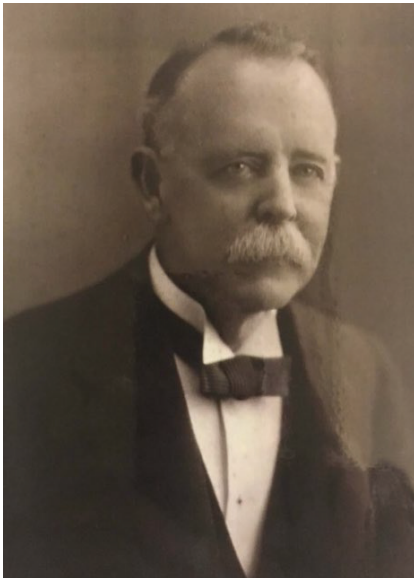


PATRICK WILLIAM SHANNON – HIS LIFE AND TIMES

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The title of this paper, for which I take responsibility, is somewhat prosaic. However, neither the man nor the times can be so described.



Patrick William Shannon

Patrick William Shannon, known personally and professionally as “PW” in the fashion of the Edwardian era, rose from poor circumstances, and little formal education, to become unquestionably the ultimate authority in respect of the law relating to public lands in Queensland. He was appointed to the Land

Court of Queensland in 1914 and remained in that position

until 1937 when he reached the statutory retirement age of 70.

His journey, however, is more interesting than the usual judicial profile. PW's life ran parallel to tumultuous times when happenings in Ireland greatly affected Australian society. Events of the late 19th and early 20th centuries have defined the island of Ireland to this day. Home rule was attempted on two occasions during the Gladstone/Parnell era and then achieved during Asquith's government, although that legislation was suspended almost immediately in August 1914.

The sequelae of the 1916 rising divided the community, both in Ireland and Australia. Many significant events followed - the conscription plebiscites in 1916 and 1917 in Australia; the proposed conscription laws in Ireland in 1918; the 1918 general election when Sinn Fein's republicanism wiped out the Irish Parliamentary Party and with it, the concept of constitutional home rule; the declaration of the republic; the War of Independence and the Civil War. Each would have represented a wave of passion and tension over the Irish diaspora. In Australia, the Archbishop of Melbourne became a lightning rod for Irish nationalism generally.

On the home front, the legislative record of the Ryan Labor Government makes any modern-day administration appear slack in comparison. Although other labor governments had been elected in Queensland beforehand,

for various reasons, none had exercised power in any real sense. Ryan introduced significant social change, such as workers compensation legislation and the government insurance office. He turned the laissez-faire economic market approach of the nineteenth century on its head. By 1916, the government conducted businesses such as butcher shops, sawmills, coal mines and pastoral stations.

These were exciting times then, full of colour, movement and personality.

PW was born in Brisbane on 6 September 1867. His parents, Margaret (nee McGrath) and John Shannon came from an area just west of Enniskillen. They arrived in Brisbane in the mid-1860s making PW first-generation Australian – although he may have always thought himself a Queenslander first, federation or not. He loved Queensland and the regions.

PW was the eldest of six. John Shannon, his father, unfortunately died in an accident before the youngest child, Edward, was born and when PW was about 13 years of age; so the family was left in tough circumstances.

PW's education commenced with the Sisters of Mercy. When the Christian Brothers began to teach at the little Pugin Chapel next to the Cathedral of St Stephen in 1875, he was transferred in September of that year to continue his education there. As an altar boy, he took part in the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the original

building of Gregory Terrace. Indeed, he served as an altar boy or "train bearer" for Bishop O'Quinn, Brisbane's first bishop.¹

The next 15 years saw significant development in the town. It was during this period that the Florentine, Andrea Stombuco, undertook the construction of numerous and iconic public and private buildings in Brisbane, many of which still stand. In the 1870s, PW's future father in law, J.W. Heckelmann commissioned Stombuco to complete several buildings including his own home at Whinstanes and the Heckelmann Building which still stands in Elizabeth Street. Indeed, just above the cornice on the northern side of the building, the initials "JWH" remain.

Those early days saw PW forge a friendship with another formidable builder, James Duhig². This was always a likely friendship. The Duhig family had arrived in Brisbane in 1884. They moved to an address in Herbert St Spring Hill, the same street in which the Shannons lived. The families later moved to the adjoining suburbs of Albion and Woolloowin respectively, and the connection was maintained. James and PW honed their debating skills as young men in the Holy Cross Guild and became talented public speakers. Father Boland in his *magnum opus* on the Archbishop refers to James as a trainee priest in Rome in 1893, delivering a speech prepared by PW on the Episcopal Golden Jubilee of Leo XIII. They remained close for over 70 years.

PW finished school at around 15 years of age in 1882 because of the family's financial circumstances. His background, therefore, was typical of Irish immigrants some 30 to 40 years post-famine. The early 1880's would not have been an ideal time for a young 15-year-old Irish Catholic boy on the job lot. He may have received some assistance from Bishop Dunne at that time (as frequently happened) although that cannot be said with any certainty. Without further education, many avenues were indeed closed to him.

In any event, he obtained a job in 1883 as a supernumerary clerk in the office of the Department of Lands. His engagement may only have been temporary and part-time, employment only being available when there was too much work for the regular clerks to perform. He was later appointed a clerk of the newly created Land Board (1885), and eventually Under Secretary of Lands (1912) and Land Court Member (1914).

PW, therefore, had none of the advantages enjoyed by members of the Catholic middle-class in Ireland and Queensland at that time. Prominent men such as Andrew Thynne and Edward McCartney each had the benefit of further education (Thynne at Queens University Galway) and practised law. However, PW was hard-working, had a talent for public speaking and writing and was relentless in maintaining exacting standards. He also had his share of luck.

PW's background was, of course, far from unique. Many people reached positions of great responsibility during those times with little formal education. E.G.Theodore, for instance, had an extremely limited formal education; and his Romanian background would not have helped him amongst the English/Scot/Irish population either. However, Theodore's intellect and the sheer force of nature that surrounded him saw him reach great heights. Men such as those deserve an asterisk after their achievements.

The backgrounds of PW and James Duhig were not dissimilar. Their respective families joined the dispossessed Irish diaspora in America and Australia with little by way of material possessions. Upon the Duhig family being evicted from their farm at Broadford in County Limerick as a result of the Land Wars in the early 1880s, some travelled to Chicago, and the rest came to Brisbane. PW's parents had left Fermanagh about twenty years before. Each was representative of the rise of talented and hard-working young men of Irish background and descent in the early stages of the 20th century in Queensland. Neither, however, had any interest in transporting the problems of the old world to Queensland.

Daniel Mannix, of course, took an Irishman's view of the social and political issues of the day. This was hardly surprising. Daniel was nearly 50 years old when he

arrived in Australia. PW and James Duhig saw themselves as Queenslanders. Both were in their early 30s upon federation when Mannix's arrival was still ten years hence.

Whilst his friendship with James was unsurprising, there was another, less conventional, relationship which influenced PW's life. At a time when a young Irish Catholic boy found things difficult, friendship and professional assistance came from an unusual source by way of the encouragement and patronage of a tough, uncompromising Presbyterian Scot – William Scott.

He and PW enjoyed a great friendship and mutual regard for each other over many years. PW mostly trailed Scott's career through the Department of Lands, filling Scott's position as he, himself, was promoted. Indeed, such was the regard Scott had for PW that, on one occasion, upon Scott receiving a promotion and another being touted for the position Scott was vacating, he insisted on rejecting his appointment unless PW was also promoted to fill the vacancy.

This would have been an unusual relationship for the times. That is not to say things were necessarily unfriendly between two such men in similar circumstances (although they frequently were), but the closeness of their friendship was unusual. PW amusingly expresses it in a note contained in a Catholic publication in which he wrote during his retirement under the

pseudonym "*Currajong*". He had a writing style belonging to an earlier time and which would have seemed a little old fashioned even 100 years ago – but it was elegant, humorous and, when the situation commanded, sharp and precise.

In this note, he tells a story of a man called Felix Savage, who owned the premises just around the Ulster Corner in Edward Street. Savage had a business of making and selling surgical appliances, artificial limbs et cetera. PW entertainingly writes:

Savage was a worthy man of Presbyterian observance, and a brother of Inspector Savage of the police force. He was an acquaintance and coreligionist of S., a very dear friend of mine, and his name recalls a neet sally made against me by S on one occasion.

He goes on:

As previously indicated, my people came from the north of Ireland, and my ear is sensitive as regards the distinctive accent of that land of warm feelings. I knew Felix Savage fairly well, and noticing in him what seemed to me a well-marked Ulster burr, I asked him one day where he came from. He replied that he was for 15 years in South Africa and regarded himself as a Cosmopolitan. I accepted the hint that that was as much as he was prepared to say on the point, but decided to seek further enlightenment from S., who by the way was the Queensland born son of Scotch parents. The

relations between S. and I were so friendly and cordial that we could afford to joke with one another on such subjects as nationality and religion, and on occasion, we indulged in good-humoured crossfire banter. After telling S. the terms of Felix Savage's reply, I added that unless I was mistaken, Savage came from the north of Ireland. 'I would not be at all surprised' he rapped out: 'there are a lot of savages in Ireland!'³

PW's views on Home Rule, the dominant issue for the Irish diaspora in the early 20th century, are unknown. James, however, had been a member of the Queensland Irish Volunteers, an ethnic military unit within the Queensland Defence Force, during the late 19th century. When John Dillon⁴ came to Brisbane in 1889, James assisted in the collection of funds for the Home Rule cause.

Whilst Bishop of Rockhampton, in 1906, James recalled evictions being carried out in the Irish countryside by soldiers with fixed bayonets. During that year he vigorously supported a fundraising tour by the Irish Nationalist Party (the Irish Party) delegates Joseph Devlin and John Donovan throughout Central Queensland. He said during their presence:

We owe a great deal to the land of our Fathers, and it would ill become us to let pass the present opportunity of honouring her envoys, of aiding her in her glorious struggle for self-government – a struggle unparalleled in

the history of nations – and of testifying our abiding interest in everything that concerns her welfare.⁵

James joined Devlin and Donovan at public meetings and arranged collections for the Home Rule fund.⁶

In 1911, the Queensland Irish Association facilitated a further visit by Home Rule delegates. The group consisted of William Redmond (son of John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party) John Donovan and Richard Hazelton. James drew the connection between Home Rule and Queenslanders of Irish birth or descent by referencing the lack of self-government as a "hallmark of inferiority stamped upon the whole Irish race."⁷ Writing to John Redmond after the departure of the delegation James emphasised "that we are with you, heart, soul and pocket, and that our interest in the long battle, now, we trust, drawing to a close, is as keen as if we were still living on Irish soil."⁸

Certainly, in 1922 (when he was present in Ireland) following the election in the middle of that year when de Valera and his irregulars were resoundingly beaten, but insisted on taking the country into the Civil War, James said:

De Valera and his fellows are now universally condemned. People say that pride and madness have taken possession of him ... The Archbishop of Dublin told me that he had tried to reason with de Valera, but

it was impossible. Ninety-five per cent of the people are against the 'Irregulars'.⁹

PW, however, kept his politics close to his chest. There was rarely any conversation at the dinner table in respect of the happenings in George Street or Irish matters.¹⁰

He was, however, undoubtedly a conservative figure. That may be said to be a little unusual given his background. He was not originally of the Catholic middle-class, although he became so. Perhaps labour politics were not fully formed until the start of the 20th century, and the Irish Catholic vote was only harnessed subsequent to the tumultuous events of 1916/1917 and the consequences to all of that.

In any event, PW was appointed to the Land Court in January 1914 by the Denham Liberal Government following in the footsteps, for the last time, of WJ Scott who died suddenly at the age of 56. This was just 12 months prior to the election of the Ryan Labor Government. His views of the new regime may have been shaped by a brush with one of Ryan's senior ministers.

In 1917, PW handed down a decision which was to lead to much unhappiness and ended up filling some 15 pages of closely typed transcript in Hansard later that year. Much of that contained highly personal and vitriolic criticism of him.

It is necessary to touch briefly upon the facts of the matter. The decision concerned a dispute near St George at a place called *Gulnarbar*. At that time, the Department of Lands frequently made recommendations in respect to resumptions of land held under large pastoral leases so that the land could be opened up to selectors. Frequently these matters were agreed upon; however, when that was not possible, the dispute came before the Land Court for determination. In this particular case, the Department, represented by the Crown, put up two options as to the amount of land to be resumed, the positioning of boundaries and so forth. The pastoral lessee put up a third option.

The first Crown option involved isolating the homestead. If this was done, the lessee was significantly disadvantaged because several improvements, access to water and so forth were to be hived off to the new resumption making the land surrounding the homestead useless. This was obviously unfair to the remaining lessee. One solution would have been for the Crown to resume the lessee's homestead and other improvements; however, it refused to do that.

The Crown's second option involved a redrawing of boundaries with the result that the land which was opened up was further away from the town of St George than it otherwise would have been. It was close to the railway station. This was a significant advantage to new selectors

because they could have goods and material transported by rail and have them easily collected. However, of course there were several commercial interests who preferred the new selections to be close to the town.

The justice of the case was clear. Accordingly, the lessee's submission was rejected, and the Crown's second option accepted. At this point in time, there was no appeal from decisions of the Land Court; it was the final arbiter.

With that background, Mr Land, the Labor member for Balonne in the Queensland Parliament, became upset that the land which was opened up was close to the railway station, not the township where many of his constituents lived and worked.

Accordingly, he wrote a letter to the relevant Minister, the Secretary for Lands John Hunter. Mr Hunter was a powerful man in the Ryan government. He was the Premier's "eyes and ears" on the frequent occasions he was absent from the State such that they would have had codependency.

The proof of the pudding was in the eating because upon the resumption being carried out according to the terms of that order, many selectors wished to take up that land. However, Mr Land got so upset about the business that he wrote to Mr Hunter. Mr Hunter then wrote back to his caucus colleague stating a number of things he no doubt

came to regret. He said: "that the action of the Land Court in this matter shows the rottenness of the business".

He continued:

As the Court is situated as it is at present, it seems to be fated to injure the Crown and favour the lessee. It would be better to have no court than such a court as this.

He further asserted that "a fair deal to both sides was certainly not given". He mooted the possibility of creating an appeal from decisions of the Land Court but then reflected that an appeal would then be open to lessees.

Unfortunately for all concerned, Mr Land decided to take the Minister's response and send it to the local newspaper *The Balonne Beacon* which then published it. Whilst, in hindsight, that was a most unwise letter to write, Hunter did not intend that it be published nor did he have any knowledge of that occurring.

PW did not hear about this until he returned to south-western Queensland on circuit a few months later. He sought either a withdrawal of the remarks made by the Minister or the institution of a commission of inquiry by the government into the operation of the Land Court and refused to sit until the matter was resolved.

In any event, Hunter made an apology, of sorts, by referring, in Parliament, to the impression that: "Mr.

Shannon seems to have got ... that my letter suggested some want of integrity on his part in connection with the resumptions". In conceding that "the vernacular used in the letter may be construed in that way but that [he] never intended it in that sense" the Minister wished to "hasten to correct any wrong impression of that nature."¹¹

The issue was debated for some time in Parliament. Mr Land spoke at length and took a number of positions each of which seemed to be inconsistent with any other he put forward. As the Hansard transcript demonstrates, there was a personal aspect to the attacks on PW. Despite Mr Land stating that any of his remarks were not to be taken as a reflection on the integrity of any officer of the Land Court, he then however referred to PW as "a hidebound Tory" and that he "bowed to the will of any financial magnate that came along".

Those criticisms seem rather odd given that PW's entire working life was as an employee of the Crown. Indeed, it was *because of* his singular background in the Department of Lands that some of the large pastoral leaseholders were uncertain as to how he would turn out when he was appointed and how he would affect their interests.

Mr Hunter did little to defuse the situation in Parliament and Ryan, discredibly, stayed out of it. The attack was otherwise unanimously forcefully rejected and repelled by numerous members of Parliament.

No one, however, made the defence case better than PW himself. He issued a public statement. Perhaps taking the approach that this summary could not be improved upon, the entire response was read into Hansard by an opposition member.

The writing is typical of the prose he used and which, as has already been commented, even then may have sounded a little old-fashioned and mid 19th century; but the aesthetic style and humour still prevail:

In the newspapers of yesterday is a statement by the Minister for Lands regarding some remarks of mine in reply to a grossly unjust charge against this Court. The Minister is more picturesque in charge than in retreat but the reply is so far satisfactory that it makes clear that whatever construction his language was open to, the Minister had no intention of suggesting any want of integrity on the part of a member of this Court....

As an effort had been made to provide a calm atmosphere for the minister's disclaimer, I am disappointed that it is not accompanied by any regret that a meaning so harmless should have found expression in terms so unwarrantable and so untruthful as those to which I have already called his attention. I, however, do not wish to comment on that feature further than to recall the remark of a distinguished Japanese naval visitor in regard to the utterance of a politician of that day that these things are largely matters of taste....

Whether in the circumstances of these cases the minister's criticism has been fair or not, I am quite prepared to leave to the judgement of others. The episode has been a disagreeable one but it has evoked such a wealth of kindly feeling that I have almost ceased to regret it. In taking leave of it now I but wish to add that the situations of comic opera will be searched in vain for anything more Gilbertian, or more delightfully ridiculous, than the picture presented by the Minister invoking the aid of further powers of appeal to restrain this Court from doing violence to public interests by adopting a proposition submitted to the Court by the Minister himself!

Theodore succeeded Ryan in 1919 as Premier at the age of 34. He led a government with a highly efficient party and (newly created) AWU machine behind it. Dan Casey, the doyen of the criminal bar in Queensland, and someone not given to overstatement, was of the view that he was a brilliant man but had a ruthless aspect.

Frustrated by the power structures which blocked his radical agenda, Theodore caused the abolition of the Legislative Council in 1920 and the District Court in 1921. His discomfort with the Legislative Council revolved around the unrepresentative nature of membership of the Council based as it was upon appointment and land ownership. There were members of the Ryan government who also sought the abolition of the Land Court.¹²

Despite the changes and controversy of the time, the Court survived. From at least 1919, PW was its undoubted leader. He was reappointed by Executive Council in September 1928 for a further nine years until his retirement in 1937.

Another interesting name appeared in the parliamentary debate concerning the *Gulnarbar* controversy – Jack Fihelly. Fihelly was smart, hot-tempered and Irish. Born in County Cork, Fiehllyism became vernacular for general anti-British attitudes or statements. In September 1916 a special meeting of the Queensland Irish Association was held at the club premises in Elizabeth Street for the purpose of authorising the donation of funds for relief in Ireland (presumably Dublin as this was the only place where the rising took place).

Fihelly was at the time the assistant minister for justice. He declared at the meeting John Redmond¹³ was "useless" and England to be the "home of cant, humbug and hypocrisy". Insofar as the conscription issue was concerned, he asserted that "the opinion is held by many young Australians that every Irish Australian recruit means another British soldier to harass the people of Ireland". Another senior minister, William Lennon, supported Fihelly's comments and asserted that "Ireland certainly had special – that is especially bad – treatment accorded to her... [and that] the Irish should let England know they were tired of it."

The sentiments were, of course, inconsistent with the long-standing position of the Queensland Irish Association in support of the Irish Parliamentary Party and Redmond in particular. It would have been astonishing if PW was at the Irish Club that night in support of Mr Fihelly and Mr Lennon.

Numerous letters to the Brisbane Courier heavily criticised the QIA, Fihelly, Lennon, and Duhig. Members of the non-conformist clergy did not miss the chance to torpedo the ascendant Irish. A minister of the Wesley Church complained that Irish Catholics had seized control of Queensland and thought that "a few Cromwells" were required to put things right in Queensland.¹⁴ Anglican clergy, however, joined the attack of the non-conformists - in particular an attack on James and the QIA.

This episode must have constituted one of James's most significant tests. At this time, approximately 25% of the Brisbane population was either Irish born or first-generation Irish. Many would have shared Fihelly's views, if not his manner of expression. James was also aware that a significant number of Catholics were of what he called "the Conservative interest".¹⁵ Men such as prominent solicitor Andrew Thynne MLC and the well-known retailer TC Beirne¹⁶ were well-known supporters of conscription. James however quickly countered the critics and returned things to an even keel with his usual smooth style.

A postscript to those events was the visit by the Prince of Wales to Queensland in 1920. Of course, this was in the middle of the war of independence and just around the time that the Archbishop of Melbourne was arrested by the British off the Irish coast.

By political circumstances at the time the acting governor was William Lennon and the acting Premier was Jack Fihelly! The Archbishop, in one of his astute diplomatic coups, organised a meeting between himself, the apostolic delegate to Australia and the Prince of Wales at Parliament house.

He told an audience the following week that "of all the many meetings with the Prince of Wales none would prove so historic as that between the heir to the throne and the representative of Beckett Benedict XV" and that "the forum was the Royal seal of approval of the Roman Catholic community".

That was probably a little overstated. In 2006, the State Library of New South Wales obtained several letters sent by the Prince to his then mistress (Mrs) Freda Dudley Ward during his Australian tour. Sent from an apartment in Brisbane in July 1920 he referred to "...the element up here being more Sinn Fein than bolshie really but whatever it is I don't like it at all".

Jack Fihelly especially was not his cup of tea. He regarded the acting Premier as "the foulest and most infamous

looking cut-throat Irish Roman Catholic that I've ever seen!"

The reference to Sinn Fein of course occurred at a time when the fighting and chaos in Ireland during the War of Independence was perhaps at its height. It was also coincident with Daniel Mannix's trip to America (where he heavily promoted de Valera and Sinn Fein) and his subsequent detention by the British authorities on his passenger vessel off the Irish coast.

James and PW each returned to Ireland on two occasions. James had travelled to his hometown of Broadford in the south-west during the febrile times of the civil war in 1922. On the evening of 21 August 1922, Michael Collins was shot and killed in Cork. James took the leading place in the sanctuary of Dublin's Pro-Cathedral after the presiding Archbishop of Dublin, Sir John Lavery captured the scene.

Within days he had left for America. However, it would be 30 years before he found himself able to deal with de Valera again in any courteous manner. He was quoted in the Tribune:

De Valera and his fellows are now universally condemned. People say that pride and madness have taken possession of him ... The Archbishop of Dublin told me that he had tried to reason with de Valera, but it was impossible. Ninety-five per cent of the people are against the 'Irregulars'."17

PW travelled to Ireland first in 1926 when he spent approximately nine months out of Queensland visiting Europe. He made a further trip in 1950 with his wife, his son, Father Neal Shannon, and daughters Moira and Nuala. James accompanied them for at least a part of the trip. PW was 83, and James 79 years of age.

On that trip in 1950, they met with de Valera on one of the few occasions when he was out of power. That was reportedly a somewhat cool meeting. Given PW's relationship with Duhig and the latter's views on "Dev", this was not surprising. He also enjoyed an audience with Pius XI. Nuala stayed in England for a few years where she successfully pursued studies at Trinity College London. In 1951, she was awarded first place in examinations set by the Royal Academy for specialists in the art of mime thus becoming the first Australian to achieve this mark.¹⁸

PW was a great friend of North Queensland. He was also a great walker. Whilst on circuit in 1929, and aged 61, he walked from his accommodation at Yungaburra to Gordonvale, a distance of about 29 miles. He started at 6.45am and finished the journey at 4.30 pm.¹⁹ Did he perhaps encounter on that cool June morning a couple of young brothers, Sid and Ned Williams, each of whom was to have a profound effect on the State's development some 50 years on?

On the family front, PW had five children from his first marriage to Annie Farrell. – Molly, Laurie, Clare, Cicely and Neal. They were married in 1896, and she passed away suddenly in 1907. He married Annie Catherine Heckelmann in 1914 and had two daughters, Moira and Nuala. Nuala is rising 103 and is the last of the many Shannon cousins of that generation. They included numerous clergy and nuns - Father Neal Shannon is PW's son; Dr Pat Kenny and Father Bill Kenny were his nephews; Sister Joan Shannon and her cousins Sisters Pauline and Margaret Shannon were nieces. Sister Denise Coghlan, who has spent almost her entire adult life in a missionary role, is his granddaughter.

PW retired on his 70th birthday on 9 September 1937. The position of President of the Land Court was created two months afterwards. During his retirement valedictory the Acting Chief Justice, Justice Hugh Macrossan, with whom he sat on the Land Appeal Court, was reported as stating that PW “had comported himself, invariably, with dignity and ability, distinguished himself by his courteous attention to arguments, promptness in the despatch of business, indefatigable industry, and meticulous investigation in his desire to arrive at just conclusions according to law.”²⁰

His former colleague on the Court, Herbert Hardacre²¹, a veteran of the very first (albeit shortlived) labor government in the world, was sorry to see PW leave. He

reflected on the fact that, given PW was as physically and mentally fit as ever, the compulsory retirement age was inflexibly applied.²² Despite the political distance between the two men, there was obviously a warm relationship between the retiring member and the old Henry George style socialist.

Much time in retirement was spent undertaking research of the history of the Catholic Church in Queensland. His work has been used in at least two important historical publications on the early period of the church in Brisbane.²³

PW largely remained an Edwardian figure in his later years. He died in 1955 aged 87. The panegyric was given by the Archbishop, by now James Duhig KCMG.²⁴ Well past his peak, when his commanding oratory resonated in the cathedral where he had preached for over 40 years, he would have lifted himself for his old friend when he spoke of a life full of commitment to family, faith and public service.

¹ Bishop O'Quinn had used the surname "Quinn" all of his life, when, upon the centenary of Daniel O'Connell's birth in 1875, he somewhat unusually decided to add the "O'".

² Bishop of the diocese of Rockhampton 1905-1912; coadjutor Bishop of the Archdiocese of Brisbane 1912-1917; Archbishop of Brisbane 1917-1965.

³ S. no doubt is WJ Scott, PW's great friend and colleague in the Department of Lands and whose place PW took on the Land Court upon Scott's untimely death.

⁴ Son of John Blake Dillon, one of the 1848 Young Irelanders, and Leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party some 30 years hence in 1918.

⁵ Sullivan & Sullivan, *Archbishop James Duhig and the Queensland Irish Association, 1898 – 1920: Exploring Connections*, (2013) 34 *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society* 44 at p.48

⁶ Although his Irish nationalist views were always disciplined and restrained, James was a Fenian in comparison to his predecessor Archbishop Dunne. Born in County Waterford, Dunne took courageous stands against the hegemony of the Irish leaders of the church in Australia. He abhorred the “*plunder of these colonies*” by the Home Rule envoys in 1889: see Neil J Byrne, *Robert Dunne Archbishop of Brisbane*, 1991, p.202

⁷ Sullivan & Sullivan, p.49

⁸ *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton) 23 August 1911, p. 6; *Catholic Press*, 30 November 1911, p. 4 quoted in Sullivan & Sullivan.

⁹ *Tribune*, 19 October 1922

¹⁰ Nuala Mylne personal recollections.

¹¹ *Darling Downs Gazette*, 25 October 1917; see also Hansard 28 November 1917 p. 3383.

¹² The Member for Balonne, Mr. Land, was on record in Hansard to this effect in the controversy involving Mr. Hunter referred to above.

¹³ The leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party and the dominant figure representing constitutional change in Ireland.

¹⁴ Sullivan & Sullivan pp.51-52.

¹⁵ *The Age*, 13 January 1917.

¹⁶ A native of Roscommon born in 1860.

¹⁷ *Tribune*, 19 October 1922.

¹⁸ *Courier- Mail*, 23 November 1951.

¹⁹ *Cairns Post*, 14 June 1929.

²⁰ *The Courier-Mail* 4 September 1937.

²¹ Herbert Hardacre was one of two members of the first labor government which held power for six days in December 1899 who served on the Court with PW, the other being a former premier Dr William Kidston.

²² *The Courier-Mail* 7 September 1937.

²³ *Robert Dunn, 1830-1917, Archbishop of Brisbane*, NJ Byrne, University of Queensland Press, 1991; *The Foundation of the*

Catholic Church in Queensland, DW Martin, Church Archivists Press 1998.

²⁴ The Archbishop's ascent to the top levels of society was not yet complete. He was to be appointed Knight Commander of the order of St Michael and St George in 1959 at the age of 88.