

ST MARY'S IPSWICH: MONUMENT TO FR A. HORAN

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St Mary's Church, Ipswich, has often been called a monument to Fr. Andrew Horan.¹ It is very difficult to speak of the one without the other. So naturally I must speak of both. I will describe the church (or cathedral as it was often called even by *The Catholic Advocate* in the past,² and is still commonly called in local newspapers and tourist pamphlets); then speak of how Fr Horan built it.

Neither is quite as simple to do as it sounds. The church building is not entirely what was intended (it is both less and more!); and without access to Horan's diary or letters, a large part of the rationale behind his decision-making must remain conjecture.

Architecture

St Mary's Church is Gothic, but considerably simplified. It exhibits the following characteristics taken from the list given by Richard Apperly³ as indicators for 'Federation Gothic'. This style was common from about 1890 to 1915. The indicators are:

- landmark tower with a spire and turrets,
- steeply pitched roof,
- parapeted gable,
- wall buttresses,
- pinnacles (i.e. upward extensions of the buttresses, to provide additional weight and stability to the buttresses),
- tracery,
- masonry mullions,
- rose window,
- prominent roof vents or dormers, and
- a nave separated from aisles by a series of pillars.

Our church lacks:

- flying buttresses,
- transepts,
- chancel (or apse),
- a multitude of chapels, and
- exuberant and expensive decorative elements.

The plans for the church were those produced by Francis Drummond Greville Stanley for St Joseph's Cathedral, Rockhampton.⁴ We don't know why Horan chose those plans; how he got hold of them; or whether he paid for them. Stanley was dead before St Joseph's was opened - unfinished - in October 1899. Settlement of Stanley's estate was held up partly because of chaos surrounding amounts charged and owing from Rockhampton. Stanley's company gave Rockhampton a cut price, just to keep some money coming into the firm during the depression. Unfortunately the Queensland State Archives does not hold the estate papers in which St Mary's might have rated a mention.⁵

The plans have disappeared. Tanya Jen, in an unpublished essay held in the Ipswich Library⁶, wrote that she inquired at St Mary's parish office and was told that someone arrived at the office, asked for the plans and was given them. A spokesperson for Rockhampton told me in 2003 that they must be in Brisbane somewhere. This loss is unfortunate, because we would like to have seen annotated changes made by Horan or by Patrick Nugent, the builder.

At present, the only Stanley architectural drawing we have is a picture from *The AGE, Brisbane*, borrowed from the *Rockhampton Bulletin* [The original page from the *Rockhampton Bulletin* is missing from the library microfilm]. The drawing shows what the cathedral, and therefore St Mary's, would look like with the central tower, transepts, chancel and flying buttresses.⁷

St Joseph's, Rockhampton, was finished in 1899 with a back wall behind the altar made of corrugated iron and wood, just short of where the tower and transept should be. St Mary's was finished at the same place. Clearly, Horan would have had an idea from the Rockhampton experience of how much the completed section would cost, what it would look like, and how many it would seat.

We have no evidence that he intended to complete Stanley's concept. The only misgivings he ever aired in newspapers were that the towers might not be built. Construction of the two-storied sacristy block might indicate his definitive judgement that no transept would be needed or possible in his lifetime. Only Duhig, 50 years later, expressed disappointment at the missing transepts. Perhaps a more significant voice was that of sacristan Ronnie [Veronica] Gilmore who, according to tradition, also hoped for transepts.⁸ As it turned out, St Mary's was not a clone of St. Joseph's. The overall size is almost identical.

The table on the following page shows the published dimensions which indicate similarities but also some significant differences.

Unfortunately, it is not always clear that the measurements refer to the same thing. For instance, the height from floor to ceiling depends on the type of ceiling. The length of nave in Rockhampton might exclude the sanctuary. The height of a spire might be from ground level in Ipswich, which, at the front of the church is much lower than at the flatter site of St Joseph's.

The two major changes, of course, were the construction of a stone wall behind the altar, and a two-storied sacristy wing behind that wall, using recycled material from McGinty's church. St Joseph's had been forced to erect a temporary wall of corrugated iron and wood and then simply block off aisle areas alongside the altar to provide sacristies.⁹ [Addition of the sacristy section allowed Horan to claim truthfully that the Ipswich church was the largest in Queensland, and also allowed him to say that McGinty's church was not lost, but lived on.]

**COMPARISON OF SOME KEY MEASUREMENTS BETWEEN
ST MARY'S IPSWICH* AND ST JOSEPH'S
ROCKHAMPTON****

	IPSWICH ST MARY'S	ROCKHAMPTON ST JOSEPH'S
Height of Spires	127 ft	115 ft
Width of nave + aisles	73 ft	73 ft
Length of nave (interior)	140 ft	131 ft
Width of nave	39 ft	40 ft
Width of aisles	17 ft	16 ft
Height of nave ceiling	68 ft	51 ft
Height of aisle ceiling	24 ft	21 ft
Great 'west' window	25 ft x 13 ft	30 ft x 16 ft
Claimed seating	2 200	1 700

* from Duhig's *Souvenir*, 1904

** from *The Age: Brisbane* 28 Oct 1899 p.5

A third major change was the elimination of flying buttresses, without replacing them - as St Joseph's did later - with reinforcing cross-bars inside the church. Perhaps the steel principals [by Ipswich manufacturer, Barbat], which supported the roof, were the reason for this adaptation.

A fourth major change was to have dressed facing to the stonework instead of rough-hewn. This changed the outside appearance quite significantly.

Fifthly, the ceilings were quite different. St Joseph's had vaulted ceilings of wood; St Mary's had patterned bagasse plaster.

Beyond these and other major differences, there were a multitude of changes in detail. A comparison of the facades shows that practically each detail has been modified.

A short list would include:

- Positioning of all the windows is changed.
- False windows or niches alongside the rose window in St Joseph's are absent in St Mary's.
- The windows alongside the main entrance are simple two-light windows in St Joseph's; they are surrounded by a single gothic arch moulding in St Mary's with quatrefoil added.
- The tower parapet balustrade has different moulding.
- The upper tower windows are three-lights on each side in St Joseph's; but St Mary's has three-light windows on the front and outside; two-light windows on the back and inside.

Almost every detail has been modified slightly. Some changes were significant in engineering terms but many may have been prompted by the need to save money. Nevertheless the overall effect is very satisfying. The muted interplay of Gothic arches of the ceiling line and the windows, arches and niches produces a simple and pleasing decorative effect. Patrick Nugent, the builder, deserves to be better known for his skill and imagination. The St. Mary's church he built with Fr Horan has an uncluttered and very attractive grandeur.

Patrick Nugent

Patrick Nugent was much more than a labourer turned supervisor. According to Duhig, Patrick Nugent supervised construction of the Boys School intended for the Christian Brothers, the Infants School, the recent convent; and he designed, as well as built, the Parish Hall used as a temporary church. The original architect for the convent was Richard Suter¹⁰ but his health collapsed before it was built.¹¹

Since Bishop Quinn was credited with asking for an L-shape¹² with both sides to look the same, Suter must have designed only a single wing. Nugent was the supervisor who produced the building we have and must have provided the drawings at least for the wing facing the river.

Unless there was another Patrick Nugent who was a stonemason and building supervisor operating in the area at the same time, the following information from his will, probate, death certificate,¹³ and PO records refers to our man.

Patrick Nugent was born about 1852 in Clarchen, Tipperary. His father was Michael Nugent, farmer; his mother was Cecilia Mahony. His death certificate states that he had been 'about 50 years in Queensland,' so he must have migrated to Australia about 1874 in his early twenties.

Three years later, 1877, aged 25, he married Ellen McCarthy. The Nugents had eight children. Patrick's occupation is given variously as mason or stonemason on their birth certificates.

Financially the Nugents were not impoverished, but neither were they well off. When Patrick died in 1924 he left some shares in Qld Cement & Lime Co. Ltd, a life policy with Metropolitan Life Assurance Co. Ltd, and £122.17s.9d in the bank. His real estate amounted to just under £371. Everything was left to his wife.

An insight into Patrick Nugent's character comes from evidence he gave to a Royal Commission into the administration of the Department of Works.¹⁴ From his evidence, it is clear that Nugent was not simply a mason. He had been involved simultaneously in supervising some concreting in the cells at Boggo Road Gaol and in inspecting a stone arcade or colonnade in the Parliament Buildings. So he was used to being a supervisor of both concrete and stone work, and was also used to the pressure of trying to do two jobs at once. Nugent's evidence shows him to be an assertive and articulate man, precise in his logic and willing and able to stand up for himself.

It is of interest that in his evidence Nugent stated several times that Helidon sandstone was the best sandstone in the state. He also suggested that if Helidon stone were used for the caps, any other stone could be used for the rest.

Certainly in St. Mary's he may have used Goodna stone for the foundations, and (recycled from the old church) in the sacristies, but the decorative stone inside the church and the main walls is from Helidon. During the construction of St Mary's, Patrick's address in the Post Office records shifted from Brisbane to Elizabeth St Ipswich. He lived on the job.¹⁵

The Decision to Build

Of course the thought would have crossed Fr Horan's mind to build a new church when the existing church proved too small for congregations on any occasion that was slightly more special than usual. Soon after his arrival in Ipswich, Fr Horan had had galleries built around the old church to accommodate more people.¹⁶

Another powerful motive was the great 1893 floods which seared themselves into the souls of Ipswich people. Photos show flood water half-way up the doors of the old church. Nevertheless, there is a big step up from wishful thinking to creative decision-making. When did Fr Horan make the decision to build a new church? The *QT* of 2 July 1898 carried the following notice after the Mass list for July:

Collections for building a new Parish Church, Ipswich, will be made Next Month in the places where Mass is usually celebrated in the Parish. A. Horan.

Fr Horan had made his decision.¹⁷

The site for the new church had not been fixed by the end of October 1898. It was expected to be finalized when the Archbishop arrived for Confirmations at the end of that year, 1898.¹⁸

It was not until the 16 September 1900 that we have the first public announcement of the major decisions about the new church: that its style was to be Gothic and its size to be greater than any Catholic church presently in Queensland.¹⁹

Somehow, Fr Horan had managed to do a great deal of preparatory work either from home in Ipswich, or during his enforced convalescences.

Firstly, Horan had acquired the plans drawn by F.D.G. Stanley for Rockhampton Cathedral about Christmas 1899. Tradition has it that Horan used the actual plans, not copies.

Horan's church would finish exactly as Rockhampton's had, without the transept and central tower shown in the original plans. He must have planned it so from the beginning, since there is no sign of attempted foundations for those quite large additions.

Possibly his reason for reusing these plans was that the Church had already paid for them, and the architect (Stanley) had died; so money would be saved by not employing an architect to produce plans or to supervise construction. They would have been the only free plans for a church that would satisfy his ideals.

Horan was familiar and happy with the use of day-labour after his experiences with his previous considerable building program, which really means that he was happy with Patrick Nugent.

Secondly, that September 1900 announcement included the fact that much legal work between Horan and the Ipswich Council had been completed. A strip of property formerly owned by Hon J.C. Foote, [on part of which the Brothers' residence had been built], had been exchanged for closure of Little Street which bisected the church property.

Fr Horan sweetened the deal with the Council by himself paying £500 for the construction of the new street, named Horan Street.

The new Church was to be built across the now closed Little Street to ensure that it would be [almost] above the maximum known flood level.

Thirdly, it was mentioned that he had collected sufficient cash by September 1900 for a start to be made on the project.

The final decision to proceed with construction would be contingent on the people responding to his appeal for donations at the laying of the foundation stone. Apparently £1,400 [the amount²⁰

The Grand Opening of St Mary's Ipswich

The blessing and grand opening on Rosary Sunday, 2 October 1904²¹, was the high point of Fr Horan's career. Cardinal Moran came and brought a group of bishops with him. Many priests and a vast congregation of people attended. The pews inside the church were claimed to seat 2 200 people. There were so many outside that Fr (later, Mgr) Nolan, Parish Priest at Dalby, celebrated a separate Mass for them in the surrounding yard. Fr Horan was present but took no official part in the proceedings. Fr Duhig, who was M.C. as well as being the author of the highly praised souvenir book, greatly impressed the visiting dignitaries. He also impressed the reporters who made liberal use of his souvenir booklet.²² It was Duhig - not Horan - who became the next Queensland bishop just over one year later.

Given the conditions of the time, and the fact that Rockhampton was unable to complete an almost identical cathedral, it is surprising that Ipswich's St Mary's was built and paid for.

Illness of Fr Horan²³

To understand the enormity of the task, and to do justice to the power of Fr. Horan's oratorical gifts, we must realize just how sick he was when he attempted the task. Tom Boland has shown from letters sent by Dunne, that Horan was increasingly sick at this period. The following section shows from newspaper reports what reached the newspapers and public knowledge.

In January 1898 – the year in which Horan decided to build the church – he was back in Australia after a holiday in Ceylon. *The AGE* reported that he was at the mineral springs at Woodend, Victoria, until March. His health was said to be improved. On 5 March 1898 it was reported further that Horan would be away for another three weeks, during which he would visit Tasmania. ‘Thank God, I am much improved’ he wrote.

He arrived home on 26 March and was given a public reception on the afternoon of the following Sunday. A purse of £252.14s.4d was handed to him and a chalice in honour of his 25 years service in Ipswich. Horan was still in Ipswich in April for Easter and able to bury a Mrs Murphy who died on Easter Sunday.

His stay in the parish was brief. He was away when the first collections for the new church were made on 10 July. At the end of August Horan was in Warwick with his brother and sent a telegram from his brother’s presbytery to congratulate his parishioners, who had by then donated over £687.

In early October he was home, but confined to his room with a cold. It was serious enough to prevent him attending the funeral of T. J. Byrnes, the late Premier, who had died on 27 September.

November 19 came, and Horan was in Toowoomba for his health and announced his intention of visiting Warwick, Nanango and Gympie. December 3 brought news that his health was improving. He was certainly feeling well enough to defend himself in the newspapers from a charge of poaching converts. He also wrote a long letter to the Christian Brothers, Ipswich, to be read at their annual prize-giving. His address was Warwick.

The year 1899 was no better. In January Fr Duhig announced at Mass that Fr Horan had asked his curates to go up to the Downs to confer with him about organizing a bazaar. The curates hoped that their Parish Priest would be soon back.

Mid-February, Fr Horan's health was said to be improving. Finally he did return in time to chair the CYMS annual communion breakfast on February 19. He apologized, however, for the weakness of his voice.

It was a short reprieve. By mid-1899 he was gone again. It 'is rumoured that the Rev. A. Horan will be home again in a week or so, and his health is much improved', said *The AGE* of 10 June.

In November, home again, Fr. Horan was mentioned as one of those attending a CYMS picnic at Riverview. Just before Christmas 1899 Fr Horan opened his grand bazaar in aid of the new church fund.

By March 1900 Fr Horan was away again. He was not present at the St Patrick's Day celebrations in March. From May to September 1900 he was reported to be sick in Roma. This did not stop him working on the details for the ceremony of laying a foundation stone. He wrote to his curate, Fr. M. Ryan, at the end of May 1900, to announce that he intended to invite Cardinal Moran to officiate at the laying of the foundation stone. At the end of June, newspapers published a letter from the sick Horan asking parishioners to prepare 'a monster display of generosity.'

At the end of September, when the day for laying the foundation stone was finally fixed, he wrote to his curates to announce the fact at Mass. 'He will be in our midst soon', said Fr Ryan hopefully.²⁴

Somehow, Fr Horan dragged himself to Ipswich for the laying of the foundation stone by Archbishop Dunne on 28 October 1900. [The Cardinal was unable to come.]

But it was all too much for him and he left again. In December, speakers at both the Christian Brothers and the Sisters of Mercy schools' prize-giving, all mentioned that they hoped Fr Horan would soon be well enough to return.

By June 1901 Fr Horan was recovered sufficiently to be supervising the building. A *QT* reporter described a tour of the working site given by Fr Horan. On June 21 Fr Horan wrote a letter to the *QT* appealing for funds. He apologized that ‘... the indifferent state of his health for some considerable time past had prevented him doing the fund-raising personally ...’.

The relatively good health continued through 1902 into 1903.

In February 1903 he was on the campaign trail and appealing for money. There were begging letters to the *QT* in February and a meeting in April. In September he apologized to the people of Grandchester for his ‘long absence enforced by illness’. In October he was able to visit Rosewood, Pine Mountain and Peak Mountain. In December he joined the Mayor to open his Grand Bazaar. The Mayor prayed that Fr Horan would long be spared.

In February 1904 Horan was preaching at all Masses in Ipswich appealing for money. In March he was at Esk and Mt Brisbane. At the end of April he chaired a meeting to organize more socials. In June he was part of a huge Corpus Christi procession.

It could not last.

In July 1904, before the building was completed, the papers announced that the Rev Andrew Horan was stricken down with the prevailing influenza epidemic. Later that month ‘he was able to get up for an hour or so daily without any ill effects.’ But he was unable to attend the CYMS concert in mid-July.

On September 17 Fr Horan wrote a rather pathetic letter asking for money so that the church could be paid for before he died. He was of course present at the Grand Opening of his church on 2 October 1904, but the photo of him with important guests shows a very haggard and sickly face. He took little part in the ceremonies.

Next year, 1905, with the church finished but not paid off, things were no better. He began the year campaigning well, but was invalided in mid-year to Toowoomba, with 'something in the nature of a relapse following partial recovery from a recent attack of dengue fever'.²⁵

The year 1906 continued in the same vein. By the end of November he had been 'seriously ill for over a week with gastric influenza.' On December 8 he was still unable to work and had to miss travelling to Warwick for the unveiling of a monument to his brother, Fr J. J. Horan. On December 11 his doctor ordered him to Toowoomba to see if the air on the Downs would help.

Apologies were made for his absence from the Christian Brothers School speech night on December 15. A month later the *QT* reported how dreadful he looked.²⁶

And so Fr Andrew Horan endured sickness along with years of seemingly unending stress, thinking and breathing the collection of money and never seeming to get on top of his debts. Yet his exertions were rewarded and his prayers were answered. The church was paid off by the end of 1907.

Raising Money

Fr Horan had been raising money for the church for two years before the foundation stone was laid on Sunday, 28 October 1900. At that time he said he had about £4,000 put aside, and he received about £1,400 at the foundation stone ceremony. It was enough for him to decide to start, but he was going to need finally about £40,000.

He tried everything.

He had his curates, Duhig and O'Flynn, give illustrated lectures in Ipswich and any outlying centre that had a hall and enough people to come.²⁷

He had a ladies group organize dances and socials. He had bazaars; the one in Ipswich running for a full week. He had women volunteers organized to go from house to house, to the hotels and to the workshops to collect.

The HACBS organized St Patrick's Day carnivals for him. The nuns put on concerts for him. He preached impassioned sermons personally (when he was able) at all the Mass venues, and these were advertised in the papers. In his sermons he tried every means to manipulate the emotions. He appealed to religious sensitivity – they were to give to God and would be repaid a hundred-fold.

He attacked savagely anyone who dared to organize an event on St Patrick's Day in the outlying areas, which might conceivably keep money away from his carnival.²⁸ He used the heart-warming example of tiny tots collecting their pennies for him. He made concrete suggestions of how much money they should give: on one occasion it was 'one day's wage'; on another it was '£5 to £200'. (Apparently the congregation smiled at that!).²⁹ Once, when he spoke to farmers hard hit by a drought, he suggested that they mortgage their property so that they could give him some money. A 'correspondent' suggested to wage earners that they borrow money so that they would have something for the collection.³⁰

He derided from the pulpit, those who managed to be away from home when he visited.³¹ He (almost) always praised donors for their offerings. Only once would he not tell a church how much they had given. It was so little. But 'don't be ashamed of the small sum' he told them. He would give them another chance later.³² His greatest effort went into going from person to person himself and asking each individual for their help. In country towns he went from house to house, and farm to farm in between bouts of illness.

But it was all apparently to little avail.

In December 1903 he announced that he had already spent £18,000, of which £13,000 had been donated. So he had a debt of £5,000, and expected to need a further outlay of £5,000 to complete the church.³³

Unfortunately the 1903 results from his giant bazaar and a year's worth of collections reduced that by only £2001.7s.7d. By August 1904 his debt was £6,000 and climbing. On September 8, 1904 it was 'over £8,000' or 'a millstone of nearly £9,000 round my neck.'³⁴

The grand opening realized almost £2,430.15s,³⁵ but in 1905 the interest was accumulating at £32 per month. In March 1906 the debt was still £5,000. It was not something he could simply forget about. He said that he had mortgaged everything he owned to guarantee the debt.

When begging was not enough, he took advice from Mrs Lumley Hill of Bellevue, [near Coominya] whose husband ran a famous Hereford stud. Horan had already been given an occasional animal in lieu of donation. The Hills suggested that Horan should ask everyone for cattle or even horses. The Hills would dip them free and provide a paddock where they could be held until auctioned. Horan's Catholic friends jumped at this suggestion.

Hugh Conroy offered to keep cattle from the Mt Brisbane/Stanley River region and have them branded with Horan's own brand. James Copely of Stanley River made a similar offer. They would later drive the newly branded stock to Bellevue to await auction. Eventually, in July 1905, 258 beasts in total were auctioned and realized £906.

This was such a success that Horan repeated it the following year. He also announced that he would treasure Mrs Lumley Hill's original letter forever.³⁶

To expand his source of donations, he got permission in early 1906 to go up on to The Downs to beg there.³⁷ In just one area around Greymare (near Warwick) he received 33 animals as well as cash. In the Mass dates published in the papers for Ipswich, he added the note that cattle would be collected after each Mass, if people preferred to do that rather than give cash.

In a letter to *The AGE: Brisbane* in Sept 1906, Fr Horan announced that the debt was indeed reducing, but as of 17 August it was still £3,942 9s. 5d.³⁸ He complained that in a five months stretch in 1905 he had collected £200; of which £160 went to cover interest and only £40 to reduce the capital debt.

The results of the 1906 cattle sales and the bazaar, however, must have cheered him immensely and by the middle of 1907 the debt was down to £1,180.

Fr Horan could see light at the end of the tunnel and wanted to wipe out the remaining debt quickly. He announced that he would assess all his parishioners and assign to each a portion of the final debt. He went around his parish once again to interview every parishioner and published the amounts that he had assigned to each. There followed regular publication of the donations actually received with the amount assigned in brackets after the gifted amount. As usual, Fr Horan also wrote that all the parishioners were simply delighted with this plan.³⁹

In December he wrote a last letter to the newspapers asking that those people who had not yet handed in their assessed amount should do so quickly. They were allowed to hand it in to any priest in their area. 'It would save him so much trouble'.

So, unbelievably, the debt was basically wiped out by the end of 1907. The first collection had been in mid-1898, and the last in late-1907 - just 9 years!

But let us not forget that while this titanic struggle occupied his mind during his healthy moments, Horan was still building churches in outlying parts of his parish, and therefore often appealing for two churches at the one time. Nor did he ignore other charities in Ipswich. Apart from regular collections for the Ipswich hospital, there were also appeals for cyclone-ravaged Townsville and for the Irish Home Rule Movement, to name but a few which were not directly connected with the parish.

Fr Andrew Horan was a collector *par excellence*. It was with good reason that a *QT* reporter once remarked that the Rev. Horan would never miss the opportunity for a fund-raising if he could help it.

Conclusion:

Fr Horan must be given credit for a massive achievement in building not only St Mary's, but also its convent, Brothers' residence and schools – and all those other churches in the area.

And Fr Horan certainly took credit for all the building being done in his domain. Tom Boland records that he wrote frequently to Propaganda to ensure that they were aware of his latest construction⁴⁰ During a lunch after opening the first Rosewood church in 1885, Fr Horan casually compared himself with St Kevin. St Kevin had opened 7 churches at Glendalough, but he, Horan, had opened 11 and was not yet canonised.⁴¹ [I have a list of 20 churches that Horan might be credited with, but for the period up to 1885, I have found only 7 of his claimed 11. There are 4 more yet to be identified.]

At the opening of the Walloon church in 1904 Horan replied to a gushing parishioner that he could not be made a bishop while he was still in debt.⁴² He emphasized frequently how much money he personally had raised and spent.

But is it true, as local tradition has handed down, that Fr Horan took full control of all the details?

What of the eyewitness reports of him sitting in the shade of a tent saying his rosary, with plans in front of him, and paying the men each week?

Tom Boland has shown, from the letters of Archbishop Dunne, that it was Duhig and Matt Ryan who actually ran the parish. For some of the churches listed under Horan's name, it can be easily demonstrated that it was a curate who was the organizer, not Horan. (e.g. Fr Maurice Lane at Booval, Fr Matt Ryan at Mt Brisbane).

Horan, however, always had to say yes. Duhig spoke of the curates coming in from their circuits and being questioned by the sick Horan about current relationships between parishioners and the amount of money collected for various appeals.

We have already seen that Horan was actually absent from the parish for much of the time when St Mary's was being built and paid for.

When he was fit, however, he certainly performed prodigious deeds of money collecting. Even when curates said Mass on the circuit, he would sometimes accompany them and preach one of his standard begging sermons.

It is also clear that Patrick Nugent was the man with the principal responsibility for building St Mary's church. He deserves much more credit than the mere mention of his name in Duhig's souvenir. But then, he was just an employee, and not particularly famous. It was that sort of era.

The women of the parish did almost the entire work in raising the funds; apart from preaching and the cattle collecting.

It must be said that Horan thanked women frequently, and the names of women on committees are recorded in the newspapers, but we bump into some names only in family histories. For example, there were the Kluck girls who rode around the neighbouring farms in the northern areas collecting money for the church.

It is really only when Duhig returned as Bishop and Archbishop that we hear individual women named and honoured for their contribution to the parish. The contrast between Duhig and Horan is very marked. Perhaps there is a generation difference in how the two clerics related to their helpers - or is it simply a personality difference?

Nevertheless Fr Horan must be given the credit he deserves for a magnificent and successful building program. He was in charge, the C-in-C. He made the final, daring, overall decisions. He got out and about when he could and collected money.

Personal Reflection:

I don't like the man but I admire him. On a rather grander scale I don't like what I read of St Jerome either – a user of women; a particularly acid-mouthed and aggressive slanderer. Yet, Jerome went to extraordinary lengths to accomplish something that was worth accomplishing, and one has to admire his tenacity, capacity for immensely hard work, and success - so with Fr Horan.

I can't warm to a man who collected money in the ways he did. His illness is not an explanation. His excesses during the collecting for St Mary's were consistent with his activities at other times and on other occasions.

He charged 6d entry fee to cover the costs of a Corpus Christi procession⁴³ and 2s 6d. for front seats at an address by Archbishop Vaughan.

At the Pontifical High Mass and laying of a foundation stone for the convent in 1874 he charged 10s for front seats, 5s for back seats and 2s 6d for standing room and for children.⁴⁴

When he spoke at the opening of a Josephite school at Redbank Plains - by moving a motion that Christian Brothers be brought in - he had to be reminded to ask for donations for the nuns.

He went into a rage when an Esk building committee voted against his preferred builder,⁴⁵ then extracted revenge by demanding that the builder provide free wood for tables and shelter for his lunch at the opening of the church.⁴⁶

But he is gone. The church remains. It is a monument indeed to Horan's tenacity but even more to both Catholics and non-Catholics of the whole West Moreton and Downs region who paid for it. The church remains and is magnificent. The fortuitous lack of a chancel gives an openness, visibility and beauty to the altar area created by Horan and Nugent, which has only been improved by the 1980 changes.

As the early reporter said, St Mary's is both grand and pretty.

ENDNOTES:

1. *Cath Adv* 16 Oct 1924 p. 23: 'This fine Gothic church in Ipswich will stand as an imperishable monument to the memory of [Horan]..' *Cath Adv*. 23 Oct 1924, p. 19: Mons Byrne spoke of 'the glorious temple erected in memory of [Horan's] great work in the parish'.
2. *Cath Adv*. 2 June 1919, p. 21: 'Christmas at St Mary's Cathedral'.
3. Apperly, Richard (1989): *A pictorial guide to identifying Australian Architecture*. A & R, North Ryde, p. 122.
4. Duhig, (1904) *Souvenir*: p.2.
5. Watson, D & J. McKay: *Queensland Architects of the 19th Century*. Qld Museum, Brisbane, p.168.

6. Jen, T.: *St Mary's History*, 1989. [Some copies are labelled 'St Mary's' and dated 1990.] p.18.
7. *The AGE Brisbane*, 16 Dec 1899, p.8.
8. Ronnie Gilmore's memories have been passed on by families of her friends.
9. Miles, J.: (1999) *St Joseph's Cathedral: Celebrating 100 Years 1899-1999*.
10. Tender notice signed by Suter in *Ipswich Observer* 31/3/1875, and repeated up to 5/4/1875.
11. Watson, D & J. McKay: *Queensland Architects of the 19 Century*. Qld Museum, Brisbane, pp 184-188. Suter (1827-1894) left Queensland for good in 1880 and became a priest of the Catholic Apostolic Church in Carlton.
12. *The Australian* c.18 Aug 1884 in a report on the opening of the convent.
13. Queensland State Archives SCT 462/1924 (Reel Z1894).
14. Inquiry into the Administration of the Department of Public Works. *Old Gov Votes and Papers Session* 1900, vol 3 p. 418 ff.
15. e.g. PO records for 1905.
16. *QT* 20 Oct 1900. 'Brief Sketch of Old St Mary's'.
17. Also carried in *The AGE: Brisbane*, 9 July 1898.
18. *The AGE: Brisbane*, 22 Oct 1898.
19. *QT* 16 Sept 1900.
20. *QT* 30 Oct 1900.
21. The official photo shows a very sick Horan between a row of prelates and a row of politicians.
22. Reported at length in *QT* 27 Oct and 30 Oct 1900; *Telegraph*, 1 Oct 1904 and *The AGE*, 8 Oct 1904.
23. This section extracts references to Horan's health from *QT* and *The AGE: Brisbane*.
24. *The AGE* 22 Sept 1900.
25. *The AGE* 6 May 1905.
26. *QT* 11 Dec 1906.
27. e.g. O'Flynn on 'Ireland' at Grandchester, *AGE* 12 Sep 1903 and Duhig on Rome *AGE* 6 June 1907.
28. *The AGE* 21 Mar 1903: 'black sheep Seldom go to Mass ... sell religion..'
29. *The AGE* 25 Mar 1904.

30. *The AGE* 31 Oct 1903.
31. *The AGE* 23 May 1905
32. *The AGE* 31 Oct 1903.
33. *The AGE* 12 Dec 1903.
34. *The AGE* 17 Sept 1904.
35. *The AGE* 18 Oct 1904.
36. *The AGE* 8 July 1905.
37. *The AGE* 7 April 1906.
38. *The AGE* 1 Sept 1906.
39. *The AGE* 22 June 1907. For examples of lists: 24 August 1907; 7 Sept 1907.
40. Boland, T.P: (1986) *James Duhig*. UQ Press: St Lucia, p.74.
41. *QT* 4 Aug 1885.
42. *QT* 5 Nov 1904.
43. *The AGE* 25 July 1908.
44. *The AGE* 23 May 1874.
45. *The AGE* 18 Feb 1905.
46. *The AGE* 27 June, 1905.