 1982, p.26
8. *ibid*
9. Paul Crook, "Occupations of the people of Brisbane: an aspect of the urban society of the 1880s", Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand, Vol.10, No.37, Nov.1961
10. O'Farrell, p.14
11. Handwritten notes of lecture by Guild Secretary in 1921
12. John Tosh, The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History, London: Longman, 1984, p.73
13. T.P. Boland, The Ascent of Mount Tabor: Writing the Life of Archbishop Duhig, Aquinas Memorial Lecture, Brisbane: Leader Press 1986, p.7
14. Old Parliamentary Debates, 61 (1890):4 quoted in Lawson p.93
15. Telegraph 9 September, 1936, p.18.

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