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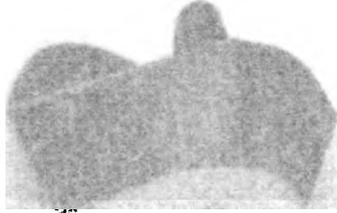


*Benedictine pioneers
in Australia*

Henry Norbert Birt

**BENEDICTINE PIONEERS IN
AUSTRALIA**

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D.D., O.S.B.,
C.C., p.p.,
C.C., later, First Archbishop of

BENEDICTINE PIONEERS IN AUSTRALIA

BY

HENRY NORBERT BIRT, O.S.B.

Priest of Downside Abbey

AUTHOR OF 'THE ELIZABETHAN RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT'

VOLUME I

THE
BENEDICTINE
PIONEERS
IN AUSTRALIA

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PREFACE

No task would have been easier than to make this work considerably shorter. This could have been effected by summarising the many documents it contains, and by giving the narrative in my own words, after having assimilated the information embodied in the first-hand authorities I have utilised. But such a course, with all its obvious advantages, would have frustrated the very purpose underlying my undertaking, which was to gather together into one connected whole, and thus to endeavour to preserve the impressions of those who were the chief actors in, or eye-witnesses of the events chronicled. Such impressions have a value all their own, which cannot be replaced by the description of a stranger to them, be his presentment ever so vivid and eloquent. Such being the case, the only alternative was to make copious extracts from the published writings and the correspondence of the central figures in this remarkable story ;—namely, Dr Ullathorne, Archbishop Polding, Archbishop Vaughan, Dean Kenny, and others.

His Eminence Cardinal Moran has, of course, been beforehand with me by almost twenty years in his monumental *History of the Church in Australasia* ;

Vaughan, D.D., O.S.B., Archbishop of Sydney, which Cardinal Moran has reproduced almost in its entirety in his History, adding a small amount of material gathered from Sydney journals.

The main purpose of the following pages is to explain the nature of the great work done by a band of missionaries almost all of whom went forth from Downside. Their labours were blessed by God. They sowed in tears and hardship and, as is so often the way in God's Providence, others have entered into their labours and have garnered the harvest, for the seed they sowed fell on good ground, was well tended, and has borne abundant fruit.

The real and true clergy of the Church are her secular priests: to them is committed primarily the charge of the flock of Christ, under the Bishops. They alone are the official staff of the Church's labourers in God's vineyard. The 'regular' clergy are an addition to the Church's forces—the auxiliaries superadded to the ordinary army: not necessary, but furnishing an accession of strength. The monks,—first in order of time—then the friars, followed by the regular Congregations of modern times have, as they successively appeared, been meant primarily for the individual sanctification of the members themselves who constitute these bodies corporate. But as the confines of the Church expanded and with them the numbers of the faithful, these auxiliary forces have gradually been absorbed into the active work of the Church for the good of mankind, so that at this date the need for labourers has brought it about that Orders originally wholly contemplative in their constitution and scope have, with the Church's sanction

and approval, if not even invitation, engaged in active work in such a way that, while not abandoning the primary purpose of their institute, they have come to perform some or all of the functions at first confined solely to the 'secular' clergy. This has been brought about by the insufficiency of the supply of the official clergy of the Church, which has not been enabled to keep pace with the increase in the numbers of the faithful.

In the first instance, these monks—to speak only of them—were commissioned to go forth and preach to the heathen. In this way St Augustine and his Benedictine companions set out at the bidding of St Gregory the Great, from their monastery on the Cœlian Hill to evangelise the Island of Britain. The precedent thus set was repeated when St Ansgar went to Scandinavia, St Willibrord to Friesland, St Boniface—from England—to Prussia. In all these cases, when the monks had done their work and formed a Christian nation out of a horde of pagans, the secular clergy stepped in; the monks, in great part, retired, and the normal conditions of a well-ordered and canonically constituted Catholic hierarchy were established. Something of the same procedure may be observed in the foundation of the Church in Australia. That vast and little known island-continent was placed by the highest ecclesiastical authority under the fostering care of the Benedictines of the English Congregation. A succession of Bishops emanating from that ancient body—the true and lineal descendants of St Gregory, St Augustine, and St Boniface—evolved order out of chaos, and after a labour of fifty years, a well organised Church

It only remains to add that my task has been a labour of love, urged upon me by my Superiors in order to keep green the memory of Bishops and priests whom the older amongst us have known, whom all must revere, and whom some may be called to imitate at the call of obedience at a future time. The spirit that animated them is not dead ; it only needs to be called into action by the word of authority. When that word is spoken, those so summoned will be as ready as their predecessors to go forth, like Abram, from their country and from their kindred and out of their father's house, and go into the land which God by the mouth of His representatives, shall show them. In the following pages the pattern is shown ; may those so called go forth and do likewise.

HENRY NORBERT BIRT, O.S.B.

FEAST OF ST AUGUSTINE, APOSTLE OF ENGLAND.

May 26th, 1911.

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BENEDICTINE PIONEERS IN AUSTRALIA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE word 'Antipodes' bears a charmed sound to dwellers in the Old Country; and the romance of the discovery and early exploration of the great southern island continent has given employment to many and eminent pens. The need to travel over the same ground is, therefore, obviated, and we may be permitted to pass by De Quiros, Cook, de la Perouse, Baudin, and the rest of the army of pioneers of civilisation who have trodden the under continent. This omission is the more necessary, as the scope of the present enquiry is limited not only to the religious side of the history of Australia, but to the *Tierra Austral del Espiritu Santo*, as it was piously named in 1606 by the Spaniard, de Quiros, but also to one aspect of that many-sided religious history. One aspect only is to be dealt with in these pages; therefore, the story of the development of the Established Church of England, and of the activities of the numberless dissident sects sprung from her expansive bosom, will find no place here. The work of the Catholic Church will be engrossing enough and vast enough to occupy all our attention, without attempting thus to enlarge the boundaries of our research.

It is well known that Australian colonisation is directly due to the need that presented itself to the ruling ministers of England of finding a suitable overseas settlement to which convicts who had transgressed the laws of the Mother Country might be transported. Hitherto, for well-nigh two

centuries such social outcasts had been shipped to the New World; but after the Declaration by the United States of America of their Independence in 1776, some other place for transportation had to be found. In the January of 1788, a fleet sighted Australia at the spot known as Botany Bay; but as that harbour was considered unsuitable for the settlement of the convicts—close on 700—who had been conveyed across half the globe, Governor Phillip, who was in command, coasted along the shores of New South Wales till he came to Port Jackson, which he entered, and there selected a site for the settlement, naming it Sydney. A few weeks later, a French squadron of research under the famous explorer M. de la Perouse, put in to the same harbour. On board his vessel was a Franciscan friar who was unfortunately slain by the natives at that time. He was buried on the shore of Botany Bay. He must have been the first Catholic priest to die on the Australian Continent, though, as will appear, he was not the first to set foot thereon.

Cardinal Moran calls attention¹ to a letter, undated, addressed to Lord Sydney by the Rev. Thomas Walshe, petitioning the Government to be allowed to go with another priest for the purpose of ministering to the spiritual needs of some 300 Irish Catholic convicts. The approximate date, however, of this petition can be fixed, on sufficient evidence, as about the close of 1791. In 1792, five Catholic emancipists, or freemen, petitioned Governor Phillip for the privilege of being provided with a priest, but their appeal was made in vain. In 1796, the reports of three priests who had been engaged in attending to the spiritual welfare of Catholic convicts awaiting transportation on the hulks at Woolwich and Gosport, showed that at that time there must have been some 800 Catholic convicts in Botany Bay. The political troubles connected with the Irish rising of '98 sent many more Catholics to Australia. Many of these miserable exiles lived and died without the consolations of religion.

¹ *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*, p. 5.

Religious ministrations would have been of incalculable use in reconciling them to their lot, unjustly punished as many of them undoubtedly were; in raising the real criminals amongst them to a sense of their offences against God's laws and against their neighbour; but such influences for good were denied them. Amongst the political exiles, the scape-goats of 1798, were two clergymen, one a minister of the Church of England, the other the Rev. Father Harold, the parish priest of Reculla, near Dublin, who were landed in Botany Bay in 1799. The conditions of his presence there precluded Father Harold from offering priestly ministrations to his co-religionists: but it may be presumed that he at least managed in many cases to alleviate the last moments of some of his fellow-convicts, and to pronounce over them the Church's absolution. In 1800 he was joined by another priest, under a like condemnation, Rev. Father O'Neil, who, however, shortly after received a pardon (tantamount to a declaration of his innocence) and was sent back to Ireland in 1802. The Rev. James Dixon who had accompanied him as a fellow prisoner was not so fortunate; but on 12th April, 1803, he was granted permission by Governor King, (who had succeeded Phillip) to exercise the functions of his priesthood, he having in the interim been emancipated. His usefulness, however, was necessarily but limited, since holding no faculties, he could not absolve except *in articulo mortis*. At the same time Governor King issued an order calling on all professing the Catholic religion throughout New South Wales to attend at Government House, Parramatta, on 20th April 1803; and a notice appeared in the *Sydney Gazette* of 21st April, making known the regulations for the services. The first Mass in Australia under this permit, was celebrated by Father Dixon in Parramatta on the 24th May, 1803. It must be recorded, however, that Father Dixon's was not the first Mass ever celebrated in Australia; for, as Cardinal Moran points out,¹ De Quiros, with true Catholic faith and instinct, had taken possession of the

¹ *Catholic Church in Australasia*, p. 14

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land with religious ceremonies. This early explorer's report to King Philip III of Spain gives us the particulars: "First of all, Sire, we erected a cross and we built a Church under the invocation of Our Lady of Loretto; twenty Masses were celebrated [in 1607], and our men flocked thither to gain the Indulgences. We had a solemn procession and Feast of the Most Holy Sacrament: the Most Holy Sacrament preceded by your banner, being borne around a wide circuit of lands which It sanctified by Its presence." But such a sporadic effort as this, which, doubtless, may even have been repeated, does not constitute anything more than a curious example of precedence in the sequence of events. It is only the continued ministration of an ordered appointment that really counts as worthy of chronicle. So far, Father Dixon's 'permit' can alone rank in this category and, even so, only in a limited degree. But with Father Dixon's departure from the colony in 1808, the Catholics were again deprived of the consolations of their faith, restricted as these had been; and they so continued till 1820.

To add to their miseries, Catholic convicts were enforced under the penalty of the lash and of diminution of their already scanty rations, to attend Protestant worship. A hope that this unwarrantable state of things might come to an end was fostered by the arrival on 3rd August 1817 on board the *Duke of Wellington* of the Very Rev. Jeremiah O'Flynn, who had gone out with the title of Archpriest, with full faculties and the privilege of giving Confirmation, officially appointed by the Holy See. He began at once to attend to the spiritual wants of his co-religionists. But not being furnished with the formal permission of the Home Government for performing his ministerial functions, he was ordered by the Colonial authorities to depart, and he accordingly left on 14th November 1817. The arbitrariness of this proceeding was so flagrant, that the matter was subsequently brought before the House of Commons, with the result that, in order to allay the sensation caused by the revelation there made, two Catholic Chaplains duly accredited and in the enjoyment of adequate salaries were, at the instance of

Lord Bathurst, to be despatched to the colony. The harshness of the treatment experienced by Father O'Flynn was aggravated by the fact that before his departure from Europe he had applied for official recognition of his mission, and in full trust that he would receive it, started on his long voyage, in the expectation that the official papers would follow him in due course. Dr Ullathorne, writing in 1837 thus speaks of this good priest: "He was a man of meek demeanour, who speedily won the deep love of his people, and by his ardent zeal did much in a short time. But the local government, jealous of his happy labours, under colour of his having come out unsanctioned by the British Civil authorities—an act which no law stood to prohibit—cast this apostolic man into prison a few months after his arrival,¹ deprived him of all communications with the faithful, and sent him reluctantly away by the first ship sailing for England. . . . Mr Flynn still lives in the grateful memory of the people. I shall never forget the words, with their accompanying accents, of a venerable, fresh-looking, white-headed old man, who had come from a distance, where he led a lonely life, to his religious duties, and who, after expressing his gratitude at my arrival in the country, exclaimed, 'Oh, had Father Flynn lived, what *would* he have done! He had the sweetest and the swiftest tongue of Irish that ever my ear heard.' The old man then apologised for his imperfect utterance, by observing 'that he had never spoken one word of English until it was made fifty lashes to speak a word of Irish.' Indeed, the Irish Catholic was often at that time, treated with extreme rigour. *Clerical* magistrates, of another creed, awarded him the scourge and darksome imprisonment for refusing to enter the Protestant churches, and to mingle in a worship which his conscience disowned; the plea, to be sure, was obstinacy and disobedience. On one occasion a priest was even required to lay his hand on the post at which some of his

¹As shown above he was on colonial soil but little over three months: his active work was probably crowded into about two.

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people were flogged, because they, *not he*, had risen in revolt to recover their freedom."¹

In the same year that the above passage was penned, Dr Ullathorne, on behalf of the Vicar Apostolic, Dr Polding, handed in to the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda a Report on the mission of New South Wales, which he had drawn up. Therein, further details concerning those early days are given. We here summarise from the Italian original.²

"The first priests who landed were two Irishmen accused of taking part in the Rising of 1798. After suffering for some time the ordinary lot of criminals, one was sent to Norfolk Island, the other was retained in New South Wales, to minister to his co-religionists. They made themselves chalices of tin, and vestments of any stuff, and said Mass in private houses. They only gave the Sacraments *in extremis*, not knowing whether they had jurisdiction or where to apply for it. About 1803, an attempt was made, principally by the Irish, to free themselves by force. The priest was accused, quite unjustly, of being author of, or privy to it, and was forbidden by the Governor to exercise his ministry, and was reduced once more to the condition of a convict; and though he did not undergo corporal punishment himself, he was constrained to witness its infliction, and even to place his hands on the 'triangle' during the punishment. These two priests were later set free and sent back to Europe. The Irish were then treated with extreme severity, forbidden even to speak Irish, and, if caught, received 50 lashes; and Protestant magistrates put them in prison for refusing to attend Protestant worship: such refusal being interpreted as an act of insubordination³. About 1818, Rev. Mr O'Flynn, nominated by the Holy See, Archpriest, with powers of confirmation, arrived. He was a man of great meekness and humility, and was soon beloved and did great good in a very

¹ *The Catholic Mission of Australasia*, pp. 8-9.

² *D. A.*, J 401, 13th May, 1837, 33 folio pp. Quotations from the *Downside Archives* are indicated in the following pages by the letters *D. A.*

³ "In the early part of the present century (19th), the local Government of N. S. W., promulgated a regulation that the whole prison population indiscriminately should attend the Church of England, under penalty of 25 lashes for the first refusal, 50 for the second,

short time. But the Governor, annoyed at his influence, on the pretext that his presence was not authorised by the British Government (which was wholly unnecessary), put him in prison, prevented any communication with Catholics, and sent him back to England by the first vessel returning there."

While these events had been taking place in Australia, certain measures were being adopted at home, which, while apparently having no connection with Australia and its spiritual needs, were in God's Providence to prove of the utmost importance in its history. These measures we must now consider, together with the events which in their turn led up to them.

The Reformation in England had resulted in the proscription of the priesthood, the religious life, and Catholic education. For the purpose of maintaining the priesthood, of affording an efficient Catholic education for the children of recusants, and of providing a retirement from the world for those who desired it, schools, seminaries, and monasteries were established in various localities on the Continent, and these flourished until the awful terrors of the French Revolution of 1789 convulsed the face of Europe. In the religious cataclysm that followed, those English refuges which were situated in French territory, were broken up and scattered, and houses and property acquired by British money, were confiscated by the Republican Government as spoil of war. The fate of the French clergy was even worse; and notwithstanding its Protestantism, the heart of England went out to these victims of atheism and every evil passion, and no fewer than 7000 French Catholic clergy found not only an asylum, but help and sympathy in England. Thus,

and transportation to a penal settlement for the third refusal. Even so lately as 1817, so great was the reluctance to provide religious instruction for the R. C. community, that on the arrival in that year of the Rev. Mr Flynn, because he came out unsanctioned by the British civil authorities—whose sanction there was no law to require—he was cast into prison and sent away by the first ship sailing for England." J. J. Therry—*Reminiscences*, p. 145.

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too, the English exiles were driven back to their own country for safety, and to them at least good came out of evil. In this way the great Cardinal Allen's foundation, the English College at Douay, on its dispersal, found refuge in England, splitting into two sections, represented to-day by St Edmund's College, Ware, and St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw. The great Jesuit College at St Omer, was at that period under a cloud, as the Society was at the time in a condition of suspended animation, brought about by the Bull of Suppression of 1773; but the secular clergy kept up a semblance of its former glory there; it migrated to Liège, whence it moved to England and took up its quarters and developed on its old lines, at Stonyhurst. The three houses of English Benedictines in France and Flanders were broken up. These were St Gregory's at Douay, St Lawrence's at Dieulouard in Lorraine, and St Edmund's in Paris. A fourth house, the Abbey of Lamspring in Westphalia, being in Prussian territory did not share the same fate as its sister houses; but its respite was of short duration, for, by a decree of the Prussian Government, it was confiscated in 1800, and its members driven forth. The peace of Amiens with its Treaty in 1802 gave rise to hopes that restitution of all British property would be made, and strenuous efforts were put forward by the English Vicars Apostolic and the superiors of the various religious institutions for the purpose of regaining possession of their respective properties or of receiving adequate indemnity for their loss. The details of these negotiations do not concern this narrative; but it may be mentioned that amongst the various efforts made by the Benedictine superiors, more than one were for the purpose of getting back Lamspring Abbey. For carrying out this purpose, Dr John Bede Brewer, President-General at that time of the English Benedictines, employed his nephew, a young monk of St Lawrence's monastery, Dieulouard, (by this time settled at Ampleforth, near York), to conduct negotiations with the Prussian Government. Partly in pursuance of the task entrusted to him, partly on account of impaired health, Dom Edward Bede Slater found

his way to Rome, about 1817. The negotiations he there conducted are wrapped in some obscurity as regards the affairs of his Order; but his marked ability and energy evidently attracted the attention of the authorities of the Curia, and as a result, he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope, with Episcopal rank and the title of Bishop of Ruspa *in partibus infidelium*. The following is the Brief of appointment, showing that it was made as a mark of approbation on the part of the Holy See of the labours and trials endured by the English Benedictines in the cause of religion.

Brief erecting the Cape of Good Hope into a Vicariate entrusted to the English Benedictines.

Dated Propaganda, 8th June 1818.

His Holiness having graciously condescended to approve of the resolution of this holy Congⁿ of Prop^{da}, to wit, of assigning to the care of the monks of the Engl. Congr. of Benedictines, the Mission of the Cape of Good Hope and of the adjacent country, and of appointing your R. P. Vicar Apostolic of the said Mission, with the title and character of Bishop, I, Pedicini the Secretary, have the pleasure of forwarding you the information for your direction and guidance, whilst with respectful and entire esteem, etc., I subscribe myself your most devoted and obliged servt. C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.¹

¹ D. A., E 94

Datae Propaganda, 8 Junii, 1818.

Essendosi la Santità di n. signore benignamente dignata d'approvare la risoluzione di questa S. Cong^{ne} di Propaganda, cioè di assequare alla cura dei monaci della Congregazione Anglo-Benedictina la Missione del Capo di buona speranza con la adjutanza, e di deputare, V. P. Rma in Vicario Applico di d^a Missione, con titolo e carattere vescovile; Pedicini Segretario si dà il piacere di avanzarla l'avisò per sua norma e governo, mentre con rispettosa e piena stima etc., le rassegna

Dmo oblmo serv^{re}.

C. M. Pedicini Segret^{io}.

Illmo. P. Edw. Beda Slater, Abbate
dell' Ordine Anglo-Bened^{no}.

This fact is made still clearer by the terms in which Dr Brewer informs his London agent, Dom Michael Lorymer of the elevation of Dom E. B. Slater to the Episcopate.

" 20th June 1818.

"Last night I had a letter from Mr Slater dated Rome, 7th May. He had returned a few days before from Naples. . . . Card. Litta had requested him to stay at Rome till the next Consistory 'when his Holiness meant in Consistory to take notice of the services our Congregation has rendered to the Church, and to propose that one of its members should be sent out to Africa with the powers formerly mentioned to me.'—So that instead of a mitre, the person in view may have only extraordinary powers conferred upon him. I take this to be Mr Slater's meaning."¹

It happened that in the July of that year the quadriennial Chapter of the English Benedictines was being held. From its deliberations we gather that Propaganda had a purpose in sending Dr Slater to the Cape, and hoped that he might be accompanied by some of his brethren. The Brief of 8th June was read, and in the debate that followed, while the assembled Fathers expressed their willingness to have seconded the aims of Propaganda, they were forced to bewail their inability to do so on account of the paucity of their members.²

¹ *D. A.*, E 98.

² July 1818.

Extracts from Acts of Chapter 1818, relating to the
Mission of the Cape of Good Hope.

Sess. 1. col. 2.—Instrumentum quoddam a Secretario de Prop. Fide ad R. D. Bedam Slater, ipsi significans determinationem dictae Congr^{is} de mandandi curam Missionis Promontorii Bonae Spei et locorum adjacentium Congregationi nostrae, et ipsum provehendi ad dignitatem Ep^{is}lem pro dicta Missione, coram Capitulo a secretario lectum est.

Oblata deinde fuerunt Cplo litterae Emin^{mi} Cardin^{is} Litta. S. Cong^{is} de Prop. Fide Praefecti ad R. A. Praesidem scriptae ipsum certiozem facientes munus praestandi auxilia Catholicis in Promontorio Bonae Spei et locis adjacentibus morantibus delegatum esse Cong^{ri} nostrae, et praeterea R. D. Bedam Slater electum fuisse ad Eppatum sub titulo Vic. Apli^{ci} pro dicto Promontorio locisque ad-

We may now delve into the inner history of this appointment. The Island of Mauritius had been ceded to Great Britain by the French Government by treaty in 1810. Up to the present period it had had no Episcopal superior of its own, but looked to the Archbishop of Paris as its ecclesiastical head. Under the new political arrangement, however, a continuation of the old conditions was fraught with many difficulties, and the British Government not unnaturally insisted that for the future Catholics in British dominions beyond the seas should have for ecclesiastical superiors, subjects of the British crown. The original purpose had been that Dr Slater should establish his headquarters at the Cape of Good Hope, as being the most central position from which to rule his vast Vicariate; but the colonial authorities for some reason refused him permission to reside there.¹ These details are made plain in a letter from the Right Rev. Dr Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, who was acting as an informal channel of communication between the Curia and Downing Street, to Bishop Slater.

"MY DEAR LORD,—Some days ago I wrote to your Lordship mentioning that I had received a letter from the Propaganda and that I had called on Mr Goulburn on the subject of

jacentibus; et insuper petentes ut duo vel tres e confratribus nostris probatoribus ipsi comites adjicerentur eo fine ut monasterium nostrae Cong^{is} in dicto Promontorio fundaretur quo stabili ipsius Missionis curae prospici possit. Hae litterae traditae sunt Deputatis pro gratia (Marsh and Calderbank).

Sess. 3. col. 1. . . . His factis, Deputati pro gratia de litteris Emin^{mi} Card^{is} Litta ad R. D. Praesidem scriptis de Missione Promontorii Bonae Spei et locorum adjacentium suas sententias Caplo exposuere. Re a Caplo animo diligenti et attento considerata decretum est: Patribus maxime cordi esse emin^{mi} Card. votis annuere, gratiasque R. A. Praesidis totiusque Capli, nec non et totius Cong^{is} nostrae ipsi reddendas. Cum vero infortuniis temporum tum etiam bonorum omnium pene nostrorum amissione et in Germania et in Gallia huic novo oneri suscipiendo visae sunt Caplo vires omnino deficere; et ut hoc suae Eminentiae significat R. A. Praeses humillime rogatur. [*D. A., E 103.*]

¹ Moran, *Catholic Church in Australasia*, p. 82.

your faculties for the Mauritius. The Propaganda desired me to use all my influence with the Government that you might be admitted as V.A. at the Cape. I have written to the Propaganda that it is absolutely useless and dangerous for me to urge this point. I then told them that I had called on Mr Goulburn, on the subject of the letter—'qui mihi breviter et clare declaravit nobilissimum ministrum nunquam consensurum esse, ob rationes gravissimas, ut Insula Mauritiæ in rebus spiritualibus ab Archiepiscopo Parisiensi (utpote exteri Regni in civilibus subdito) regatur. Addidit autem se responsionem in scriptis mihi sine mora daturum esse. Responsionem eo ipso die accepi, quam Anglico idiomate ut scripta est subjungam, ex qua apparet quam alienum est a mente nobilissimi ministri ut aut episcopus aut etiam sacerdos aliquis in Insula nostra Mauritiæ ex jurisdictione Archiepiscopi Parisiensis dependeat aut illi ullo modo subjiciatur. Hanc enim regulam Minister proponit, ut Catholici in Coloniis nostris a superioribus ecclesiasticis, qui Imperii Britannici subditi sunt, in rebus spiritualibus regantur. Quare cum res ita sint, quid aliud jam fieri possit non video, nisi ut facultates R^{mo} D^{no} Ep^o Ruspensi pro Insula Mauritiæ concedantur, qui jam Gubernii nostri plenam approbationem amplumque ab eo subsidium pro Insula illa obtinuit.' My letter was sent off last Tuesday, and I hope, my dear Lord, it will have a proper effect. I think it will be well for your Lordship not to take any notice of this subject either to Lord Bathurst or Mr Goulburn, till either you or I hear something from Propaganda in answer to my letter. I hope Rome will not delay. Wishing your Lordship many returns of this happy season and that you may be an instrument in the hands of a merciful God to bring thousands to the knowledge of this mystery and to a participation of its effects, I have the honour to be, with sincere attachment, My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's,

Most humble and obedient servant,

✠ W. POYNTER.

St Edmund's

24th Dec. 1818."¹

Rome did not delay, and could do no less, either in justice or in expediency, than acquiesce in these reasonable demands of the British Government. Accordingly, by a

¹ *D. A.*, E 123 *bis*.

Brief, dated 11th March 1819, jurisdiction over the Mauritius was withdrawn from the Archbishop of Paris, and the scope of Bishop Slater's activities was extended from the Cape of Good Hope and the Island of Madagascar, to embrace also the Isle of Mauritius *and its dependencies*, with ample powers such as were ordinarily bestowed on Delegates of the Holy See sent to foreign parts *ad abusum reformatandos*.¹

¹ In printing the following paper it may be well to point out that the writer was evidently not fully acquainted with the reasons underlying the extension of powers. He preserves however, for us, the text of the Rescript. [*D. A.*, E 148 ; 1819, 11th March, *fragment.*]

“ . . . les uns n'avoient pas le caractère épiscopal ; d'autres étoient revêtus de ce caractère, avec, le titre de quelque église *in partibus infidelium*.

C'est ainsi qu' Alexandre VII, successeur du Pape Innocent X envoya à la côte de Malabard un religieux de l'Ordre des Carmes, nommé Joseph a Sancta Maria, pour éteindre un grand schisme qui avoit été suscité par un archidiacre contre l' Archeveque de Goa, lequel étoit parvenu a soustraire à l'obeissance une parti du troupeau de ce prélat. Cet envoyé qui étoit muni des pouvoirs les plus étendus à lui délégués par le Souverain Pontife, arriva à la côte de Malabard, travailla avec zèle et perseverance à couper la racine du mal, qui n'avoit fait que trop de progrès, mais il ne réussit point. De retour à Rome le Souverain Pontife approuva beaucoup sa conduite et ses efforts, et l'envoya de nouveau dans le même pays avec le caractère épiscopal, et décoré du titre d'évêque d'Hieropolis ; cette fois il éteignit heureusement le schisme et ramena celui qui en étoit l'auteur ainsi qu'un grand nombre d'âmes qu'il avoit égarées à la foi de la Ste Eglise Catholique.

La Pape Alexandre VIII érigea en évêché, Nankin et Pekin dans l' Empire de la Chine, mais ayant été reconnu depuis que les diocèses assignés à ces évêques étoient trop vastes, Innocent XII y envoya des vicaires apostoliques, et interdit aux Evêques de Nankin et de Pekin de se mêler en aucune manière de l' administration des pays qui seraient gouvernés par ces vicaires apostoliques. Ces vicaires sont revêtus du caractère épiscopal, et sont préposés jusqu'à ces jours au gouvernement spirituel de ce pays. Voyez le Bullaire de Benoit IX No. 130.

En 1741 le Pape Benoit XIV envoya dans le royaume du Perou un vicaire apostolique décoré du titre d'Evêque de Clysma.

Ce grand Pape dans son livre *de Synodo Diocesano* lib. 2. cap. 10.,

Dr Slater was thus created Vicar Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope, Madagascar, Mauritius, and New Holland with the adjacent islands. The extent of jurisdiction thus conferred was enormous, though in some measure undefined. In Africa it seemed to embrace any part of that Continent, which might come to be explored from the south. 'New Holland with the adjacent islands' meant Australasia; that is, Australia, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, and the islands of the Pacific.

It will have been noticed from Dr Poynter's letter, that Bishop Slater, having been consecrated in Rome on 28th June, 1818, had hastened back to England, purposing to établir que ces vicaires apostoliques étant revêtus de toute l'autorité pastorale, ont le pouvoir, sans que cela puisse donner lieu à la moindre controverse, d'assembler et de célébrer un Synode Diocésain.

Ordinarius est qui jure suo vel superioris beneficio universalem jurisdictionem exercere potest. Lancelot. Inst. Jur. Can. libr. 3, tit. 1.

L'an 1818 le Gouvernement Britannique desirant remédier l'état dans lequel se trouvoient alors le clergé et les affaires ecclésiastiques de l'Île Maurice, fit connaître au St Siège ses desirs qu'un chef ecclésiastique revêtu d'un caractère supérieur et muni des pouvoirs plus étendus que ceux qui avoient existé jusqu'à cette époque dans la colonie, y fut incessamment envoyé.

Le Saint Père Pie VII chargea l'Evêque de Ruspa, natif d'Angleterre, déjà revêtu des pouvoirs de vicaire apostolique pour la partie Catholique de la colonie du Cap de Bonne Espérance, de prendre sous sa direction immédiate l'Île Maurice et ses dépendances, et par le Bref ci-dessus transcrit l'a muni des pouvoirs les plus étendus et tels qu'ils sont ordinairement donnés au vicaires du S. Siège envoyés dans les pays étrangers *ad abusum reformandos*.

Venerabili Fratri Edwardo Episcopo Ruspensi
Pius Papa Septimus

Venerabilis Frater, Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum Nos te per alias nostras in simili formâ Brevis elapso anno expeditas litteras, quarum tenorem, presentibus pro expresso et inserto haberi volumus, uberius dicitur contineri in vicarium apostolicum Promontorii Bonae Spei, atque insulae Madagascariae eligerimus; cumque nobis relatum fuerit, Christi fideles qui in insula Mauriti ad orientalem Africae plagam sita versantur, spiritualibus carere auxiliis, pluresque inter illos invaluisse abusos, Nos pro pastoralis officii nostri cura aeternae eorumdem saluti

collect money to further the schemes he was contemplating in the interests of his Vicariate, and to enlist fellow workers for the portion of the Lord's Vineyard entrusted to his charge. On 18th April 1819, Dr Brewer informs Father Lorymer that Dom Clement Rishton, who had a couple of years previously resigned the priorship of Ampleforth, had arranged to accompany Dr Slater to the Mauritius, and at that date had "been now for sometime with Mr Turner, (Dom George Turner, formerly at St Gregory's, Douay), at Holme, improving himself in French,"¹ and in a later letter² he further states that he was thus endeavouring "to qualify himself for the Mauritius where Dr Slater wishes him to

prospicere, et ecclesiasticam ibi restituere disciplinam vehementer cupientes, ad te, de cujus pietate, prudentia, studio, ac Christianae religionis, Catholicaeque fidei zelo plurimam in Domino fiduciam habemus; oculos mentis nostrae direximus, teque a quibus viae excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti, aliaque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et poenis a jure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodatus existis, ad effectum praesentium duntaxat, consequendum harum serie absolvendum et absolutum fore censendum te venerabilem fratrem nostrorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium negotiis Propagandae Fidei praepositorum Consilio, te Vicarium quoque Apostolicum Insulae Mauritiis cum iisdem facultatibus quae pro praedictis missionibus tibi a Nobis tributae jam fuerant, auctoritate apostolica tenore praesentium constituimus et deputamus, salva tamen semper in praemissis auctoritate Congregationis eorundem Cardinalium. Mandantes propterea omnibus et singulis ad quos spectat ac in futurum spectabit ut te ad demandatum tibi per praesentes vicarii apostolici officium, illiusque liber exercitium juxta tenorem praesentium recipiant, et admittant, tibi que cum omnibus ad idem officium pertinentibus faveant, pareantque et assistant, tuaque salubria monita et mandata humiliter suscipiant et efficaciter adimplere procurent, alioquin sententiam sive poenam quam rite tuleris in rebelles ratam habebimus et faciemus, auctorante Domino, iisque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinibus apostolicis caeterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romae apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem sub annulo Piscatoris, die undecima Martii, millesimo octingentesimo decimo nono: Pontificatus nostri anno decimo nono.

H. CARD. CONSALVUS.

¹ *D. A.*, E 156.

² *Ibid.*, E 158; 11th May 1819.

accompany him to that mission." While considering the needs of that Island and the Cape, however, Dr Slater was not unmindful of the demands upon his solicitude of the furthest corner of his vast diocese. In the letter just quoted, Dr Brewer writes to Father Lorymer:—"The Doctor, I hear, is gone to Ireland *in quest of missionaries for Botany Bay.*"

As a result of Father O'Flynn's protest to the Government against the treatment he had received at the hands of the authorities in Botany Bay, and of the Government's determination to send out two properly accredited chaplains, two volunteers were soon forthcoming. This was no doubt a sequel to Dr Slater's quest, and he is next found in communication with the selected priests, and the following documents show that these first missionaries who went out, not merely under the ægis of the civil authorities, but properly and canonically 'sent' in the true scriptural sense of 'mission with jurisdiction,' proceeded on their 'mission' as agents for fulfilling part of the charge entrusted to Dr Slater by the Holy See. The condition of their new field of labour at that time must be left to another chapter; here it is only necessary to give evidence of the link between Fathers Conolly and Therry and their episcopal superior, for a portion of which we acknowledge our indebtedness to Cardinal Moran's pages.

"The Rev. Philip Conolly was a native of the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, and had for several years zealously laboured in the parishes of Mountrath and Rathvilly of that diocese. In the month of May, 1819, he addressed a printed circular to the clergy and laity in Ireland, appealing for aid to enable him to purchase missals, vestments, and altar requisites, as well as catechisms, prayer books, and other religious and instructive works for the use of the poor convicts. It is headed: 'Catholic Mission to New South Wales,' and thus begins:—"The Rev. Philip Conolly, Catholic Missionary to the British Colony of N.S.W. . . . feels extreme satisfaction in being able to state, that he undertakes this mission under the guardianship and direction of the Right Rev. Dr Slater, who has been

especially appointed by the Sovereign Pontiff, Bishop of the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Madagascar, and New South Wales . . . with this view he submits to public consideration the following testimonials, the originals of which have been deposited in the hands of his Bishop, the Right Rev. Dr Slater.'"

The second priest to volunteer for the Australasian mission field was the Rev. John Joseph Therry, of whom more in a subsequent chapter. When Dr Slater heard of his desire, the following extracts of a correspondence which may be seen at large in Cardinal Moran's pages,¹ give the main details of the preparations made for the approaching apostolic work.

"To the Rev. J. J. Therry,

"REV. SIR,—As I have not the honour of being personally known to you, I have to apologise for addressing you, but the importance of the subject will be my excuse. If you have looked to the bottom of the page, you will be aware that you are addressed by one who has a deep interest in the spiritual welfare of many of your countrymen expatriated to N. S. W. I have been told that your charity leads you to wish to be enabled to render them assistance. I have heard too, that you are well qualified, by your zeal and virtues to be a useful labourer in such a mission. If my first information has not been incorrect, I shall feel most happy in being allowed to employ your talents in so meritorious a cause. Do me the favour to write to me, and believe me, Rev. Sir, your very obedient servant,

EDWARD SLATER.

Liverpool, Kent Street, 12th July, 1819."

To this, Father Therry wrote a very candid and humble reply, saying he had wished to go out, but had not dared to offer himself, as he felt his deficiencies for the work of a missionary and that he was 'utterly destitute of any acquaintance with the Irish language.' Dr Slater thereupon sent him the following letter:

"REVD. SIR,—I had left Liverpool before your letter arrived, and it has been forwarded to me here. You will allow me to say that the difficulties you state all tend to increase the

¹ p. 79.

good opinion I had before formed of you, and I shall deem myself fortunate in obtaining for our unfortunate fellow Christians in N. S. W., the service of a person whose filial attentions and missionary zeal have secured him the good opinion of all his acquaintances. I accept you, my dear Sir, with pleasure. Let me know in how short a time you think you will be ready to go out, and depend upon my doing all I can to render the remainder of your life comfortable. Believe me, Revd. Sir, your very obedient servant,

EDWARD SLATER.

Rev. J. J. Therry."

Father Therry had had no difficulty in obtaining the permission of his immediate superior, the Bishop of Cork, who as early as 25th May had given him £10 towards procuring 'provisions for the voyage, and chalices, vestments, missals, altar-linen, etc., for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, books of devotion, and catechisms for the instruction of the ignorant and the conversion of sinners.' As soon as Dr Slater had secured the services of these priests, he put himself into communication with the authorities of the Colonial Office, and as a result wrote to Father Therry as follows :

"Bath, 23rd August 1819.

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have just received a letter, of which the enclosed is a copy, from the Colonial Office, and forward it to you by the earliest post for your guidance. I am promised for you a letter to the Governor of N.S.W. on the receipt of which, I will write to you more at length. In the meantime do me the honour to believe me, Dear Rev. Sir, Your very obedient servant,

E. SLATER.

Rev. J. J. Therry.

(Enclosure)

'Downing Street, 20th August 1819.

SIR,—I am directed by Earl Bathurst to acquaint you that passages have been provided on board the *Janus* convict ship for the Rev. Joseph Therry and the Rev. Philip Conolly to proceed to N.S.W., and I am to inform you that the above mentioned vessel will leave the river shortly for Cork, at which port these gentlemen may be received on board on her arrival. I am, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

HENRY GOULBURN.

The Rev. Dr Slater, Salford House, Evesham."

It may here be noted that in a review of Dr Ullathorne's *Reply to Judge Burton* which appeared in the *Catholic Magazine* for December 1841¹ mention is made of the appointment of the Rev. Joseph Therry and the Rev. Philip Conolly to the Colony by the Right Rev. Dr Slater, Bishop in the Mauritius, with a salary of £100 each from the Government. In communicating the grant, Earl Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, assigned as a reason for the smallness of the stipend, "that it was chiefly intended for a proof of their possessing the sanction of Government; that he knew they did not require more, because the Catholic people were more generous than others in supporting their clergy."

Cardinal Moran records that "Father Therry's faculties are dated from London, the 20th September, 1819. They bear the signature '*Eduardus Ruspensis*,' that is, Right Rev. Edward Slater, Vicar Apostolic, and convey jurisdiction over all New Holland and the island 'commonly called Van Diemen's Land.' They end with the words: 'go on therefore courageously, dearest brother, and cultivate the field entrusted to your solicitude and care, and may the Lord guide your footsteps to the increase of His glory.'"²

After various delays, the two pioneer priests at length set sail from Cork on 5th December, 1819, and arrived in

¹ p. 731 seqq.

² Moran, p. 82. In the *D. A.* is the draft of the letter referred to or perhaps accompanying the form of faculties. It is as follows:—

Circ. 20th September, 1819

Dr Slater's commission to Father Therry.

CARISSIME FRATER,—Licet non mihi notus facie, tuæ tamen indolis picturam quam ab Episcopo tuo accepi necnon ea omnia quæ de te laudabiliter a multis loqui audivi me impellunt ut in ingenii tui viribus, inque tuo flagranti zelo non parum fiducia collocem. Absque ullo eapropter metu eam te in missionem mitto in qua magna quidem prudentia opus erit, ac potius Christianæ dulcedinis exemplis quam per asperiores cohortationes in iram devios revocare opus erit, at in qua etiam ministrorum solamen ex ipsa ut ita dicam augmentatione laborum proveniet. Non itaque despondeas animo, supremi namque numinis gratia tibi certe auxilio erit, statim enim ac verbi semina

the harbour of Sydney Port Jackson, on the feast of the Holy Cross, 3rd May, 1820. There for the present, we may leave them.

Dr Slater had preceded his Australian subjects in effecting a departure, having embarked at Liverpool, about the third week of September, 1819. Dr Brewer writes in haste to Father Lorymer, under date 23rd September 1819. "I wish now you would write immediately and inform me on what day Dr Slater has sailed and with how many persons. It is quite necessary I should know this for certain."¹ And on 17th October 1819, he again wrote: "Yesterday I had a few lines from Dr Slater from the *Isle of Wight*, dated the 11th. He and Co. had been hearing Mass that day at Mr Spain's brother's chapel,² and were returning in the evening to the ship."³

In as much as Dom William Placid Morris O.S.B. of Downside was destined to succeed Dr Slater in his superintendence of the vast Vicariate of the Mauritius (including Australia), it may be of interest to record that at this period he actually petitioned to be allowed to accompany Dr Slater on his mission. The idea was entertained by his religious superiors for a while,⁴ but was soon abandoned. Instead of going to the East, the future Bishop was stationed in London, working under the famous Abbé Voyaux de Frénous

quae seminaveris in messem creverint illico alios cooperatores ad vos mittam ut praeteritorum laborum fructus congregare in horrea possitis. In tuo consocio Conollo eum hominem haud dubie invenies qui et zelo, et experientia, et doctrina praeditus paratus semper erit dare tibi consilia quibus forte pro circumstantiarum difficultate indigere queas. Tamquam amicum eum considera, atque exhibito illas . . . (? bonae) honoris significationes quae seniori fratri debentur. Tibi interim benedictionem impertior, necnon pro Nova Hollandia sequentes facultates communico. (*D. A.*, E 181 bis).

¹ *D. A.*, E 182.

² At Newport: Rev. George Spain, brother of Dom L. C. Spain, then accompanying Dr Slater to the Mauritius.

³ *D. A.*, E 186.

⁴ cf. *D. A.*, E 159, 15th May 1819; E 161, 27th May 1819; E 162, 29th May 1819.

in Chelsea, until the time when the Holy See called him forth to replace Dr Slater. The prospect of missionary work under more or less romantic conditions had by this time fired the imaginations of others of the community at Downside, and Dr Brewer began to receive quite a series of petitions for leave to go abroad, from various of the younger members of St Gregory's. Writing at length to Father Lorymer on 18th July 1819¹ Dr Brewer informed him that "Mr Barber² wrote me a very pressing letter on the 27th ult., to urge me to allow Mr Collyer and Mr Scott of Downside to accompany the Bishop of Ruspā to the Mauritius." The arguments he employed to induce the President to accede to their petition, in the end carried the day. Dom Bernard Collier (or de Colyar as he later styled himself) left England with Bishop Slater; but for reasons detailed in the letter, Dom W. Dunstan Scott was not accorded leave to go; fortunately, as it turned out, for in the years to come he was a tower of strength to his brethren as a sound financier. In the letter referred to, however, Dr Brewer continued: "This morning I have received a strong petition from Mr Spain the younger³ at Downside requesting me to allow him . . . to accompany Dr Slater I have therefore added a postscript to my letter to Mr Barber that I would rather have Mr Spain go than Mr. Scott"; and, accordingly, go he did.

Dr Slater thus secured the services of several co-operators for the immediate needs of his Vicariate, both in Australasia, the Cape, and the Mauritius; but he had further to look forward to supplying the needs of the future. In view of this, he succeeded in raising some money, though not a very large sum, for the education of priests for Australia. Dr Brewer writing on 30th November 1819 to Father Lorymer, says: "If a boy be sent to you from Lancashire all alone, has not

¹ *D. A.*, E 169.

² Dom Luke Bernard Barber, then Prior of Downside, later filling the office of President of the English Benedictines then held by Dr Brewer.

³ Dom Lewis Cuthbert Spain, brother of Dom Henry Leo Spain.

Mr Marsh¹ directed you how he may be safely forwarded to an acquaintance at Dover and from him to another at Calais and from there to Douay? Dr Slater had agreed, I believe, with Mr Marsh for a nephew of his *on a foundation lately made for the mission of Botany Bay.*"² From a letter written to Father Lorymer by Father L. F. Cooper on 9th December 1819, we learn the lad's name: "Mr Slater told me a nephew of his, named (Henry) Lingard was to set off immediately after him for Douay."³ The boy did not, in the end, persevere in his intention, and it may be surmised, did no particular credit to himself or to his relations and masters; for the Downside Archives contain an obscure hint that he had run away from Douay and had gone off towards Edinburgh in company with a Protestant clergyman, some five years after this date. His failure does not, however, alter the fact that thus early a fund had been created for the purpose of educating youths for the apostolic mission in Australia. A little light is thrown on the sources of this fund from existing letters. Father L. Cooper writes on 5th January 1820 to Father Lorymer, thus: ". . . with respect to the £1500 consols, I am ignorant by whom it was given or for what purpose, but Mr Slater (the Bishop) gave me a letter to be forwarded to Dr Poynter to pay the interest to you. The instructions he gave me were that £25 per annum was to defray the expenses of his nephew's education at Douay, and the remaining £20 was to go to his late housekeeper who had placed several hundred pounds in his hands. He showed her the bond for this money as a security for her interest, which he told her I should pay her half yearly, £10, a part of the interest of the £1500."⁴ Dr Marsh writing to Father Lorymer from Douay on 26th February 1820 tells him: "Young Lingard arrived here very safe, and in due time I will send back the deed, as soon as I have an opportunity. I suppose you will have received

¹ Dr Richard Marsh, O.S.B., then at Douay, endeavouring to revive, as he succeeded in doing after hard struggles, the old Benedictine Paris House of St Edmund's.

² *D. A.*, E 198.

³ *Ibid.*, E 199.

⁴ *Ibid.*, E 207.

the first half-year's dividends on the sum for which that deed is given. I understand that £25 per annum is destined for the education of Lingard, and £20 for the payment of a debt due from Mr Slater to his housekeeper at Croston, though from the words of the deed it would seem that the whole had been meant for the benefit of the mission at Botany Bay. . . ."¹ The probable explanation is that Dr Slater's housekeeper gave him her savings towards the creation of the fund he had at heart, on condition of receiving interest on it during her lifetime. Owing to the fact that in business matters Dr Slater ever proved himself most unbusiness-like, and that this failing engendered distrust in him, we need scarcely wonder that even at this very time those who had to deal with his affairs hardly understood the details connected with their task, as the following extract shows.

Dr Brewer to Father Lorymer.

1st April 1820.

" From what you mention respecting the principal and interest of £1500 placed in the funds, I strongly suspect that Dr Slater had no right to apply that interest to the education of a boy destined for Botany Bay. It is more probably that the donor's intention was that the interest should be given to such priests as were actually on the way to or already placed on, such a laudable undertaking."²

These details have been here included in order to show that Australia and its needs occupied the attention and solicitude of the superior entrusted with its spiritual charge from the very first, and that the organisation of the infant Church there, imperfect as it necessarily was, was the work of Bishop Slater, who must therefore be regarded as Australia's first prelate, even though the stress of his other duties and preoccupations precluded his ever setting foot in that part of the widely extended and widely separated portions of the enormous section of the globe entrusted to his spiritual care and supervision.

¹ *D. A.*, E 220.

² *Ibid.*, E 229.

CHAPTER II

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

BEFORE entering systematically on a study of the work accomplished in Australia, particularly in New South Wales, it will be necessary to take a hasty survey of the other portions of the vast Vicariate of which it was in the beginning but a part; and at the date in question, a somewhat insignificant part. But in thus proceeding, we are merely doing what the pioneers did. The journey to the Antipodes was made by way of the Cape of Good Hope. We are thus travelling in company with Dr Slater *viâ* the Cape to the Mauritius, before making our final destination, which is New South Wales.

Before 1820, there had been no resident priests at the Cape of Good Hope. It may be taken for certain, however, that when Vasco da Gama discovered this portion of Africa in 1497, the chaplains of his flotilla would have said Mass on shore. There is a record, also, of at least one passing Jesuit, a German, having landed there on 4th May, 1653, on his way home from China where he had been a missionary for many years. He had, moreover, "travelled through the Indies in all directions, and made many notes and charts." This Jesuit Father, called by Johan Van Riebeeck, the first Dutch Governor of the Cape, Martinus Martiny (or Martinson), is credited by the said Van Riebeeck with making him the suggestion that the Dutch colonists at the Cape should embark in the nefarious trade in slaves, and that if they made their way up the Eastern coast, north of Natal and south of Mozambique, much gold, tusks, and ebony were to be had, *as also Kaffirs for slaves at a cheap rate.*¹ But

¹ *cf. Downside Review*, 1903, vol. xxii., p. 130.

as to any ministerial work the Jesuit may have performed, we learn nothing from Van Riebeeck's despatches. It may, indeed, be surmised that there were no Catholics whatever amongst those earliest Dutch settlers in 1653. Van Riebeeck quite fell in with the Jesuit's alleged suggestion about slave-trading, but whether he actually translated it into practice it is impossible to say.

Dr Brewer, writing to Father Lorymer on 1st April, 1820, says: "Yesterday I received a few lines from Dr Slater dated 20th January. He and Co. arrived at Cape Town on the 1st of December, (1819), after a very pleasant passage. . . . The Bishop seems to be in great spirits."¹ Writing again on 29th June of the same year, he says: "A letter was received here yesterday from the Isle of France, (Mauritius), Dr Slater and his company arrived all well, 27th February, having left Mr Patrick H. Scully, an Irish priest, at the Cape of Good Hope." The 1st of December, 1819, therefore, may be taken as the inaugural date, the date of the permanent foundation of the Catholic Church in South Africa. A letter of a couple of years later, 22nd July, 1822, written from the Mauritius by Mr John Larkin, an ecclesiastical student who had accompanied Dr Slater there, to a friend at home, the Rev. M. D—, gives a few particulars about this pioneer missionary, his character and qualifications, and the treatment he experienced at the hands of the Government officials, derived, no doubt, from the reports he had sent to his Bishop, Dr Slater. "I will now say a few words," writes Mr Larkin, "about Mr Scully. He is alone at the Cape. He is there highly respected, not only for his high moral character, but for his superior talents. After the Bishop left the Cape, Mr Scully got a salary from General [Rufane Shawe] Donkin of £100 per annum. This, Lord Charles Somerset deprived him of, on his return to the Government of the Cape. Mr Scully had a long conversation with him, in which Lord Charles having said that he would always do

¹ *D. A.*, E 229.

² *Ibid.*, E 257.

his utmost to oppose the Catholic religion, Mr Scully had answered him in a most able and spirited manner. He has since expressed a great esteem for Mr Scully personally. Mr Scully has built a chapel, and though he has been much troubled by certain meddling people, particularly by a rich consequential Frenchman, F. de Lettre,¹ he has almost come off with flying colours. In consequence, however, of the loss of his salary, he has been obliged to make himself under-astronomer to Government, for which he gets about £50 per annum. As the Cape is a cheap place to live at, he says he manages very well with it. Dr Fallows who is at the head of the Church and Astronomical Departments entertains the greatest friendship for Mr Scully: in short he is universally esteemed."²

In the above words, as will be seen later, may be discovered the germs of future troubles: official opposition, latent if not active; lay interference; and antagonism between Church of England and Catholic clergy, notwithstanding the apparent 'greatest friendship' there recorded. The evidence, which is abundant, will be forthcoming.

The Chapel first erected by Father Scully was but a temporary make-shift, and was soon replaced by a more permanent structure, for in a MS. note inserted in the handwriting of one Mr C. Jones in a pamphlet entitled *A Fragment of Church History at the Cape of Good Hope* (1827), dated 1st August 1829, we read: "The Scottish (*sic*) Church, and the Catholic Church are just finished, etc." From this interesting pamphlet we may gather the following information and statistics: "Roman Catholic Chapel [Cape Town, 1827]. Rev. F. Wagener, Rev. [Thomas Clement] Rishton; (language) Dutch and English; four services on Sunday. 300 estimated seat room. Remarks: For a considerable length of time this Chapel was destitute of ministers. Public worship was nevertheless performed by a respectable

¹ Acting substitute for the French agent for commerce and shipping.

² *D. A.*, E 426.

member of the congregation.”¹ This interregnum occurred between the departure of Father Scully and the arrival of his successors.

The pamphlet just quoted from opens with the following sentence: “At a time when Protestant Christians of various denominations distinct from the Established Churches of our own country, were providing the members of their different persuasions with decent accommodations for public worship, and a Roman Catholic Chapel was uplifting its head in Cape Town in bold attestation of the *new* and enlightened views of Colonial legislative toleration, etc.” To this may be added a note at p. 47 on ‘Unity in Religion,’ furnishing us with some further items of history. “During General Baird’s supremacy in this Colony² Catholic ministers were not allowed to exercise their functions. Two priests, who had arrived soon after the capture of the settlement, were immediately banished on their landing.³ At present, [1827] how different is the state of things, when Government affords every facility to the religious interests of its Catholic subjects. Those who wish to consult the *Cape Gazette*, Nos. 816 and 817, may also discover the zeal of some of the Protestants in behalf of the fund for building the *Catholic Chapel* in this town!”

But to return to Father Scully. There is a short reference to him in a paper on the work being done at the Cape Observatory, by the Rev. Fearon Fallows⁴ from which it appears that on 30th May, 1822, the Rev. Astronomer represented to the Government authorities that his first assistant was about to quit his post, and suggested that ‘Mr Scully’ should be appointed in succession to him. This was approved at a meeting of the Board of Longitude on 7th November, 1822, and sanctioned by the Admiralty. From the same source a little later, “it would appear that at this time Mr Fallows’ position was not very agreeable.” Several

¹ p. 33.

² This would be 1805-6.

³ This is a curious parallel to the case of Ven. Father O’Flynn in New South Wales.

⁴ *Fallows’ Cape Observations*, p. 11.

domestic troubles are chronicled in veiled and cryptic language, and then, "Finally, on 17th July, 1824, he (Mr Fallows) found it absolutely necessary to dismiss Mr Scully, and was thus left alone." The real cause for his dismissal was not therein stated by the Rev. Mr Fallows, but we learn it from a later source, a resumé of the history of the Catholic Mission at the Cape sent to Dr Morris at Port Louis, Mauritius, in 1833, in connection with disputes then raging. From this paper we learn that sometime in 1823, that would be after receiving intimation of the Admiralty's sanction of his appointment, Father Scully told his churchwardens of the post that had been offered to him, with residence in the household of the Rev. Mr Fallows. The situation thus created was certainly a strange one: a Catholic priest residing in the house of a clergyman of the Established Church, and doing his clerical duties therefrom. The churchwardens not unnaturally stated their objections, saying such a course was unsuitable: but he nevertheless accepted it despite their protest. After about a twelvemonth, "Mr Scully became entirely estranged from his flock and was publicly, although not in any Court of jurisprudence, impeached with a crime of which we certainly, from the knowledge of his deportment, do honourably acquit him, and ascribe the charge to a matter of mere malversation emanating from Mr Fallows' own family, who evinced a most delusive demeanour towards Mr Scully, during his sojourn with them. However unfortunately it must appear to our fellow Catholics, their clergyman became the victim of slander, and on the 11th July, 1824, when the circumstance was made known to him that he had been, according to report, discovered in a criminal conversation with a female in the service of Mr Fallows, Mr Scully engaged a passage for Europe and sailed so suddenly," that the congregation, not knowing of it, assembled for Mass as usual on the following Sunday.¹ Cape Colony was therefore without a priest from July 1824, till the arrival from Holland of the

¹ *D. A.*, I 70, 5th July, 1833.

Rev. Theodore Wagener on 30th March, 1826. The other priest mentioned as assisting him was Dom Thomas Clement Rishton, who had originally settled with Dr Slater to accompany him to the Mauritius, but had at the last moment drawn back. During 1826 negotiations had been reopened and at length he consented to go out to the Cape where the climate was more suitable to his health than the intense heat to be encountered in the Mauritius. He wrote to the President-General, Dr Birdsall, on 15th December, 1826: "If I be destined for the Cape I presume Dr Slater will have no authority to remove me to the Mauritius."¹ On 21st February 1827, the Prior of Downside, Father Luke Bernard Barber wrote to Father Deday ". . . Mr Rishton is going out to the Cape at the end of this month"² and he arrived there on 25th May, 1827;³ of him and his troubles there we shall hear more later. Meanwhile we can return to Father Scully's work.

In the *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*,⁴ reference is made to Father Scully's labours as a priest, as also to the prevailing currents of opinion, general and official: the former tending to tolerance, the latter certainly exhibiting intolerance:⁵ "within these few months" the pamphlet informs us, "the Roman Catholic religion has been more than tolerated, and subscriptions have been collected from inhabitants of all persuasions for building a Catholic Chapel." This liberality was a response to the following appeal issued by the Catholic missionary.

"Roman Catholic Place of Worship."

"In my endeavours to build a Roman Catholic place of worship, on a space of ground which the burgher senate has allotted for that purpose; I appeal for assistance and co-operation to the generosity of the Roman Catholics of this Colony. I am well convinced, the selfish consideration of the impossibility of their sharing in the blessings emanating from a proximity to the visible seat of their religion, will not operate with the Catholics, residing in the interior or

¹ *D. A.*, F 419.

⁴ London, 1823.

² *Ibid.*, G 41.

⁵ p. 65.

³ *Ibid.*, I 70.

distant confines of the Colony, in weakening the influence, or repressing the spirit of their liberality and munificence.

"To the beneficence of Christians of other denominations, I may exhibit the powerful claim arising from a fellowship in the worship of the same Divine Object of our gratitude and our hopes, which the enlightened and liberal views of modern times have, I trust, so happily taught us all to appreciate.

P. SCULLY."

"It was in the contemplation of the Colonial Government to make an annual allowance to the Catholic priest; a Protestant Government probably might not oppose any means of making the priest dependent; for he who pays, usually directs. In the British regiments, stationed at the Cape, Catholics abound. Government permits a soldier to attend on a Sunday at the Church of his faith, but such permission is a mockery, unless encouragement be given to the establishment of the Church and the priest.

"There are many Catholics at the Cape in very respectable situations of life, who have not had the means till now of partaking of their own religious ceremonies, as since the occupation by the English, no priest had been known to reside at the Cape. If this circumstance arose from a spirit of intolerance in the English Government, it is extremely reprehensible; but if from want of zeal in the Catholics, it affords additional proof, how much the ardour of placing themselves in a situation to make converts has abated in the members of that faith; and is, as far as it goes, an argument against danger to the Protestants from that disposition of mind. There has arisen lately a spirit of intolerance towards sects of a form of worship differing from the English Church. Is the Cape to adopt in the 19th century the exploded system of religious distinctions? Heretofore the baptisms of the chapels of the different missionaries, and of Catholics, were, together with those of the English, Calvinist, and Lutheran Churches, admitted into the *Cape Gazette*, but are now excluded."

The troubles Father Scully underwent at the hands of his churchwardens were embarrassing enough; but his experiences were as nothing compared to those of his successors. They were at the head of a small community isolated in the midst of the Dutch Calvinists who were dominant at the Cape. The methods of Church government of these sectaries were the only ones known to the colonists; and

the committees of the various churches had matters very much their own way, dictating to their pastors their line of action, and administering the finances of the respective churches. Dr Slater when staying at the Cape saw that the system of churchwardens would be a good one in so far as it would relieve the priest of the burthen of finding ways and means. Had these administrators kept within the bounds of their commission, all might have gone smoothly; but when they assumed the dictatorial powers of the Calvinist Church-Boards, the situation created was an intolerable one for any priest to submit to. Unfortunately Father Scully left a legacy of financial embarrassment to his successors. The story unfolds itself in a series of letters and pamphlets, and these may best be left to tell their own tale.

After Father Rishton's departure from England early in 1827, little or nothing of consequence was heard of him for over a year. But he, like his colleague, Father Wagener, was soon involved in acrimonious disputes. The misery he undermined his health and his mental balance. Even Dr Ullathorne, who called at the Cape on his way to Australia for the first time, in September 1832, saw the harm that was being done. In his *Autobiography*¹ he says:

"We put in at the Cape of Good Hope, where, on landing, I found but one priest for the whole of South Africa. He was an English Benedictine from Ampleforth, and an accomplished man. His congregation at that time, was a mixture from all the nations of Europe and the East, and they gave him much trouble, so much so, that he often got into fits of abstraction and ground his teeth together. He was subsequently brought to England with the loss of his mind. This was the first opportunity I had of observing the impolicy of leaving one priest alone in a remote colony; later on I was destined to see more of this evil."

When Father Rishton first went out to the Colony he was destined to serve Albany, but for various reasons he refused to go there, and in consequence was deprived of the government salary of £100. The whole condition as he

¹ p. 59.

found it, and the motives that induced him to act as he did are detailed in the following letter addressed by him to the President of the English Benedictines, Dr Birdsall.

“Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

12th June 1828.

“VERY REV. SIR,—I am really ashamed of my long delay in writing to your Remembrance, particularly when I reflect upon the very great interest your Reverence expressed in my welfare. The only apology I can offer is the state of uncertainty I have been in since my arrival. I learned by Mr Morgan’s letter that you had perused mine to him, or that to Mr de Stadler. I need not, therefore, repeat the circumstances of my voyage and safe arrival. I believe I mentioned in that letter that we had considerable difficulty with the Churchwardens appointed by Dr Slater. These gentlemen could not confine themselves to the temporal affairs, but wished to interfere with our clerical duties and place us in a situation similar to that of Ministers of the Calvinistic Church in this town, and actually denominated themselves, as in that Church, *elders*. We could not persuade them that in any case the laying of us under an obligation of not baptising a child without a certificate or permission from them, was an interference with our clerical duties. They refused to act, and not only thought but said the Chapel would never be carried on without their aid and countenance. We (the Rev. Mr Wagener and myself) have received the monies, to their great surprise paid off the interest and part of the debt (loan from the bank) last January. Great improvements have been made and are making in the Chapel. To this, which is a pretty little Gothic building capable of accommodating about 500 persons, is adjoined a small house, flat-roofed, with only the ground floor containing five rooms, a kitchen and a pantry. My bedroom is very small. I suffered much during the excessive heats of December, January and February. For three weeks I availed myself of Col. Bird’s kind invitation to his country house about five miles distant, where the thermometer always stands 12 degrees below the temperature of this Town, which is the focus of the reflexion of the rays of the sun from the Table Mountain. This mountain is in the form of an amphitheatre, at least if we take in two other hills which are a continuation of it though under a different denomination.



“ Upon my presenting myself to the Lieut. Governor, he informed me that I should have to reside at Graham's Town. I told His Honor that I had come out with the full expectation of residing in Cape Town. After further discourse he said I might remain in Town till he should have an answer from Lord Bathurst. In October that answer came that one of the priests should reside at Graham's Town about six hundred miles from this place. The Governor fixed upon me and sent me word to make immediate preparations for the journey.

“ I presented a memorial to His Honor in which I informed him of the great necessity of an English priest's residing in this Town, in which out of 1,400 Catholics, 1,000 were English, and that of the remaining 400, not 100 could understand the sermons of the Dutch priest, because he spoke the proper Dutch language and not the barbarous Cape Dutch. I declared, moreover, that I was willing to visit the Catholics in and about Graham's Town once a year, but that I could not think of residing constantly among them, they being comparatively few to those in Cape Town. Very shortly a letter came from the Colonial Secretary by order of the Governor, informing me that my allowance from Government would cease the first of December that year. Upon this Col. Bird and the Rev. Mr Wagener took the trouble to visit the Catholics of this Town, and procured an annual subscription, which, if duly paid, may afford me a moderate support. The necessaries of life, with the exception of clothing are very cheap in this Colony. Comfortable I cannot say I am, my co-operator is a person whose habits and manners are so totally different from anything I had before experienced. He is ten years younger than myself. I hope, however, that with a little patience and forbearance I shall effectually co-operate with him in procuring the salvation of our flock, and render the inconveniences and disappointments I may have to suffer conducive to my spiritual welfare. A sandy desert 20 miles broad and reaching from Table Bay is the N.E. boundary of the Promontory. Beyond this the country is thinly inhabited. At Stellenbosch over the desert are about ten Catholics. Two days' journey further is Worcester where I visited Capt. Trappes, brother of Trappes of Nidd in Yorkshire. I found there six Catholics. It is calculated, however, that there are not less than five thousand Catholics dispersed over this extensive Colony. A very great proportion are Germans and Poles disbanded from the 60th Regt.

Many of these poor creatures, at least in this Town are either co-habiting with black women or have married Calvinists. This Colony abounds with missionaries of every denomination supported at very liberal allowances by the various missionary societies in England. Here is one Rev. Mr Wright from Dublin, a classical scholar, who, there are strong grounds to believe, is an apostate Catholic and even a Priest. He receives £300 per annum for the conversion of the Heathen, and has converted but two, his own servants, during his residence of eight years. These fellows contrive to build comfortable dwellings and there reside and make considerable sums of money by bartering with the natives and sending quantities of Fat and Hide to Cape Town, gulling poor John Bull with an account of a poor Hottentot being nearly converted, and of the pathetic manner in which Brother Cupido interpreted their effusions into broken Dutch. One fact I cannot omit. One of these Evangelicals, finding it impossible to dissuade the Caffers from Polygamy, took to himself three black wives. He apologised for such conduct to the President of the Mission, by saying that he had done it for the promotion of Christianity, as he thereby *met the heathen half-way*. He was suspended and has returned to his trade (Blacksmith).

"Please to remember me in the most affectionate manner to all confreres, and believe me,

Very Rev. Sir,

Your most attached and obedient subject,

T. RISHTON."¹

The next letter that passed between Father Rishton and his superior was dated two years later, and carries on the account of what was taking place at the Cape, interspersed with the domestic concerns of the religious body to which he belonged, and with general topics of interest to Catholics at that time. It is sufficiently interesting, however, to be reproduced in its entirety.

"Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope,
3rd July, 1830.

"VERY REV. SIR,—It is an age since I heard from any of my friends in England. I presume their minds have been so occupied with the Catholic Emancipation and the fatal

¹ *D. A.*, G 223.

consequences of that Bill to our Congregation that they have not had time to cast a glance upon a transatlantic Brother. I yet enjoy, thank Heaven, very good health, and make the best of the uncomfortable situation into which my resolution not to live in the eastern extremity of the Colony has thrown me. The Rev. Mr Wagener, with whom I am living, has, I believe, already made up his mind to return to Holland, his native country, in a year or two. The 98th Regiment, which has been stationed here for the last six years, is removing to Albany or the Eastern Frontier of the Colony. Three-quarters of that regiment are Catholics. In consequence of their removal to that station, the Catholics of that province have petitioned Government again for a priest. If your Reverence could procure them one it would be a great act of spiritual mercy. The Catholics of Albany exclusively of the military are calculated at more than three hundred. They are in general poor Irish settlers. Government would require the Priest to reside at Graham's Town, the capital of the Province. There is land offered for a Chapel and house in the town itself. Mr Wagener visited the Catholics of Albany two years ago, and says a Priest might be established there very comfortably. Unfortunately by land it is a journey of four or five weeks from hence in the wretched mode of the general conveyance in a wagon drawn by perhaps eighteen or twenty oxen. By sea it is a passage of about four or five days to the nearest landing place to Graham's Town, viz:—Algoa Bay, [East London], which is about one hundred miles distant from that capital. The Catholic Relief Bill has been published here in a Colonial Ordinance, and rendered our situation rather worse than before; because previous to that Ordinance we enjoyed the same freedom of Religion as had been permitted to the Dutch by the French laws. Now we cannot appear in our stole and surplice at the burial ground, nor can any monk or nun enter the Colony except under certain conditions. The last two summers we had several French and Spanish clergy calling here, chiefly regulars, as also three nuns. The former summer we entertained with great pleasure, the four Chinese young men who were going to the *Missions Etrangères* at Paris to be educated and sent back missionaries into their native country.

"As this is the year for the General Chapter, I hope some of our Body will send me a list of the Priests of our Order, as also some account of the resolutions to which Superiors have come in consequence of the prohibitions contained in

the Relief Bill. Our Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, is no friend to us. He is brother to the Marquis of Inniskillen. That great event of Catholic Emancipation appears to have been of essential service in tranquillising Ireland. The *Catholic Miscellany* which I receive monthly, is the only source from whence I receive any news of the Catholics of England. It affords me much pleasure to hear of the number of conversions which have lately taken place in England and Ireland. If Mr Spain have returned to the Mauritius, he did not look in here and give us the pleasure of his company. Have any of our members departed for another world since I left England? I have heard of one, the Rev. Mr Lawson of Morpeth, R.I.P. We have great reason to complain of dilatoriness in Bishop Slater. He never answers my letters, or at least in so loose a manner that we receive no satisfaction to our inquiries. I suppose I have written not less than six letters to know what feasts and fasts are to be observed in this Colony. I have not yet received an answer to that and many other inquiries. I am informed that religion is at a very low ebb in that Island. In this Colony a few conversions have taken place. Both the Dutch Calvinists and descendants of the French Huguenots who formed this Colony have a much greater horror of Catholic tenets than the English Episcopalians. Another unfortunate circumstance is that there being no resident clergymen here from the surrender of the Cape until Dr Slater placed the Rev. Mr Scully here, many of the Catholics forgot their obligations, married into Calvinistic families, and joining their worship, brought up their children out of the pale of the Church. We are happy to say that several of this description have returned to their own Mother Church, where alone they have found true peace of mind.

"The climate of the Cape is very wholesome. Here are no infectious disorders. People suffer chiefly from bilious and rheumatic complaints. As the vessel that carries this to Albion's shores leaves very soon, I must conclude with begging you to remember me in the kindest manner to all, and to our good sisters at Salford,¹ when next you write.

Very dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant and subject,

THOS. RISHTON."²

¹ Benedictine nuns, now of St Mary's Abbey, Stanbrook, Worcestershire.

² *D. A.*, H 88.

The dispute as to the management of the Church which had begun as far back as 1820, was now at its height, and both parties to it, pastor and churchwardens, or marguilliers, with their respective backers were at such a deadlock that recourse was had to their distant bishop. Correspondence had passed between Cape Colony and the Mauritius; in fact letters show that many an invitation had reached Bishop Slater to visit Cape Town and adjudicate on the differences that existed, but no one of them was acceded to. The circumstances in which Dr Slater found himself at the Mauritius must exonerate him from any charge or appearance of neglect of duty in this matter. The Catholic population of that island in the middle of the Indian Ocean was 100,000. There were but five priests for the spiritual needs of this large number, and the Bishop had himself to do the work of an ordinary parish priest in addition to his episcopal duties. He had very grave trouble with some of his clergy, and he could not, in consequence, leave his post for such a long period as would have been necessitated by the journey to and from the Cape, and the stay there. Dr Slater died in 1830, and was replaced by Dr William Placid Morris, O.S.B., of whom more later. This prelate had unfortunately no opportunity of seeing for himself how things were going at the Cape, even had he known of the disputes there rife, for the ship in which he sailed did not touch at Cape Town. The same causes kept him tied to his post in the Island as had interfered with the freedom of movement of his predecessor.

To Dr Morris both parties at the Cape appealed. The marguilliers were MM. De Lettre, Chiappini, Mabile and McDonough. The document they forwarded in justification of their attitude is a lengthy one, but bears the stamp of insincerity. We have already drawn upon it for information as to the history of the Cape Mission, and the causes that led to Father Scully's return to England.¹

On 20th April 1833, Father T. Clement Rishton prepared a

¹ *cf. D. A.*, I 70, 5th July, 1833.

lengthy statement of the circumstances in which he was placed. It is a temperate exposition of the miserable divisions that existed, and is therefore a document of considerable value. As such it fittingly finds a place here, putting on record the various steps that had been taken during the preceding thirteen years, and showing the wholly untenable nature of the attitude adopted by the churchwardens. No Catholic priest could under any circumstances whatsoever, allow himself to be made the servant of a lay committee, in the way the Cape marguilliers had endeavoured to effect. At the same time, both from this statement and that of the churchwardens, it is clear that the unsound financial condition was created by Father Scully, but the blame attached to him should be mitigated by taking into account that the outlook in the first instance was a hopeful one, and the embarrassments were not of his sole creation,—want of foresight is perhaps the worst sin to be laid to his charge. The whole unpleasant story is revealed in the following letter from Father Rishton to Bishop Morris.

“ 20th April, 1833.

“ MY LORD,—The melancholy state of discord in which this mission has been, nearly from its first establishment, and in which it still continues to be, makes it much to be regretted that your Lordship should have passed this place without touching, for it is possible that those restless individuals who refuse to submit to reason might have bowed with some deference to Episcopal authority. It is my duty, therefore, to lay before your Lordship the circumstances in which I am placed, which I shall endeavour to do with all the accuracy in my power, according to the information I have received.

“ In the year 1820, Dr Slater stopped here in his way to Mauritius: he left a missionary, the Rev. Mr Scully, and he nominated a board of churchwardens (marguilliers) recommending that subscriptions should be entered into for building a Chapel. Mr Scully acting upon this recommendation, appealed to the public for subscriptions, and the encouragement he received from Protestant as well as Catholic, induced him, although against the advice of many, to commence building before he had secured sufficient funds

for ensuring the completion of the undertaking. The slender means which a public subscription had afforded, became in consequence, soon exhausted, although an ample and eligible site had been granted by the Colonial Government for the purpose of erecting a Chapel and a residence for the minister.

"The facility of borrowing, which at that period existed, enabled Mr Scully to obtain a loan of Rix^d 3,000 from the Lombard Bank upon mortgage of the Premises and collateral surety, which collateral surety was found in the churchwardens, who bound themselves personally for the repayment. Besides the first loan, a second was soon had recourse to of a more temporary nature, and (as I have lately learnt) a similar sum to the first was taken up by Mr Scully from the Discount Bank, for which the same sort of security was given. But at this time two changes in the state of affairs took place, both of which were fatal to the welfare of the nascent mission. The one was, that the Government, which had been up to this period favourable to the establishment of a Catholic mission, from a change of Rulers, became hostile to it, and consequently no further subscriptions were obtained; the other was, that the marguilliers having wished to compel Mr Scully to agree to certain articles of Church government, having the Calvinistic discipline for its model, that gentleman refused to acquiesce therein, and a breach between them ensued which was not subsequently healed. The marguilliers appealed to Dr Slater, who answered them at length, and censured in strong terms the irregularity of their proceedings. Dr Slater at the same time sent a copy of his letter to them to a resident Catholic of this place, which copy is in my possession. I should also mention, that a salary of R^{ds} 1,000 per annum had been allotted to Mr Scully from the Colonial funds, but upon the change before alluded to taking place, this pittance was withdrawn, and Mr Scully was left without any other resource except £50 premium which he received from an individual. In this dilemma, he availed himself of his talents and obtained the situation of Assistant Astronomer, the marguilliers having refused all aid. Notwithstanding this, Mr Scully continued to officiate in a building which was hired as a Chapel; and at length, when the present Chapel was sufficiently advanced the service was performed in it, and Mr Scully took up his residence in one of the rooms (though still in a very unfinished state) of the house now in my occupation; but

this did not last long, for his duties at the Observatory requiring his nightly attendance, he removed to the house then occupied by the Astronomer Royal, with whom he continued to reside, until a serious misunderstanding having occurred between them, Mr. Scully left this Colony suddenly in the year 1824. From that period the embarrassments of the Chapel may be considered to have commenced, for the sole income of the establishment having consisted in collections made at the door on Sundays and holidays, and a few donations, there being now no longer any public service, this source was dried up, and the interest on the loans borrowed fell into arrear. The marguilliers, however, were anxious that the Chapel should be finished, and they had expectation of receiving a further loan of R^{ds} 10,000 from the Lombard Bank, when it was understood the Governor interfered and forbade any further assistance being given to this object. The term for which the second loan had been borrowed, had now expired, and neither principal nor interest being forthcoming, a prosecution was commenced against the Sureties, and a verdict against them was obtained, the execution of which was staid by the interference of the Commissioners of Inquiry (who were then here), and at whose recommendation R^{ds} 5,000 were advanced to the marguilliers by the Lombard Bank, they having *mortgaged* the Chapel and Premises. Out of this sum, the second loan with the interest due thereon was paid, but it left a permanent debt against the borrowers of R^{ds} 3,000 and R^{ds} 5,000, in the whole, R^{ds} 8,000. Shortly after this, (viz. in 1826) Mr Wagener, a Dutch clergyman from Holland arrived here, when further subscriptions were entered into, for completing the house destined for a minister's accommodation, and a proportion of the churchwardens (marguilliers) took upon themselves the direction of this work and that of the completion of the Chapel, which continued, though opened for service, in a very rough and unfinished state. It was some months before Mr Wagener could get possession of the house, and he had hardly settled in it, when he had also the misfortune to differ with the marguilliers. However, the attendance at Chapel was tolerably full, and the collections such as to afford means to the marguilliers to provide for the interest due on the Bonds, and pay off 10 per cent. of the principal debt, which they were enabled to do in consequence of the Secretary of State having, at the recommendation of the Commissioners of Inquiry, allotted salaries of £100 for two Catholic

clergymen for this mission, so that their maintenance was no drain on the Church income. In the posture of affairs, as above set forth, I arrived here, having left England for the express purpose of joining the Cape Town mission, as I believe your Lordship is aware. I found, as before shown, Mr Wagener at variance with the marguilliers, and only partially succeeded in accommodating the differences. For some months after this the affairs of the Chapel went on with more regularity, and the collections were adequate to the wants of the expenditure, though the building itself remained in an unfinished and deplorable state: an experimental zinc roof laid on unscientifically admitted the rain in all directions; there was no pulpit; and the whole interior arrangement was faulty in every respect; but although the marguilliers attended every Sunday and took the collections, it did not appear to be their intention to take any step for remedying these crying defects; but they began again to interfere with the spiritual duties of the Pastors, and wished to create a revenue out of the administration of the Sacraments, and so to tie up the hands of the ministers, that they should not even administer the Sacraments without their leave. It became necessary to resist these extraordinary innovations; and at a meeting of their Board they were informed that this interference would not and could not be submitted to. The offence which this gave caused them from that time to decline interfering in the management of the affairs, and they not only withdrew from the meetings of the Board, but declined coming to the Chapel; so that from that period (August 1827), the ministers took upon themselves the management of the collections. But the influence of the Secessions soon had the worst effects, the number of those who frequented the Chapel became gradually fewer and fewer, and of course the receipts diminished in proportion. About this time one of the marguilliers—the one who had always been the most zealous in the Church affairs, and the most regular in his attendance at the Chapel—brought forward a charge against the Chapel of upwards of R^{ds} 6,000, expended as he said, out of his private funds on account of the building. There was no money, as he well knew, to discharge such a debt; he requested a mortgage on the buildings as his security; the Pastor did not think he had any authority to grant such a document. This refusal caused an outcry against the Pastor, as if he sought to defraud the claimant; and shortly after, another of the marguilliers brought another

charge against the Chapel of R^d 1,000 and met with a similar refusal. He was also clamorous and became a seceder; and with him many who conceived that the Pastors withheld from these claimants their just due, though a little consideration would have shown that the Pastors had had no concern in the expenditure, and consequently that it was not to them that the claimants had to look. Meanwhile, the very defective state of the building admitting the rain in all parts, and thereby damaging and warping all the interior woodwork, made absolutely necessary that attention should be immediately given to these affairs and they were consequently effected by the Pastors, though at very great expense, and part of the interior was repaired, and galleries completed, by which, accommodation was afforded for the military who before, so crowded the body of the Chapel, as to press severely on the congregation. This notwithstanding, the receipts enabled the Pastors to discharge the interest of the debts incurred by the marguilliers, for the two or three first years; but after the year 1830, the secessions became so numerous that the collections were no longer adequate to meet this charge, and of course a great arrear ensued. About this time also, Mr Bohmer (the person who had made a charge against the Pastors of R^d 6,000 as before stated) died, and his estate fell into the administration of the Orphan Chamber, who applied, as had before been done to Mr Wagener and myself, for payment, which having been refused, an Action in the Supreme Court was commenced against us, but as it was clear that we had had nothing to do with the expenditure, neither of us having been in the Colony at the period, the Supreme Court rejected their suit, and condemned them in costs. This decision was received by the marguilliers with great dissatisfaction and ill-humour; it was publicly said that the Pastors had possessed themselves of the income of the Chapel and had appropriated it to their own use, and contrived to defraud the fair creditors of the Chapel. The state of the Chapel affairs becoming thus public, the Directors of the Bank seeing that they had no claim on the Pastors, from the recent decision, sued the Sureties for the monies they had borrowed and recovered against them; this then brought our affairs to a climax; the rumour that the Pastors had defrauded the Chapel and its creditors was assiduously spread, and in a Calvinistic country it could not be so without great effect, and the further income of the Chapel

was reduced to a mere nothing. It was also found that a party was formed for forcibly taking the management of the Chapel affairs out of the hands of the Pastors; a circular signed by one who called himself an Elder of the Church in which the above vituperation was inserted, was sent to Mr Wagener from Stellenbosch. We thought it now right to communicate the circumstance to those who still adhered to our cause, and the consequence was, that a requisition was presented to us requesting that a general meeting of the Catholics should take place for the purpose of electing churchwardens to take charge of the temporalities of the Church; this requisition was signed by 90 of the congregation, and it was read by me from the pulpit on the following day, which was a Sunday (May). On this occasion a most scandalous scene took place, for some of those who had espoused the cause of the marguilliers insulted both Mr Wagener and myself during the service, calling the former a blasphemer and other opprobrious epithets, and thereupon quitting the Chapel. Such conduct was heart-breaking and revolting. Mr Wagener was so hurt at it, that he made up his mind to quit the Colony, and the next day sent in his resolution to this effect to the Governor, who had previously refused him leave of absence. The Governor, upon this, appointed me to the Chaplaincy with the salary of £200 which had been given to Mr Wagener from the preceding October; the first thing I did was to appoint the General Meeting of the Catholics to be held on the 17th of June.

"Meanwhile, the former marguilliers laid their complaints before the Governor, who communicated to them Mr Wagener's resignation and his having nominated me to succeed him. I made it my first duty to endeavour to conciliate this party, who evidently wished to get possession of the Chapel and the temporalities, their friends having resolved that they should be called upon to take possession of the Chapel and its income, under the title first of Curators, which they afterwards changed for that of Commissaries, with a Board of Churchwardens, at which Board the Pastor was not to have a voice, or seat. Thus it was intended that whatever income could be raised should be paid to and expended by the Commissaries, but that the levy and detail should be thrown upon the Churchwardens. Even this arrangement might have been submitted to, however novel in itself and derogatory from the dignity of the ministry, had not the old plan been again brought forward

of interfering with the Pastor's duties and controlling him beyond what even a menial servant is compelled to submit to; for this purpose, Mr Chiappini, the leader of the old marguilliers, and a person whom Mr Piccolomini saw when he was here with Dr Slater, prepared a string of 45 Regulations, which it was his intention to submit to the meeting of the 17th June. To counteract these, our friends prepared others, and a private meeting of these gentlemen was held to concert the best means of securing their being carried: but it appears that Mr Chiappini, having had intimation of this, contrived to send a number of his friends who endeavoured to interrupt the proceedings; and who, having heard the resolutions which were intended to be brought forward at the General Meeting read, insisted upon those of Mr Chiappini being also read, which, although I at first resisted, I subsequently assented to; this acquiescence of mine was made the pretext for Mr Chiappini's subsequent proceedings, for he declared himself offended at his regulations having been read at this meeting, and declined bringing them forward at the ensuing General Meeting, through me. The truth, however, was, that it now appeared that the number of those who adhered to their Pastors greatly exceeded those who were opposed to them, and that at the intended meeting he would be in the minority. He took therefore the resolution of absenting himself altogether from the meeting, as did many of his party; and the regulations were therefore carried which had been prepared by Mr Wagener, who was still here, not however without some acrimonious debate, in which I was again personally insulted, and taxed with malversation by some of the adherents of the opposite party who were not at all aware of the step the principals had taken of absenting themselves. At this public meeting the Churchwardens were elected, viz., Col. Bird, Mr Horstok, Mr Barry, and Mr Chiappini, the latter, expressly that he might have an opportunity of watching over the interests of the sureties, of whom he was one. It will be seen that he afterwards declined acting. But on the following day, he and others waited on the Governor, and presented a memorial *numerously signed*, praying the Governor to appoint Churchwardens and to establish the Regulations (of which they enclosed a copy) which had not been brought forward at the General Meeting, keeping from the Governor's knowledge, however, that a public and general meeting of the Catholics had been held on the preceding day, in which other measures had been assented to;

the reply, which was not given until the 6th of July, was not favourable to the applicants, the Governor having declined interference, and commented strongly, though guardedly, on the proposed 45 Regulations. It is here worthy of notice that the memorial which was presented on the 18th of June, and which I have observed was *numerously signed*, was not so by many of the Catholic congregation, the far greater number of signatures being those of soldiers of the 75th Regt., who had been induced to sign a paper of the purport of which they could not be judges, and with the matter of which they had nothing to do. There were besides other signatures of persons who did not belong to the Catholic congregation. Their application to the Governor having thus failed, they now addressed the Supreme Court, and again suppressing that the Catholic body had appointed Churchwardens, to take charge of the temporalities of the Chapel, they prayed the Court to appoint Curators to the abandoned property of the Rev. Mr Scully; and the Court, taken by surprise, issued a decree to the effect, appointing Mr Chiappini and Mr Donough, two of the former marguilliers, Curators,—a decree, which, as soon as I heard of, I opposed; and the Court, now rightly informed, amended its decree, not so as to do away the Curators, but to nullify their powers, as they have since found. The first step the Curators took was to endeavour to eject me from the Pastor's house, and they commenced an Action against me in the Supreme Court, in which they were foiled, and had the expenses of both parties to pay. It was not, however, for want of our exertions that affairs proceeded thus publicly, for the very first object of the Churchwardens was to endeavour to investigate the former accounts with the design of devising means for their adjustment; but all their applications were rejected, and with insulting language they were told they should never be allowed by them to have been duly elected Churchwardens, that the meeting was irregular (on the ground as it has lately appeared of its having been convened by Mr Wagener after his having resigned his Chaplaincy, which is contrary to the fact), and that the election ought to have taken place by Ballot. It seems that up to that time, they were buoyed up by the hope that the Supreme Court would eject me, and that they should then have the House and Chapel in their own hands. As soon, therefore, as this was decided, a fresh proposal was made to them to refer their claims to Arbitration, to which they consented in appearance, but as it now turns out,

without any intention of submitting to it; for when we were seemingly all but agreed as to the terms of the Bond of Submission, they broke off, saying that they never had acknowledged the Churchwardens as such, and never would. They have since obtained an Edict against Mr Scully, to which it will be a twelvemonth before a final return can be made, and they profess intending to commence further proceedings next term.

"The Board of Churchwardens at the beginning of this year laid before the Catholic Public the whole of their proceedings in a small pamphlet, which I enclose, for your Lordship's information. This Pamphlet, which chiefly consists of the documents which had passed through their hands, was replied to by the marguilliers in a more extended work, which I also enclose, but at its publication it was immediately met by the Concise Remarks upon it, which paper is also put up, so that your Lordship will have before you the whole case, without, as far as I know, the slightest reserve. You will see from it the dreadful state into which our community is thrown, and the odium which is brought upon us: surrounded by enemies, Protestants of all denominations, who delight in seeing us thus humbled and exposed; a Government hostile to the name of Catholic; and our own Congregation, in great part, either in open war with us, or apathetical.

"The Congregation of Cape Town consists of about 800, exclusive of the military, who may be estimated at between 4 and 500 more. The communicants were about 200; but they have greatly fallen off since the departure of Mr Wagener, whose language was that of the major part.

"The Churchwardens finding that no revenue was to be depended on any longer from the collections, have adopted the plan of pew-letting at 10s. 6d. per sitting per annum; which at 180 sittings will give ninety guineas; and they estimate the future collections at about £60; which two sums though trifling from so large a congregation, will be sufficient to pay the interest, and ten per cent. annually of the principal debt, till it shall be liquidated; and, in some measure, provide for our daily wants. They are in great hopes that this will be effected notwithstanding all opposition; but there is no knowing what may be the result of the further proceedings of the adverse party. One debt against the Chapel they have an indisputable claim to, that of R^{da} 3,000; it was incurred by Mr Scully, who, although he did not take or disburse any of the proceeds

of subscriptions or donations, but paid them all (as I am informed) to Mr de Lettre, who acted as Treasurer, yet was competent to mortgage the buildings, as he did for the sum borrowed. The R^{ds} 5,000 will also be an *equitable* debt, as soon as accounts shall have been rendered; but the parties who gave the Bank a mortgage for this sum, had no legal right so to do. Consequently, in Law, their claim is bad; but in justice, they will be entitled to it, when they shall have produced their accounts. As, however, there are no funds for the immediate discharge of either, it can only be done by degrees. Had we been able to bring the parties to terms, the Bank would have continued the Loan, with the sanction of Government; but now that this unanimity can no longer be restored, notwithstanding all our exertions, that accommodation cannot be looked forward to; and as we are about to change Governors, the resolution of the next person who succeeds, is not to be anticipated. All this points out to me the propriety of urging your Lordship to visit this proportion of your flock. Your presence may save us; but I greatly fear that unless you do come the flock will be dispersed, for that my health will give way under the persecution I have so long endured. Already I have suffered much, the climate does not altogether agree with me, and the increased duties since Mr Wagener's retirement, are more than one person, unless a very strong one, can go through; one missioner is not sufficient for the duties of this place.

But for interrupting the narrative, which though long and tedious, I have thought my bounden duty to lay before your Lordship, I should have informed you that there is a large body of Catholics on our frontier, who are totally deprived of spiritual aid. Some time after my arrival, the Lieut.-Governor, who then commanded here, proposed to me to go thither and take charge of them; but as I left England for the express purpose of joining this mission, and as I would not willingly have thrown myself at a distance of 650 miles from any spiritual aid (although I am now much further from any by the untoward circumstances that have taken place), I declined taking so heavy a responsibility upon myself. The consequence was, that I gave offence to the Government, and the salary I at first drew, was from that time withheld; so that during the whole period that Mr Wagener was here, I had no means of subsistence, a small subscription excepted, which did not amount to more than £50, many of the

subscribers having declined latterly from fulfilling their engagements.

"Among the congregation there are a great number who have not received the Sacrament of Confirmation, and are most anxious so to do. I should also mention to your Lordship that the recent regulations published in England taking off the abstinence on Saturdays, and reducing the number of Holidays of Obligation, has not been promulgated here, although noticed in the Calendars which reach this place.

"Begging your Lordship's paternal blessing on myself and this flock, I have the honour to subscribe myself your Lordship's very faithful and devoted servant,

THOS. RISHTON.

Cape Town, 20th April 1833."¹

The anxiety experienced by Father Rishton on account of this permanent state of discord undermined his health, and the Downside Archives contain several references to the failing of his mental energies. A good Catholic Colonist, a Colonel C. Bird, mentioned in the foregoing document, fought strenuously for the inherent rights of the priesthood against the efforts of the marguilliers; and in letters written by him about this time to a sister of his, a nun at Taunton, he bewailed the serious condition of helplessness to which Father Rishton was reduced, through a paralytic seizure. He did more than this in his Christian charity, for he kept and supported him in his own house for many months till he was sufficiently recovered to be moved, when he sent back the invalid priest to England on his own responsibility. Arrived home, Father Rishton retired to his monastery at Ampleforth, where he lingered till 9th December 1836, slightly improved in physical health, but only in partial enjoyment of his mental faculties. Colonel Bird did everything in his power to secure another priest. The following letter is evidence of his solicitude for his own wants and for those of his fellow Catholics, and it further shows the depth to which some of these uninstructed Colonists had fallen, that they should have joined the sects or even Mahometanism.

¹ *D. A.*, I 41.

" Cape of Good Hope,

26th January 1836.

" MY LORD,—In the neglected and desolate state of this mission, the congregation dispersing, and many abandoning the Faith in which they were brought up to take refuge in some of the numerous sects with which this place is inundated, while some are said to have embraced Mahometanism; the Churchwardens of the Catholic Chapel have thought it their duty to engage the Reverend Thomas Moral, Priest of the Order of St Dominic, who was on his return from Manilla to Spain, to perform such clerical duties here, as his entire ignorance of any modern language excepting Spanish may admit of his executing, until such time as the mission shall be supplied with proper pastors by competent authority. A copy of the agreement which has been entered into with Mr Moral is herewith transmitted for your Lordship's information. The Rev. Mr Moral takes this opportunity of addressing your Lordship, in order to obtain the necessary faculties for the performance of such of his sacred functions as require your sanction. He transmits notarial copies of his testimonials; perhaps the originals ought to have been sent, but the Reverend Mr Wagener who sent his in original to your Lordship's predecessor, never had them returned to him and was much distressed by the circumstance. I therefore took upon myself to advise his sending copies officially certified, and which moreover I have carefully collated so as to be able to assure your Lordship of the correctness of the copies and also that the originals are apparently genuine papers: if this is any way irregular I must claim your Lordship to excuse my ignorance.

"There were three Dominicans on board the Spanish vessel in which the Revd. Mr Moral was passenger, and they would all have gladly staid here, had we had it in our power to assure them a maintenance; the disturbed and unhappy state of Spain not making it desirable for persons of the Monastic Orders to return thither at present. Trusting that your Lordship will take an early opportunity of answering the Revd. Mr Moral, I have the honour to subscribe myself your Lordship's very obedient servant,

C. BIRD.

The Right Rev. Dr Morris, Mauritius."¹

¹ *D. A.*, J 92.

Bishop Morris, although unable to leave the Mauritius, nevertheless keenly sympathised with the forlorn state of his distant flock at the Cape. His voluminous correspondence reveals him to us urging his agents in Europe to send him the priests he so much needed in the Mauritius, and also begging that one or more missionaries might be procured for Cape Colony. The following letter was addressed to President Birdsall by Dom W. A. B. Collier, O.S.B., at the time agent in Rome for the English Benedictines, and also for Bishop Morris. From this we see that negotiations were in progress for separating the Cape from the jurisdiction of Mauritius as Australia also had by then been separated. It will also be gathered that the idea finding most favour at Propaganda was to hand over the care of this new Vicariate to another member of the English Benedictine Congregation. Lord Clifford's *démarches* in favour of his brother may be passed over, for they were never seriously entertained by the Roman authorities. Objections were raised by the Benedictine superiors in England to the prospect of this further drain on their scanty numbers. Father Collier's name in connection with these deliberations is so far of interest that though he never had any further direct connection with the incidents of this narrative, still he was destined to succeed Bishop Morris in the Mauritius on that prelate's retirement.

"Rome, San Calisto.

24th March 1836.

"VERY REV. FATHER PRESIDENT . . . His Eminence [Card. Weld] wishes me to obtain for him some information which I must seek from yourself. It appears that the Propaganda intend to raise the Cape of Good Hope into a distinct Vicariate, but first want to have all the information they can procure as to the number of Christians (*sic*) that are found there, whether they be resident inhabitants or passengers; as to the proportion which the Catholics bear to the rest of the population; and as to the prospect of an extension of Catholicity there; if the contemplated measure be adopted, beyond what may be expected if that colony remain under the jurisdiction of the distant bishop of the Mauritius. If Mr Rishton be

well, he will find no difficulty in answering these questions; if not, you will probably be able to supply me from some other source with the required information, which I shall look to receive at your earliest convenience. The Card. Prefect told me he was sorry that Mr Rishton had left the Cape, as he understood there was not now a single priest here, and the Catholics consequently left in a deplorable situation; but I stated that Mr Rishton had lost his health, almost his reason, and that another priest, Mr Mills, was by his time probably on his way thither. The mover of this project of erecting the Cape into a separate Vicariate is my Lord Clifford, who claims the merit of having given a bishop to Australia; and you may perhaps have heard that his Lordship wishes to have his brother Edward, now in the Laurentius, appointed Vicar Apostolic. It is not that he is ignorant that Edward is thoughtless, fickle and imprudent; but he fancies that these failings may be corrected in him, if he be placed for six months under the discipline of this monastery of San Calisto; and if not corrected, that he may still be guided by the prudence of Col. Bird. His Lordship sees also advantages to be derived to the Cape from Edward's resources, and from the name of Clifford. This is no exaggeration, for his Lordship told me so; and the observation will justify a suspicion that Edward, whatever be his want of judgment, has at least as great a share of it as his elder brother. But I shall see the Card. Prefect before any Vicar Apostolic is appointed and inform him of Edward's fitness. . . ."¹

There was, then, never any serious entertainment of the project of sending the Hon. and Rev. Dom. E. B. Clifford as Vicar Apostolic to the Cape; but a fellow-religious of his was certainly approached, as the following tract from a letter written by Dr Birdsall to Dr T. J. Town, O.S.B., then Prior of Downside, proves.

"Vialta, 13th May 1836.

" . . . From what I have been told of the Cape business, I understand that the proposal made from Rome to Mr Towers was to go to the Cape, and take Edward Clifford as part of his staff; and that Towers wrote in answer, that he was willing to go to the Cape as Bishop, but decidedly refusing to have anything to do with Edward Clifford. . . ."²

¹ *D. A.*, J 123.

² *Ibid.*, J 149.

Further light on this contemplated choice is gained from certain letters of Colonel Bird. As before stated, his sister was a nun at Taunton, to which convent Father Adrian Towers was at the time acting as chaplain. Colonel Bird, after sounding the dispositions of Father Towers through his sister, took means to have his name proposed in Rome for the post of Vicar Apostolic at the Cape. For various reasons his selection for that position, even if it had been seriously entertained at any time, fell through; and finally, the choice of the Holy See centred on a Dominican, the Rev. Raymund Griffith, who was consecrated on 9th June 1837

The urgent need for a closer superintendence of the Cape mission may be gathered from the picture of spiritual destitution portrayed in the following letter dated from Graham's Town, 25th November 1836, and printed in the *Catholic Magazine* for 1837.¹

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

"In the hope that spiritual aid may be speedily afforded to our destitute brethren in Southern Africa, by making their case generally known, we beg to lay before our readers, extracts from two letters recently received from Graham's Town, Cape of Good Hope—

'The want of a pastor has been the greatest uneasiness to our community these sixteen years past, ever since the arrival of the British settlers in this colony. £40 have been collected, and have been deposited in the bank, until it will be found that a pastor will make known his intention of accepting the situation, and the Government also allows a salary of £100 annually, exclusive of the emoluments derived from the congregation. The murmurings of the community of the Roman Catholics on the frontier are incessant, and being at a distance of 600 miles from the only clergyman of that persuasion in the colony. Almost every other sect of persuasions has its pastor in this frontier, but that of Rome is still in want of one. It is truly distressing to an immense number of parents on this frontier, that they have children (several grown to the age of puberty), who have not yet been baptised, in consequence of our being in high expectation of a priest coming to us.'

¹ pp. 192-3.

'Agreeably to your recommendation, our committee have addressed a letter on behalf of the Roman Catholics of this frontier, to the Rev. Dr Wm. Morris, stating our unfortunate situation of being without a pastor. We calculate there are in this frontier between three and four hundred families belonging to our Church, all of whom are anxious to have a place of worship, and those spiritual blessings attendant upon the same, and willing to do everything in our power to make it worth the while of a priest to take charge of us. Some of the families are doing well, in fact, every man here is gaining an honest livelihood, and save something to bestow towards his Church, and to provide against old age; and, moreover, the marriage and baptismal fees, etc., we consider could support a clergyman in a comfortable way. £30 are now lying in the Savings Bank, and by a proper application according to Lord Bathurst's circular of 1819, £100 per annum are to be allowed to any clergyman recommended by hundred families.

Graham's Town, Southern Africa, 25th November 1836.'

A few stray notices of these early days may be lit upon here and there, but they do not amount to much. Dr Griffith, after his consecration remained in Europe for about seven months, trying, of course, to collect money and secure priests. Early in the following year he embarked for his diocese, as announced in the following paragraph inserted in the *Catholic Magazine*.¹

"We find that we had omitted to state that Dr Griffith, Vicar Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope, embarked at Portsmouth on the 20th of January for that settlement, taking out with him three ecclesiastics. Whilst the Cape was a Dutch Colony, Catholicism, we believe, was not even tolerated in it; but since it became a British possession the followers of the ancient faith have lain under no restraints; but they have been miserably off for want of Pastors. The deficiency is now supplied, and we trust ere long to see the Cape one of the most promising portions of the Church of Christ."

At a later date in the same year, the *Catholic Magazine*,² announced the arrival of the Vicar Apostolic at the Cape.

¹ 1838, p. 249.

² p. 571.

"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

"The Right Rev. Dr Griffith, and two chaplains, arrived at Capetown, Cape of Good Hope, early in May, and celebrated Mass in the military barracks, where he has been accommodated until a chapel is built. The Rev. Mr Bourke, O.S.F., late of Limerick, one of his chaplains, is appointed to the mission at Graham's Town."

The Rev. Father Bourke lost no time in enlisting the enthusiasm of his flock in the project of church building, and the *Catholic Magazine* for 1839,¹ shows that the inevitable meeting had been held to discuss ways and means.

"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

"From our advertising columns it will be seen that a meeting of the Roman Catholics of this district, was held on Sunday, (22nd July 1838), after service, for the purpose of raising funds to build a suitable place of worship. We learn that upwards of £200 was subscribed on the spot towards that object.—*Graham's Town Journal*."

The Vicar Apostolic himself was similarly employed in Cape Town, and the *Catholic Magazine* for January 1841,² chronicles that:—

"The foundation stone of a new Catholic Church has been lately laid at Leoyers Plien, Cape Town, to which church some of the Protestant inhabitants of Cape Town have subscribed liberally. Amongst the subscribers we observe the names of the Hon. W. Harvey and the Hon. W. Paslow, Her Majesty's Attorney-General."

Thus we see the Church of South Africa severed from the Mauritius, and henceforth developing on its own lines, independently, and eventually being subdivided into the number of Vicariates and Dioceses of which it is composed at the present time.

The story of that development forms a separate and

¹ p. 158.² p. 63.

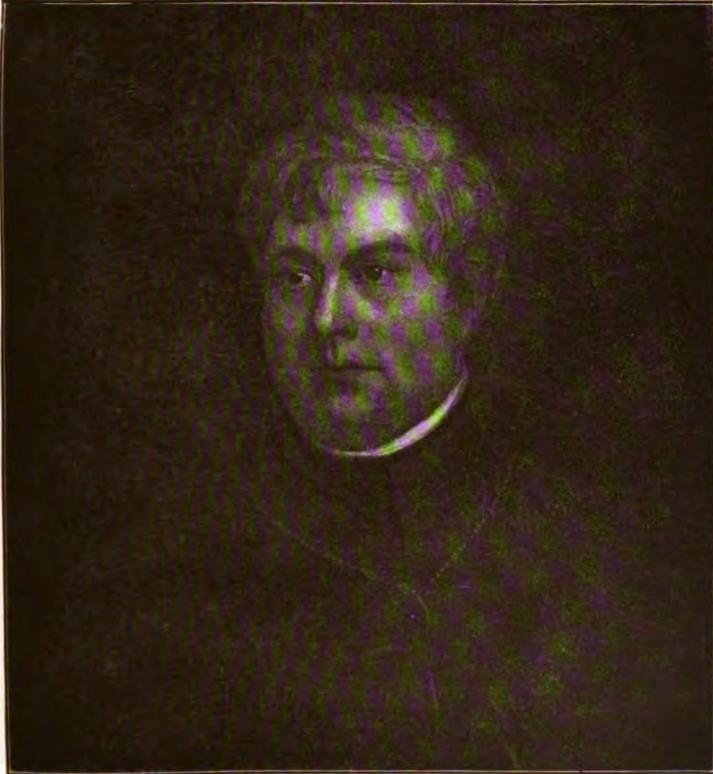
distinct history, and our interest in that portion of God's vineyard consequently ceases, in so far as it no longer acknowledged the sway of the prelate who had hitherto, nominally at least, ruled it as well as the still more distant nascent Church in Australia.

CHAPTER III

THE ISLAND OF MAURITIUS

It has already been stated that Bishop Slater and those who accompanied him reached the Mauritius on the 27th of February, 1820. Very few words are needed to explain the personality of this Prelate. Edward (in religion, Bede) Slater was born in Liverpool in 1774. His mother was a sister of Dr John Bede Brewer, President General of the English Benedictines from 1799 till his death in 1822. Another of Dr Brewer's sisters was the mother of John Bede Polding, first Archbishop of Sydney, so that this prelate and Dr Slater were first cousins. Edward Slater was educated at St Lawrence's, Dieulouard, Lorraine (now situated at Ampleforth, near York), and at Dieulouard he entered the Order of St Benedict, making his solemn profession in 1794. He was raised to the priesthood in 1798. Driven, together with his religious brethren from their monastic home, he was sent on the mission, being stationed at Croston, in Lancashire from 1804 till 1814. For the next three years he was in Germany negotiating for the restoration of Lamspring Abbey to his Congregation, or at least endeavouring to secure adequate compensation for its seizure, but without success. Then came his mission to Rome and his appointment to the Mauritius as Visitor Apostolic, as already related.

Three months after the arrival of the party in the Mauritius, Father Bernard Collier—or de Colyar as he then began to sign himself—wrote to Dr Brewer, giving him an account of what they had been doing in the island since their arrival. The story reads like a piece of enchant-



From oil-painting.]

[By kind permission of the Abbot of Ampleforth.]

RIGHT REV. EDWARD BEDE SLATER, D.D., O.S.B.,
Bishop of Ruspa, i.p.i.,
First Vicar-Apostolic of Mauritius, Madagascar, Cape of Good Hope, New
Holland and Van Diemen's Land.

ment at the wave of the magician's wand. Attention must be given to this glowing description, for the sake of the contrast it affords to many other statements of a different character that followed it. It will consequently need explaining. It is a distasteful task to have to drag away a veil and to disclose the weak spots in a character, more especially in that of a man who held a public situation, most especially in that of one invested with the sacred office of a bishop. But the cause of truth is best served by complete candour; and candour—reluctantly, it is true—compels the admission, based on clear evidence, that Dr Slater was a vain, impulsive man, whose elevation to the Episcopate was not justified by any really inherent gifts suitable to one in his high station; whose outward brilliance did not proceed from any interior solidity; and to whom grave responsibility did not, apparently, impart those qualities of impartiality, justice, reserve, and sober judgment, which are usually associated with the accepted qualifications of fitness for ruling and leading men.

Father de Colyar, wrote, then, in the following glowing and eulogistic terms:—

“ 27th May 1820.

“ DEAR REV. SIR,—The Bishop being obliged to hasten into the country upon missionary duties, has done me the honour to request I would write a few lines to you in his name. I am fully aware of your anxiety for our welfare and of your solicitude for the success of our undertaking, and I can say with truth that the Island has been calumniated, that the disposition of the people is excellent, and that our prospects are extremely favourable. In justice to Dr Slater I must say that by his unceasing exertions, his mildness and affability of conduct, he has gained all hearts and paved the way to the most complete success. When we reflect that the Revolution had spread its baneful influence even here for so long a time, we cannot be surprised that religion should have suffered much; but at the same time, you will think with us that there is a great fund of natural goodness in the people, which can in a great measure and in so short a time be brought back to a sense of duty.

“The Church, which a little time since could scarcely

mission at Croston which remained unpaid for years, and for which Dr Poynter, the Vicar Apostolic of the London District was applied to several times. Dr Brewer on receipt of the above letter from Father Lorymer, at once sent the following reply:—

“ 27th August 1821.

“. . . The account you give me of Dr Slater's situation is very painful and distressing, yet no ways surprises me. I never in my life found a person so infatuated about money concerns as he, and it is truly astonishing how a person of his natural abilities should have involved himself in such heavy and so many debts, under *an idea*, I know, that he could easily liquidate them after his arrival at the Mauritius. It is much if these debts do not prove his ruin and his expulsion from his mission. But keep all this, as much as you can from others, even our *own confreres*.

“Mr L. Spain wrote me a long and a very sensible letter dated 2nd October 1820. I received it several months after. Several months, if not almost a year before, I had received one from Mr Collyer. As the accounts they gave of the mission were totally different and contradictory, I did not choose, and could not with propriety pretend to interfere; particularly as I never received a subsequent letter from Mr Collyer, or even any after it from Dr Slater, though I answered Mr Collyer's letter and one I had received from Dr Slater some time before. In mine to Dr Slater, I sent him a copy of the rescripts from the Propaganda and of my correspondence with it. Since that I have received no letter from him, but have occasionally heard from his mother or sisters that he was very well. From Mr Spain's letter I conclude that the proceedings of Dr Slater were not to the mind of Abbé Charlot, who had been thirty years in the Colony and is greatly commended by Mr Spain for his prudence and propriety of conduct. . . . I cannot persuade myself our Government will remove Dr Slater on account of his debts, but they may, and probably will diminish his allowance and allot part of it to pay his debts by degrees. Such things in France were very common with regard to curates and sometimes with Bishops. Though debts are dishonourable to any ecclesiastic, and much more to a Bishop, they do not constitute a canonical crime.”¹

¹ *D. A.*, E 353.

It is not proposed to give here a very detailed account of Dr Slater's administration in the Mauritius, (or that of his successor), as such a compilation would occupy too much of the space of this volume: only so much of it can here find a place, as to make it clear that the Vicar Apostolic governing that Island and 'New Holland' or Australia, was beset by difficulties, which, unfortunately, through his own indiscretion, he made it still harder to deal with.

Thus, Prior Barber wrote to Father Lorymer on 30th of October 1822, in the following despondent terms:

" . . . The letter which you were so kind as to send me the other day was from the Mauritius. Lewis [Spain] enters into considerable details respecting the Bishop's proceedings, to exculpate himself from my observations on his manner of speaking of his Lordship. He [Dr Slater] seems to be going from bad to worse, quarrelling with his clergy, going from door to door vilifying them. He has denounced Lewis [Spain] as a drunkard, and has suspended the only French priest in the Island, who was spoken favourably of, from all ecclesiastical functions for no other real reason than because he asserted that his Lordship was not Bishop of the Mauritius, but of Ruspá. The French priest had commenced an action against the Bishop. Cooper, the Lawyer, was going to commence legal proceedings also against him for defamation, had he not been prevented by Lewis, who, from his known intimacy with Cooper, might have been supposed to be the instigator of the prosecution. The Governor, Farquhar, wished to get rid of his Lordship and to send him to some other part of his diocese. The Bishop was very extravagant and profuse in his expenses. . . ."¹

Matters did not mend; indeed, they went from bad to worse, for the exasperation aroused by the Bishop in those who had to work with him under such discouraging circumstances, finally drove some one or more of his clergy to make complaints to the Prefect of Propaganda. As a result, a severe reprimand was addressed to him from Rome, ordering him to clear himself of the charges brought against him.

¹ *D. A.*, E 443.

This letter, dated 2nd September 1826, is now in the Downside Archives. The nature of these charges need not here be specified, for as the letter expresses it: "The Sacred Congregation would fain believe that these charges are false, the imaginings of malice; and although they proceed from men otherwise worthy of credit, refuse to give them credence till substantiated by authentic documents. Nevertheless the accusations are so serious that they deeply distress the Sacred Congregation. I [Cardinal della Somaglia] have decided to write to you about these matters openly and frankly. It is of the utmost moment to yourself that you should so meet these charges with rebutting documentary proof, as to leave not the slightest suspicion against you in the mind of the Sacred Congregation."¹

Propaganda, rightly, could not credit the gravity of the accusations launched against Dr Slater; if they are here referred to, it is not because the slightest belief in their truth is entertained, or should be entertained, but simply to show to what lengths malice could go, exasperated no doubt by the pride of the Bishop. His successor suffered just the same fate at the hands of the same clique of unprincipled Italian priests, who resented the rule over them of an English Bishop. Unfortunately, though the graver charges break down of their own utter recklessness and improbability, touching, too, as they do, on matters concerning which no one could by any possibility have real cognisance; nevertheless, the charges of maladministration of funds, of being in debt, and of extravagance, are founded on fact, and their

¹ "Vellet quidem S. haec Congregatio sibi persuadere falsa esse haec, et malignantium hominum figmenta, ac licet ex delatione eorum hominum illa haec acceperit, qui fidem coeteroquin merentur, fidem tamen his habere adhuc detrectat, donec indubia atque authentica eorum quae asseruntur documenta afferantur. Verum gravia ita sunt ista, ut S. Congregationem non leviter angant. De his omnibus itaque clare ac fidenter ad Te scribere statui. Tua maxime interest, tuumque esse debet expositas criminationes iis argumentis, documentisque infirmare, quae ne suspicionem quidem reatum hujusmodi apud S. Congregationem relinquunt." [D. A., F 389.]

essential truth, even though stated in exaggerated terms, must be admitted.

On the 21st of February 1821, Prior Barber wrote to Father Deday, chaplain to Sir Edward Smythe at Wooton Wawen, Warwickshire, thus:—" . . . Have you or has Lady Smythe a mind to try to recover the £100 which Dr S. [Slater] has of hers. Since Christmas I have had a letter from his Lordship, acknowledging his debt to Dr Elloy's estate. He promises to pay me by instalments, but no time mentioned when I am to receive the first. I have also had a long letter from Spain, full of complaints of the Bishop. Lord Bathurst has written to Dr S., and required him to pay a debt which he owes to a silversmith in London, since become a bankrupt."¹

During the course of 1828, Father L. C. Spain returned to Europe on leave of absence, and took the opportunity of trying to induce the authorities at Propaganda to recall Dr Slater from the Mauritius. His representations, though not immediately successful, had the desired effect in the end. The following extracts from various letters, furnish us with an insight into the course of events.

Father W. D. Scott to Father Deday.

" 26th December 1828.

" . . . Mr Spain from the Isle of France, arrived in London last week. He has leave of absence on account of ill-health. It has been hinted that he will try to procure the recall of Dr Slater."²

Prior Barber to Father Jenkins.

" 19th January 1829.

" . . . The proceedings at the Mauritius by a certain Doctor [*i.e.* Slater] are almost incredibly bad. Neither Cooper³ nor Spain, however, have a genuine statement of facts such as will satisfy sceptics. No good has been

¹ *D. A.*, G. 41.

² *Ibid.*, G 290.

³ Mr Cooper was a Catholic layman practising the law in the Island of Mauritius, and was Crown-Counsel of the Colony.

done hitherto—this speaks more than accusations. Religion is at the lowest ebb.”¹

Prior Barber to Father Jenkins.

“ 1st March 1829.

“. . . . Lewis Spain and his friend Cooper are going to Rome on the 9th of this month to try to make some arrangements for the better conduct of ecclesiastical affairs in the Mauritius.”²

Father L. Spain to Prior Barber.

“ Rome, 24th April 1829.

“ MY DEAR FATHER PRIOR,—I cannot express to you all the satisfaction that we have experienced since our arrival in Rome We reached the Eternal City on Monday in Passion Week. I found Dr Baines extremely anxious to have a conversation with me on Mauritius affairs. I explained to him the whole and he is decidedly of opinion that Dr S. should be removed by sending him a Coadjutor with superior powers but secret. I have had two long interviews with the Secretary of Propaganda who considered everything I had to say as most serious charges against Dr S. and thinks most decidedly he ought to be removed. He will lose no time in making a report of the whole affair and laying it before the Propaganda. He has mentioned the business to the Cardinal Prefect and wishes me to see his Eminence this evening, when he will present me. Rome does not want any more proof than what we can personally bring, and seems even to think that the general discontent of the Government, clergy and people with Dr S. to be a sufficient motive for his recall. Since writing the above, Mr Cooper has been called upon by Dr Baines for information, and the Cardinal Prefect also wishes to see him. Dr Gradwell has written a very handsome letter unsought for by Mr Cooper, giving assurance that his testimony may be relied on.”³

Father L. Spain to R. W. Hay Esq. Under Secr. of State.

[Draft].

“ 24th September 1829.

(Asks for extension of leave till end of year.)

“. . . . It has long been felt by the general body of the clergy on the fixed establishment, and by the great bulk of the respectable inhabitants of that colony, that the conduct, the manners and the apparent views of their spiritual chief,

¹ *D. A.*, G 297.

² *Ibid.*, G 308

³ *Ibid.*, G 341.

Dr Slater, are incompatible with the true interests of religion, a perpetual source of annoyance to the public, and trouble and vexation to the local Government. I cannot hesitate to state that I participate in these feelings and in the conviction that as long as Dr S. shall have the direction of our spiritual concerns, no real and permanent good can be looked for. I beg leave to observe that it is, at this time, more than ever desirable that the system of religious instruction at Mauritius should be placed on such a basis and conducted in such a manner as may produce those beneficial effects amongst the most destitute part of the population which his Majesty's Government has declared it to be its intention to produce. But to bring about such desirable ends, good and zealous ministers and teachers are necessary; and none such that I can meet with are willing to partake of our labours while the spiritual affairs of Mauritius are in their present state, every individual whom I have hitherto solicited to accompany me on my return voyage, having alleged as the only obstacle to his undertaking such a task the circumstance of Dr S. being the spiritual chief. This is the more distressing at this time when every part of the Island is very scantily supplied with clergymen, and there are four parishes which for years past have been without any clergyman whatever.

"I hope I shall not be considered as obtruding myself too much on your attention if I observe that there are individuals of the highest respectability now in this country and well acquainted with Mauritius who would be able to supply whatever information might be thought necessary in confirmation of what I have stated; more especially Sir Robert Farquhar, the late Governor; Mr Hart Davis, long a member of the civil establishment; Mr Blane, a member of the Supreme Council; Mr Cooper, Crown Counsel of the Colony; and others whom I am convinced are any of them able to urge most important facts on this matter.

"It is in the hope of some change soon taking place that I continue to cherish the expectation of being able to contribute to forward the earnest wishes of the respectable part of the population, who are in accordance with the views of his Majesty's Government, by inducing, under this supposed change, some clerical companions, such as the Government may approve of, to accompany me on my return; and with this view I beg leave to solicit the

permission of Sir George Murray to remain in this country till the end of the present year.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and obliged humble servant,

L. SPAIN."¹

Father Spain to Card. Pref. of Propaganda.

[Draft.]

"Londres, No. 135 New Bond Street.

28 Octobre, 1829.

EMINENCE,—Sitôt mon arrivée en Angleterre dans le mois de Juillet dernier, je me suis présenté chez le Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Colonies Anglaises et lui ai fait part des mesures que votre Eminence m'avait fait l'honneur de me dire avoit été prises pour le rappel du Docteur Slater. Nous n'avons cessé depuis cette époque d'attendre avec la plus vive impatience, l'exécution de ces mesures qui paroissent à toutes les parties si essentielles au bien être des Colonies de sa Majesté renfermées sous la vaste juridiction du Dr Slater.

"En attendant, le terme de mon congé a été considérablement outrepassé. Par une lettre du ministre d'Etat en date du 23 Octobre courant, mon congé est encore prolongé jusqu'à la fin de l'année, afin dit-il qu'une autre chance soit offerte pour l'exécution des mesures que la Cour de Rome avoit projetées pour la tranquillité de l'Île de Maurice. En conséquence de ce rapport officiel du ministère, j'ai cru, Eminence, qu'il étoit de mon devoir de ne pas perdre un instant, en vous en faisant part. Nous venons de recevoir des lettres de l'Île de Maurice, qui nous apprennent que le Docteur S. s'est dernièrement brouillé avec le nouveau Gouverneur, au sujet d'une intrigue dans laquelle Dr S. s'étoit immiscé. Cette intrigue venant à être approfondir par le nouveau Gouverneur, le Dr S. a été jusqu'à nier en la présence du Gouverneur un fait dont son Excellence eu en main des preuves écrites de la main même du Prélat. Le Dr S. a voulu justifier cette prévarication, anisi que sa conduite précédente qui y avoit donné occasion ; mais les motifs que le Dr S. lui a allégués n'ayant pas paru le moins suffisants au Gouverneur, son Excellence a

¹ D. A., G 390.

cru qu'il étoit de son devoir d'en faire un rapport officiel au Secrétaire ministre d'Etat à Londres.

"Permettez, Eminence, que je remette ici sous vos yeux, l'urgence qui existe de voir quelques mesures adoptées par la Cour de Rome, qui aient l'effet d'empêcher des démarches de la part de l'autorité civile qui pourraient, quand elles seraient faites, vous paroître d'un bien mauvais exemple. Les justes clameurs contre le Dr S. qui partent de l'île Maurice s'accroissent tous les jours, et il me semble impossible que les autorités civiles, puissent longtems résister à ces réclamations. D'après les instructions de votre Eminence, j'ai écrit, sitôt mon départ de Rome, au clergé de Maurice, pour leur faire part de la décision de la Propagande; mais depuis n'ayant vu aucune exécution donnée à cette décision, j'ai n'ai plus osé leur écrire, sachant que la prolongation de leurs travaux dans cette mission tient entièrement à l'accomplissement de la promesse que contenoit votre lettre.

"J'ai eu l'honneur d'avoir plusieurs entretiens avec les Vicaires Apostoliques de Londres. Ils conviennent parfaitement avec moi de l'état déplorable de la religion dans les districts confiés aux soins de Dr S. et de l'urgence qui existe d'y appliquer de suite un remède efficace; mais le Dr S. ne relevant pas de leur juridiction, et la Propagande ayant en main toutes les pièces qui démontrent la nécessité d'un changement, le Dr Gradwell (quand je l'ai prié de s'intéresser dans cette affaire) m'a dit que tout ce qu'il pourrait écrire à la Sainte Congrégation n'ajouterait rien au poids des nombreux documens dont elle est déjà en possession, et qu'il lui suffisoit à lui (Dr G.) des lettres que l'évêque S. avoit écrites à Londres pour sa propre justification, pour juger que sa conduite avoit été, sous tous les rapports, blâmable et propre à nuire essentiellement aux vrais intérêts de la religion.

"Maintenant, Eminence, l'époque de mon départ ou de ma démission étant si proche, veuillez excuser le zèle avec lequel j'ose encore une fois recommander à la sollicitude charitable de votre Eminence l'état affligeant de tant de malheureux chrétiens qui sont toujours en confiance dans les efforts que votre sagesse et votre zèle sauroient faire pour eux. J'ai toujours eu le plus fortement à cœur les intérêts spirituels de ces pays infortunés et abandonnés; et ces intérêts m'ont poussé jusqu'à aller en personne les représenter à votre Eminence, qui, je crois pouvoir me flatter, n'a jamais eu occasion de douter pour un

moment de la pureté des motifs qui me faisoient agir. Ces mêmes motifs dans toutes leur force et dans toute leur pureté me font encore avoir recours à votre Eminence, par écrit, ainsi qu'elle m'en avoit donné l'ordre. Si je n'ai pas plutôt répondu à cet ordre, c'est que j'attendais avec la confiance la plus aveugle que chaque jour nous annonceroit l'accomplissement des mesures salutaires que votre Eminence avoit assuré avoit été prises par la Cour de Rome. Mais le moment de mon départ étant si peu éloigné, et mon départ cependant, ainsi que celui de mes confrères qui auroient bien voulu m'accompagner dépendant absolument du changement attendu, nous nous trouvons mets dans la nécessité de nous informer auprès de votre Eminence si nous devons abandonner à jamais nos projets pour l'Ile Maurice, ou bien si nous pouvons nous flatter que les espérances que votre Eminence nous fit concevoir à Rome se réaliseront avant la fin de cette année. J'ai l'honneur d'être de votre Eminence le très humble serviteur.

L. SPAIN."¹

Same to same.

"Londres, No. 135 New Bond St,
18 Mars 1830.

EMINENCE,—Je prends la liberté d'adresser à votre Eminence la copie d'une lettre que j'eus l'honneur de lui écrire le 28 Octobre de l'année dernière, dans laquelle je representois que mon congé avoit été prolongé par le ministre d'Etat dans l'intention d'offrir encore quelque tems pour l'exécution des promesses que votre Eminence m'avoit faites quand j'eus l'honneur de l'entretien à Rome. Depuis cette époque je n'ai cessé d'apprendre par des voies indirectes que la Sainte Congrégation s'occupoit avec l'intérêt le plus vif des affaires spirituelles de l'ile Mauritius, et c'a a été dans l'attente d'apprendre tous les jours le resultat de ces deliberations que j'ai renvoyé mon depart jusqu'à ce moment. Maintenant il ne m'est plus permi de prolonger mon séjour en Europe, et ne pouvant supposer qu'une determination favorable à la religion des pays auxquels je suis destiné, puisse tarder à être prise, je me dispose à partir incessamment. Votre Eminence n'ignore pas cependant la position malheureuse et pénible dans laquelle je me trouverai placé à mon retour à Mauritius auprès du Docteur Slater et

¹ D. A., G 402.

j'adresse la présente à votre Eminence pour demander les pouvoirs spirituels qui me seront nécessaires à mon arrivée et que votre Eminence la veille de mon départ de Rome eut la bonté de me proposer. Ces pouvoirs je les avois détaillés au Docteur Wiseman à fin qu'il en format une requête en règle ainsi que votre Eminence me l'avoit intimé, mais soit que ma lettre ne lui soit pas parvenue, soit par quelqu'autre accident, je n'en ai jamais entendu parler depuis. Ces pouvoirs étoient d'exercer les fonctions paroissiales ainsi que celles de missionnaire dans Mauritius et ses dépendances, d'absoudre des cas réservés, avec les exceptions que votre Eminence jugera convenables, le pouvoir de bénir les ornements d'église et autres objets où le Saint Crème n'est pas employé, ainsi que les croix aux quelles sont attachés les indulgences de la dévotion *via crucis*; le pouvoir de commuer les vœux simples et la permission de lire les livres défendus sauf les exceptions toujours qu'il plaira à votre Eminence de faire. Et comme j'ai toujours l'espoir d'emmener avec moi quelques ecclésiastiques qui voudront bien se dévouer à cette mission, j'ose supplier votre Eminence de vouloir bien étendre à ceux qui voudront m'accompagner ainsi et *qui seront approuvés du Vicaire Apostolique de Londres*, telle partie de ces pouvoirs que votre Eminence croira convenable et la priant en même tems de vouloir bien faire dater ces pouvoirs du moment de notre départ d'Angleterre afin que nous puissions jouir des secours de la religion pendant notre traversée en mer.

"En attendant que la réponse de votre Eminence me fournisse les moyens de m'embarquer pour Mauritius veuillez permettre que je m'inscrive de votre Eminence, le très humble et très reconnoissant serviteur,

L. SPAIN."¹

What answers Dr Slater furnished the Roman authorities with are doubtless in the Archives of Propaganda; none exist among the Mauritius papers at Downside. Amongst the latter, however, is a draft or copy undated, of one letter sent by the Bishop to Rome. In justice to him, it finds a place here, in order to show that he, too, felt he had cause to complain. This letter would have been written about 1831.

"Since the persecutions and insults which I have for a long

¹ *D. A.*, H 26.

while undergone are known to the Sacred Congregation, not only through my own letters, but also by other means, I cannot conceal the sadness I feel at its silence in regard to our pressing wants.

"It is well known that my detractors have had a hearing in Rome, and all those accusations which malice and spite could invent have been believed, and although I was ignorant of the charges, that I had altogether lost the favour and good will of the Holy See, as one in whom no trust was to be reposed.

"I could not have believed any one of these things. I have always endeavoured so to pass my life in the eyes of all as to refute the charges of envy, detraction, and malice. Lately a priest of insolent character arrived from England, through whose means all these things are publicly said as true. He, with certain other insubordinate priests spreading such tales amongst the faithful, have brought it about that daily the piety of the flock more and more diminishes, as also the influence of the clergy over their people.

"While I was sadly pondering over these things, and was earnestly desiring the orders of the Sacred Congregation as the only means of ending them, the enclosed letters were brought to me, on the receipt of which I thought I should no longer delay, but again and again beg the Sacred Congregation to deign to look into our affairs and put them right (*then*: I sent copies by Marseilles.)"¹

No protest he could make, however, was of any avail; the evil had gone too far, and Rome had settled to recall him, appointing in his place one of his religious brethren. This

¹ (Draft or Copy.)

Dr Slater to Propaganda, c. 1831.

Quoniam non solum per literas meas sed aliusmodi jam pridem cognitae sunt Sacrae Congregationi insectationes et contumeliae quas diu expertus sum, nequaquam celare possum quanto afficior dolore ob istud silentium suum de curis instantibus nostris.

Pervulgatum est, exauditos fuisse Romae delatores mei, et fidem habuisse accusationes illas omnes quas livor et malevolentia fingere potuere, meque ignarum licet criminationis, omnino gratiam et benevolentiam Sanctae Sedis amisisse, ut in quem nulla erat reponenda fiducia.

Ex his omnibus rebus nihil omnino credideram; semper sum conatus vitam oculis omnium ita actam objicere, ut invidiam obtrectationem et malevolentiam repellere possit. Advenit autem nuper ex

was William Placid Morris. He was born in London in 1794, and in 1805 was sent to St Gregory's, then at Acton Burnell in Shropshire, where the house so long established at Douay had found an asylum through the charity of an old alumnus, Sir Edward Smythe, who gave up for the use of his old masters his country seat, on their release from a long imprisonment in a French fortress, during the Terror. Little Morris was fond of his books, and made rapid progress with his studies. In 1810 he entered the noviciate, taking his solemn vows on 25th July 1811. In Holy Week of 1813 he and Br J. B. Polding received minor orders from Bishop Milner at Wolverhampton. In 1816 he was ordained sub-deacon, and shortly after deacon by Dr Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of the London District. And on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1817, he received the priesthood at Bath from Dr Collingridge, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District. In 1819 he was sent to London to embark on missionary work and, as Archbishop Ullathorne states,¹ he was the only member of any regular Order who had been so employed for several years. The first scene of his labours was the chapel of the Portuguese Embassy in South Street, Grosvenor Square, and he became well known and popular as a preacher, manifesting a readiness and fluency which characterised not only his sermons, but his correspondence throughout his life. The Embassy chapel was closed late in 1829; whereupon he was transferred

Magnâ Britannîa sacerdos quidam intemperabilis, quo auctore, haec omnia ut vera praedicantur. Ille cum quibusdam aliis sacerdotibus admodum calcitrantibus talia spargendo inter fideles, ita effecerunt, ut in dies magis decrescit fervor pietatis in grege, et auctoritas sacerdotum in populum.

Dum haec tristis in animoolvebam, atque mandata Sanctae Congregationis summo desiderio optabam, ut quae sola modum malis statuerint, delatae mihi sunt inclusae literae, quibus acceptis, non amplius morandum censui quin iterum atque iterum supplicarem Sanctam Congregationem ut res nostras intueri digneretur (*sic*) et facere salvas, (*then in handwriting of Dr Slater*: 'Copias per viam Marsiliae misi.')

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 53.

to Chelsea, where he laboured as assistant to the Abbé Voyaux de Franous. It was some time in the year 1831, when Father Morris was quietly occupied in the duties of his Chelsea mission, that he received notice of his promotion to a bishopric and appointment as Visitor-Apostolic of the Island of Mauritius. He was wholly unprepared for it, addressed remonstrances to the Holy See, but on the urgent advice of his Superiors, finally thought it his duty to submit.

The following letter written by him to Dr Birdsall, together with Dr Birdsall's answer, will put the reader in a position to understand the situation: the peculiar mode of procedure, whereby Rome delegated its selection to a local Bishop; Father Morris's diffidence, and the advice he received from those best qualified to give it, urging him to accept the burthen proposed to be laid upon his shoulders. It was not a light one in itself; it was doubly difficult and delicate by reason of the situation created by the prelate he was to supersede, whose shortcomings were so glaringly apparent as to have necessitated his recall, and whose conduct had somewhat tarnished the fair fame of the episcopate in the estimation of those subjected to his obedience.

“Catholic Chapel, Chelsea.

14th October 1831.

VERY REVD. FATHER PRESIDENT,—If I have not earlier applied to you on the subject matter of this letter, I hope you will believe me, that it was not from any want of confidence in your judgment, or from any disrespect as your subject; which I am, most attachedly, respectfully, and affectionately; and which feelings, I trust I have endeavoured at all times to evince. My silence arose from other causes. I applied to the friends of my youth, who know me, my dispositions, my acquirements, my every feeling and wish; and I did hope that in asking their advice upon the point I did, that they would have counselled me in a way which they have not done. But let me pass to the object of this my communication.

“Long have you, Very Revd. Fr President, been acquainted with the unfortunate state of the spiritual administration of

the Mauritius; long have you known of the many and grievous complaints that have been made not only to the Holy See, but also to the Government at home on this subject; and you, I am sure, in common with every well-wisher to religion, virtue and piety, have deeply and ardently lamented the same. The Court of Rome on the one hand, and the administration here on the other, have at length come to the determination to allow Dr Slater no longer to superintend the Isle of France; and while the former has recalled him, the latter have withdrawn their countenance from him, contenting themselves with allowing him a very handsome pension in consequence of length of residence on the Island. A successor is to be found for him. And the Court of Rome, well aware that whoever is appointed to the situation must not only be acceptable to themselves, but also approved of at home, have, in this instance, come to an extraordinary determination. I call it extraordinary, for I never heard of or read of the same power being given before. Not to be delayed by the ordinary mode of sending names to Rome, and leaving it to them to select whom they think the fittest; a Brief has been sent to Dr Bramston, from the Cardinal Secretary of State, emanating as the Cardinal observes, from the Pope himself with the approbation of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, empowering him (Dr B.) to choose whom he thinks most suited to the office in question, and to consecrate the same, and they will consider his act as their own. His Lordship called on me a few days ago: I happened not to be at home; but he left me a message to call upon him last Monday. I did so; and conceive, if you can, my astonishment, at hearing him say that I was to be the person. I have received communications of various kinds, and from various quarters, and I have been often surprised at them; but this was an announcement which struck me dumb, imagining as soon to hear that I was proposed for the Cardinalate itself. In these cases, I know, we are bad counsellors to ourselves. His Lordship told me to take time to consider, to consult my friends, to pray to God to guide me, but that if I had no serious personal objection, he hoped I would yield submission. I have taken the advice of those whom I thought best knew me, as well as were best acquainted with the difficulties of the place. I wrote to Messrs Deday, Barber, Polding and Brown. Their answers are before me: all uniting in urging me to accept the proffered dignity; that if I do not, I may run great hazard of running counter to the Divine Will. It

is not, as one of my friends writes, my own seeking, nor the result of any intrigue; it is the spontaneous offer of higher powers. I know, I feel, I am sensible, Rev. Fr President, of the awful responsibility. I know it is going to a land well-nigh devoid of faith, where there are clergy refractory, insubordinate, contumacious; where all is difficulty, trouble, anxiety and labour. I have never shrunk from labour yet; but I have, as far as my powers would allow me, endeavoured to promote the honour and glory of God, the good of Religion, and the salvation of the souls of men. But, I own, I tremble at such a task, knowing my own incompetency. May I beg, Rev. Fr President, that you will assist me by your advice, that you will offer your prayers to the Throne of Grace in my behalf, begging that the Divine Will may be in all things accomplished in me. Perhaps you will have the goodness to favour me with a reply as early as you can. In the meantime, begging your blessing and a share in your prayers.

I remain,
 Rev. Fr President,
 Your obedt. servt. and dutiful subject,

WM MORRIS."

[Draft of answer at back].

Answer

" 16 October 1831.

DEAR REV. SIR,—As you have been elected by so good a Bishop, and one who for many years has been acquainted with you, first as fellow labourer in the mission, and afterwards as your own Bishop, what reason can there be for any one to doubt of the propriety of the choice made of you for the high office for which you have been selected; and that by the commission and authority of the Bishop of all Bishops. The portion of God's Vineyard over which you are about to be placed, is, I believe, the largest portion committed to any Christian Bishop; and as the work you have been appointed to is a work of much difficulty and requires you to quit your own country and to remove to an immense distance from those who are dear to you, it may well cause you to hesitate; still on the other hand, difficult as the work may be to which you are called, the grace of God and your own exertions will enable you to go through, and I will pray that you may have that aid. We shall feel your loss, but God's will be done. His glory and man's salvation is the aim of all of us, and be it on the south

side of the equator or on the north side, it is equally valuable; and on both sides the reward is certain. Wherefore go, and prosper!

"Poor Slater! I cannot but feel greatly for him. He was my first acquaintance among our Brethren when I came upon the mission. I lament his errors and his misfortunes as one that loves him. May you be more prosperous.

"That you may be successful in your endeavours to restore the Church of that distant island to peace; and that it may flourish under your Pastoral direction and good example I will not omit to pray, with best wishes for your safety and happiness, and with good hopes for the improvement of the *res Catholica* in that, as the Propaganda denominated it, *tam vasto Vicariatu*, and that your life may be long and crowned with much fruit and the blessings of the people of those extensive regions.

I remain,
Dear Rev. Sir,
Yours sincerely,

J(OHN) B(IRDSALL)."¹

The nature of the work Dr Morris was called to superintend and organise may best be realised by a glance at an official return of this period, signed by Bishop Slater, showing the number of parishes in the Island of Mauritius, their extent, population and other details, making it clear that if the labour imposed upon him was arduous, the harvest was plentiful, but that the labourers were few.

(Extracted from an official return to the Government, signed by Dr Slater).

" 31st December 1831.

Return of the Number of Churches, Livings, etc.

1. St Louis in Port Louis,—10 sq. miles. Pop 26,615. Right Rev. Dr Slater, Vic. Apostolic at £1,000 per annum and curate without salary. Baron Piccolomini, Archdeacon at £200 per annum. Assistant Clergy: Abbés Déroulède, Peyronet, Bonavita, Migliori, Clavesani, at £200 per annum each; Pierantoni, and Angelesque, at £150 each per annum; one parsonage house; a glebe attended with an expense

¹ D. A., H 335.

for the nourishment and clothing of the blacks beyond the produce of their labour of at least £100 per annum; Church accommodates 1,500; none generally attending; no subsidiary chapel; 1 dissenting place of worship attended by about 60; Dr Slater is allowed £552 per annum for the common table of the V. A. and asst. clergy of Port Louis, the said sum being taken from the produce of voluntary labour of the clergy over which Govt. has no right of control.

2. St François at Pamplemousse.—146 sq. miles; Pop. 22,578; Baron Piccolomini, Archdeacon. Rev. B. de Colyar, curate at £200 per annum; one parsonage house; no glebe; Church seats about 800; attendance 200; 1 dissenting Chapel at Rivière au Rampart; contains about 120; little frequented.

3. St Julien at Flacq.—114 sq. miles; Pop. 11,894; Rev. L. Spain, curate at £200 per annum; 1 parsonage house; no glebe; Church seats 80; attendance 80; a subsidiary chapel, in a dilapidated state, contains about 300; attendance 200.

4. Notre Dame at Gd. Port.—112 sq. miles; Pop. 9,031; vacant; salary £200 per annum; Abbé Pierantoni officiates as desservant; parsonage; no glebe; chapel at Mahebourg; seats 300; attendance about 400 including garrison.

5. St Pierre-es-liens, Moka.—68 sq. miles; vacant; salary £200 per annum; Abbé Peyronet officiating as desservant; parsonage; no glebe; chapel at Moka seats 400; attendance 100.

6. Black River.—No Church nor Chapel nor any convenience whatever for divine service."¹

The consecration of Dr Morris took place on 5th February 1832, at St Edmund's College, Old Hall, Ware. Dr Bramston, the Vicar Apostolic of the London District was the consecrating prelate, assisted by his coadjutor, Bishop Gradwell, and Dr Baines, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, who also preached. The MS. of the sermon is in the Downside Archives.

Bishop Morris had much to do between the date of his consecration and the time when he finally set sail for his Mission; while conducting his negotiations with Government and transacting his other affairs, especially trying to collect

¹ *D. A.*, H 387.

money, he continued to help the Abbé Voyaux in Chelsea, and for many months his signature occurs in the Baptismal Register as Bishop of Troy—the title of the See *in partibus infidelium* which he held till his death, and by which he was so well known in London in after years.

“He had to deal with the Colonial Office,” writes Abbot Gasquet, in his Memoir of the Bishop in the *Downside Review*,¹ “at the head of which was Lord Goderich, and various and prolonged were the negotiations and altercations he had with the Secretary and Office respecting Church matters in the Mauritius. It was long before he could effect anything, and the little he at last obtained was only extorted by constant ‘dunning’ and uninterrupted perseverance. His predecessor had enjoyed a salary from Government of £1,000 a year, but Bishop Morris was to receive only £720. The rest was to be the retiring pension of Bishop Slater, and on his death (which took place before he had touched a penny of his pension), the sum was not to be added to the Bishop’s salary. Bishop Morris knew that the Catholics of the Mauritius were poor, that churches had to be built and schools provided, and although he would have preferred in some respects to have gone out a free man, he thought it his duty to stand out for what he could get. He next applied for passage-money and salaries for as many priests as he could persuade to go out with him. This, also, Government refused. He was at liberty to take out as many priests as he liked, but no salaries could be guaranteed to them. As to passage-money, there was no fund at their disposal for this purpose, and all they could undertake to do was to *recommend* the Colonial Treasury to repay the cost of passage out. ‘This was heavy,’ says Bishop Morris, ‘for a man who was a pauper, and possessed not one disposable shilling; and such was literally my case.’”

This survey of the situation he was called upon to face will serve as a key to the following correspondence.

Dr Morris to Dr Birdsall,

“ 1, Whiteheads Grove, Chelsea.
26th April, 1832.

VERY REV. AND DEAR FRIEND,—I had indulged the hope

¹ Vol. I. p. 334.

that long before this, I should have had the pleasure of finding my way to, and seeing you at Cheltenham; but so many things are to be done, and the expense of journeying more than I can afford, that I have been obliged to relinquish the idea of going to Cheltenham, and must content myself, for the present at least, with writing . . . Government will do nothing for me, save pay my passage out . . . My intention in writing. . . is to see if you can help, aid, or assist me in the carrying into effect the laborious and difficult task now imposed upon me. *Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci*, I may truly say of that portion of the world committed to my spiritual superintendence; and to find able and efficient labourers is, I now see, no very easy job; indeed, considering what is required in the person who will offer himself a victim for the salvation of others in those distant parts, it is next to impossible to meet with many. For the permission which you have given to Mr Clifford to accompany [me] out, I feel very grateful and fondly hope that with the blessing of divine Providence he will prove a very useful and edifying missionary. Nothing would certainly give me more pleasure, or fill me with more confidence, or cause me to anticipate final success, half so much, as the thought, that I could find sufficient numbers among the English Benedictine Body, willing to undertake the painful duty, and who at the same time could be spared from this country. Then I should know the value of the services of each individual, from the school he was brought up in and the lessons which he must have imbibed. Why could not a colony of English Benedictines be established at the Mauritius to exercise those functions and duties there which are part and parcel of their institute here? Oh, what good might they not effect! what souls might they not rescue from the jaws of ruin and destruction: what crowns purchase for themselves hereafter whilst at the same time they were spreading far and wide the light of the Gospel, illuminating those who *in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent*. I am fully sensible of the paucity of the members in this country, and that there are not in reality so many as are absolutely wanted. But I have been led to hope that Mr Ullathorne who was, or is now at Ampleforth might wish to labour in the other Hemisphere, if he could be spared from this. I have not applied about, or written to him on the subject; nor should I think it prudent or just to name it to him, till I could know whether you would allow him, in the event of his wishing it, to put

that wish into execution. Mr Towers offered me Mr——, but from what I have heard in a variety of quarters of his past conduct, I do not think I should be acting the honest part towards the Colony in taking such a man to a place where, unhappily, the clergy are not in the odour of sanctity, and where religion is often reviled and contemned by reason of the faults of its ministers. But if Mr Ullathorne could be spared and he were willing to go, I should be happy in ranking [him] among my future co-labourers. Perhaps you will be kind enough to let me know what you think upon the subject, as also, if you can suggest any others who may be willing to promote the honour and glory of God by their zealous toils in the Indian Ocean, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land. *Heu quanta messis!* It now, also, occurs to me to enquire whether I am to consider Mr Spain, Mr Collyer, Mr Clifford now destined [to] the missions under my care as my subjects, or the subjects of the superiors of the Houses to which they belong; the subjects of yourself immediately as President or under the control of the Provincial of either Province, as revocable at will? It is a subject I have long considered, but as yet have never been able to come to any conclusion myself, or learn one from anyone else. Mr Edward Clifford will, I find, be in town on Thursday the 3rd of May to make preparation for the voyage, etc., for I have determined upon quitting England much sooner than at first was my intention. I am, therefore, anxious to hear from you. Since I began this letter I have been agreeably surprised by the arrival of the curé of Port Louis from the Mauritius: he only reached London on Tuesday: from him I have heard much that hurts and distresses me: the great want of clergy in the Island, the almost total indifference to religion: the eternal quarrellings between the Governor and Bishop; Bishop and churchwardens; the want of confidence in his Lordship on the part of the clergy, *cum multis aliis*. What a prospect is before me! *Sed in Domino confido*. As yet I have been unable to settle any[thing] definitely with the Colonial Secretary here: they cry out sadly against expenditure. I must apologise for this hurried scrawl, but I am most anxious to hear from you, and learn your opinion, as well as assure you that go where I may, or be my situation what it may, you will ever find in me an attached and affectionate confrere and devoted servant in J. C.

✠ WM. P. MORRIS."

[Draft of Dr Birdsall's reply].

" 27th April, 1832.

Respecting the footing on which our Congregation regards our Brethren in your Lordship's Vicariate to stand, I believe it is that they stand on exactly the same as those who are placed in Episcopal missions in England: that they do not claim to be stationary in their place any longer than *pro beneplacito Episcopi*, on the one hand, and that they are also revocable *pro beneplacito* of their regular superior on the other. That no transfer of obedience is the consequence of such a position more than in England, and that their obligations consequent on their vows made at their profession whether in reference to their duties or subjection to regular superiors on their side; or to the power of claiming their obedience on the side of their superiors are not essentially changed by their giving their services to that distant country.

" In case your Lordship take another view of this matter, it would be desirable that some correspondence with the Prior and Community of Downside be had on the subject, that a clear understanding on that point may be had before your Lordship sets out. Any effects that our confreres in the Mauritius may die possessed of I know the late Prior of Downside considered to be the property of the house of each one's profession.

[Probably added later]. "N. B.—This subject came before the President suddenly: had he had time to reflect he would have noticed that as the Mauritius was not a part of either of our Provinces, the Benedictines at the Mauritius are immediately under the President."¹

The following letter of Father Brown of Downside to the Provincial of the South, Father Deday, together with Dr Morris's letter just quoted, brings before the reader the first mention of one of Australia's earliest apostles, Dr Ullathorne. As plans crystallised into shape, it will be seen that Bishop Morris did not take him with himself to the Mauritius, but sent him as his own representative to that part of his vineyard which he could have little hope of visiting in his own person for a long time to come, if ever.

¹ D. A., H 434.

" 1st May 1832.

. . . Morris goes earlier than he at first proposed, although we cannot learn when. Clifford, you probably know has obtained leave to join him. Ullathorne has also got permission, but has not yet concluded his arrangement. Now I have my misgivings about the latter's going, I mean whether we ought to allow it, as he would I think be a very useful missionary in England; and I therefore send you the information in order that, if you wish to have him, you may lose no time in preventing the conclusion of his agreement, or even rescinding it. Though Mr Towers has been very dissatisfied with him, yet there is much said by Ullathorne in his own defence, and I do not at all apprehend that he would give trouble either here or on the mission."¹

Immediately on the departure of Dr Slater from the Island of Mauritius, a document shows that the Governor took the strange step of appointing Father Spain to the post of Curé of Port Louis, and, as it would seem, constituting him a sort of Vicar-Capitular to tide over the period of interregnum: in itself an unwarrantable interference, but no doubt done with the best of intentions, and in ignorance of ecclesiastical procedure.

"Chief Secretary's Office, Port Louis,
14th June 1832.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you that consequent on the departure of the Reverend Doctor Slater, Vicar Apostolic and Curé of Port Louis, His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint you to the place and functions of the latter office, until further orders, or until the arrival of the Reverend Dr. Morris, who may be shortly expected. The Abbé Déroulède will continue¹ in charge of the parish of Flacq, and for the present the abstracts of the Roman Catholic Clergy will be certified by you as officiating Curé of Port Louis.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servant,

GEO. L. DUCK,
Chief Secretary to Governor.

To the Abbé Spain, Port Louis."²

¹ *D. A.*, H 437.

² *Ibid.*, H 449.

Dr Morris, however, had not even left England at that period, nor did he do so till October. A letter of 9th October 1832, from Father Scott to Father Deday, conveys the news of his departure, some details connected with Dr Slater's flight from the Mauritius, and a reference to Dr Polding of interest only on account of being in connection with Australia's first bishop.

"Downside College, Bath.
9th October 1832.

. . . Mr Polding went to London on Sunday evening. He had not then, and could not make up his mind whether or not he would accept the Madras mitre. He was bewildered beyond description, and knew not what to do. His earnest wish is to follow the call of Heaven, but from the opposite advice given him, he is a prey to doubt and perplexity. If we hear from him to-day I will mention it. . . .

. . . No letter from Mr Polding; but there is one to him from Dr Morris written from Portsmouth, where he is weather bound. He had just seen a Captain Sinclair of the Navy who told him that on hearing of the recall of Dr Slater, his creditors came upon him *en masse*: he escaped them and got out to sea incog., where after remaining three days, his spirits failed him and he sunk, says Morris, to *rise no more*. This means of course that he is dead, but whether by drowning or by natural causes, is yet to be known. R.I.P."¹

In connection with this appointment of Father Spain as temporary superior—at least as regards official relations with the civil authorities, for that is all that it really amounted to, the following extract from a letter written by him to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda may be of interest. It is dated 9th November 1832, and after giving particulars as to the flight and death of Dr Slater, and explaining the sad state of ecclesiastical affairs in the Mauritius, the writer ventures to suggest certain remedies:

" . . . Si maintenant il m'était permis de soumettre à la Sainte Congrégation quelques observations sur les moyens que me suggère pour rétablir le bon ordre une expérience de douze ans dans ce pays, j'oserai supplier votre Eminence

¹ D. A., H 483.

de faire hâter le plus possible l'arrivée du nouveau Supérieur. Il seroit indispensable qu'il fut accompagné de quelques ecclésiastiques prudents et zélés et dont le désintéressement surtout, fut à l'abri de tout soupçon. Le secours de quelques nouveaux ecclésiastiques parvit être (d'après les nouvelles que je viens d'apprendre) autant et même plus urgent pour subvenir aux besoins et remédier aux contentions qui existent dans la mission si vaste et si intéressante de la Nouvelle Hollande. . . ."¹

Here is a plain allusion to the troubles Dr Ullathorne was travelling to face and to overcome, which he had learnt from various letters sent from Australia to Dr Slater. Dr Morris, actually on his way when that letter was penned, landed in the Mauritius on 22nd January, 1833, to face the special difficulties of his new charge.

"His predecessor," says Abbot Gasquet,² "had left him a large legacy of misunderstandings between bishop and clergy, and bishop and people, besides the association with a bishop's name of very considerable debts incurred. On his arrival, Dr Morris found that the Bishop's house had been stripped of its furniture by the creditors of Dr Slater, and he had to buy back every table, chair, and bedstead in the place. The clergy were few, and some of these were hardly such as would have been employed by any bishop who could make his own choice." Religion was at a very low ebb, nine-tenths of the 100,000 inhabitants were only nominal Catholics, there were only two schools, one Protestant, the other supported by the Government where children of all religions mixed together without any moral control. Bishop Morris himself resided in Port Louis, and with one priest, did the work of a simple missionary for some 30,000 Catholics. This survey will enable the reader to realise that his hands were full with home-work and cares, and that he could hardly grasp the difficulties of places thousands of miles away. This much must be said in extenuation of his apparent neglect of both the Cape and

¹ *D. A.*, H 496.

² *Downside Review*, I 335.

New Holland missions. A few words as to his subsequent fate as Bishop in the Mauritius, and Dr Morris, so far as this narrative is concerned, retires to his work in England which occupied the last thirty years of his life.

One of his priests in the Mauritius, a Corsican by birth, was such a notoriously scandalous man, that at last, after he had challenged a gentleman to a duel, the Bishop was constrained to suspend him and to denounce him to the Governor, who after enquiry expelled him from the Colony. This individual swore he would be revenged on Dr Morris. He went to Rome, and, by distorting facts, made the authorities of the Propaganda believe that the Bishop was neglecting his work, leading a worldly life and giving scandal by his manner of life. Representing himself as the Agent of the Clergy of the Mauritius, he, as an Italian, won the ear of the authorities, who sent Dr Morris orders to vindicate his character from these charges. This he at once did, and forwarded a document signed by all his priests repudiating the statement of the banished priest that he was their agent, a testimony of regard from the Governor, and the notes taken at the trial of his traducer. This bundle of papers was forwarded to one of the French bishops who was to take and present the various documents to Propaganda, but somehow they were mislaid and never reached their destination. Some years afterwards, when too late, they were found amongst the French prelate's papers, after his death.

The Propaganda having waited in vain for any reply to their demand for an explanation of the charges brought against him, sent Dr Morris a peremptory command to repair to Rome. Towards the end of 1840 he reached that city, when, owing to the unfortunate loss of the documents which would have triumphantly repelled the accusations made against him, he found that his case had been already settled, and he acquiesced in the decision of Propaganda cancelling his powers, without endeavouring further to justify himself. He retired to England, and proved of the utmost service, practically as an auxiliary bishop, to Cardinal Wiseman

and to Archbishop (afterwards Cardinal) Manning, till his death on 18th February, 1872.

Bishop Morris's connection with Australia, being but slight, will be best dealt with when Dr Ullathorne's work in New South Wales comes under review, together with the reports he made to his ecclesiastical superior. Further reference to it in this place, would therefore be superfluous; but the above short sketch will serve to enlist the sympathies of all Australians with their second Bishop, whose zeal and love of souls would naturally have led him to do much for all under his spiritual care, had adverse circumstances not defeated his own high ideals and equally high resolves.

CHAPTER IV

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—TILL IT BECAME A SEPARATE DIOCESE

FATHER PHILIP CONOLLY, the senior of the two priests who went out to Australia in 1820, found so intractable a colleague in Father Therry, that the two were quickly at cross purposes. Father Therry was sent by him to look after the Catholics in Van Diemen's land ; but strong gales drove the ship in which he was travelling back to Sydney. On his return, by some arrangement the details of which have not come down to us, the two priests exchanged rôles, and Father Therry remained, perhaps as the more forceful of the two, and Father Conolly betook himself to Van Diemen's Land, in 1821, and, as Father Ullathorne says, "remained there without seeing a brother priest till 1833."¹ New South Wales was not extensive enough for both to work without coming into collision, with disedifying results : henceforth each could be supreme in his own domain, and peace would be secured by a barrier of 120 miles of sea.

Dean Kenny² says Father Conolly "was a man of no small ability and attainments ; but he had become rather antiquated in his manners, on account of being so long by himself. He was a native of the North of Ireland, very witty and full of dry humour and caustic remarks, and had often shown great adroitness in his correspondence with those in authority." He then gives a singular story on the evidence of Mr C. Fitzpatrick, in regard to a convert of his, named Pierce. This man escaped from Macquarie Harbour penal settlement, with six comrades ; losing their way in the bush, they were reduced

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 63.

² *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, p. 67.

to the last extremity by hunger. Pierce killed and eat the others, then gave himself up, and was sent back to Macquarie Harbour. Thence he again escaped with one comrade whom he also killed and ate, and being again taken was condemned to death. Father Conolly attended him and got from him the details of his life, which he wrote down in Irish. The story goes on to say that Father Conolly "read it on the scaffold, folding up the paper and putting it in his pocket," but why he should have done this seems inexplicable; then "Governor Phillip, who thought Father Conolly rather a simple kind of man, sent his orderly with the request to favour him with the account of Pierce's life. The priest sent it, but neither the Governor nor any of the officials 'could make it out.' They thought it was Hebrew, and had to send for Father Conolly to translate it. This was a standing joke ever afterwards against the Governor, who had thought very little of the attainments of the humble priest." We doubt the story, but give it for what it is worth.

In Van Diemen's Land, Father Conolly selected Hobart Town as his headquarters, then, though the capital, but a small township; but from time to time he visited Launceston, a still smaller settlement on the other side of the island; and also called occasionally on the scattered settlers in the interior. The ship that took Father Ullathorne to New South Wales called at Hobart Town, giving him an opportunity of seeing for himself how matters were progressing there. Father Conolly, as senior priest, had much to tell his new Vicar General about the difficulties and dissensions that were endangering the progress of the Church in New South Wales; but while he could plainly see the mote in his brother's eye, he was blind to the beam in his own. Father Ullathorne, however, was not slow to discern it; but while cautious in his statements for the general public in his pamphlet *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, in his Report to Propaganda, made in 1837, he thus describes what he learnt about the state of the Church in Van Diemen's Land, and its first missionary. It is not altogether an edifying story.

"Van Diemen's Land is to the south of Australia, separated from it by Bass' Straits, 120 miles wide. Its length is 210 miles from N. to S. and 150 miles from E. to W., and is about the area of Ireland. It was annexed by Great Britain in 1803, but no establishment was made there till 1821, when it became a penal settlement; and from that time a great number of free settlers entered the country. The white population is not less than 45,000. Of these the number of convicts in 1835, was 17,919, of whom 2195 were women—a disparity of sexes resulting, as in New South Wales, in most terrible moral consequences. There are two townships of any size: Hobart Town, a seaport and the capital, with 13,000 inhabitants; and Launceston, also a seaport, on the opposite side with a population of 7000. There are many lesser townships scattered about, and a population rapidly increasing, extending all over the country. The Catholics number about 6000, but the Catholic convicts are comparatively few, owing to the fact that for the last twelve years no Irish have been sent here. The Governor, Colonel Arthur, is a bigoted Protestant doing all he could to oppress and stamp out Catholicism: this was made the easier by the ill-feeling existing between the Catholics, and their only pastor, the Rev. Mr Conolly. He had left New South Wales in 1821 and settled in Hobart Town and obtained a grant of eight acres on the outskirts of the town, and there built a poor wooden hut as a chapel: all granted by Government.

"On my way to New South Wales I called at Hobart Town in the beginning of 1833, and found this hut in a terrible state of neglect. Father Conolly was away at Launceston, and the altar was covered with dirt and dust; the Chalice was on the altar dirty and black, and the Sanctuary was the receptacle of old books, clothes, and household utensils. Religion was in a state of complete decline: the sick were rarely visited, and only when *in extremis*. Two or three families only frequented the Sacraments; the poor were treated with such harshness that they dared not approach their pastor. Father Conolly spent most of his time in the society of Protestants, and especially with two Protestant ministers who were notorious drunkards. As my authority was limited to New South Wales, I could do nothing with respect to Van Diemen's Land except to grieve over its hapless neglected condition, and to call Father Conolly's attention to it. I had two interviews with the Governor and induced him to see the necessity of doing

something for the Catholics, particularly of providing for more priests.”¹

Elsewhere he thus describes the situation, with added details. “A state of things grew up under his *régime* which gave rise to many complaints. I found the Chapel in a most disgraceful state, though the house was decent. Built of boards with the Government broad arrow on them, the floor had never been laid down, but consisted of loose planks, with their edges curled by the heat, and sharp as well as loose under the knees of the people. There was a coating of rough plaster on the wall behind the altar, covered with a black glazed cotton all over filth, that had hung there ever since the death of George IV. The altar, a framework of wood, had a similar black glazed cotton for the frontal, and the dirty altar-cloths were covered with stains. The space between the two ends of the altar and the side walls were refuge holes for all kinds of rubbish, such as old hats, buckets, mops and brooms. There were no steps to the altar, but the same loose planks that formed the entire floor, and no seats for the people. The chalice and ciborium were tarnished as black as ink.”²

This sad and disgraceful state of things must be grasped by those who wish to understand all the difficulties and setbacks endured by the infant Church in Australasia. In this instance it is entirely due to the unworthiness of the man to whom all should have been able to look up as the model of every Christian virtue. Knowing what the reader now does as to the character of this worthless missionary, the following two letters addressed by him to Bishop Morris can the better tell their tale, more especially in respect to the objections he had the impertinence to raise against Father Ullathorne's appointment as Vicar General.

“Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land.

Duplicate.

16th August, 1833.

MY DEAR LORD,—The *Susanna* proceeding from Launceston for the Mauritius affords me the desired opportunity

¹ *D. A.*, J 401.

² *Autobiography*, p. 63.

of acknowledging the receipt of your letter delivered me by the Rev. Mr Ullathorne. Your Lordship will pardon me when I state that nothing ever surprised me more than the appointment of so young a man to be Vicar General in N. S. Wales, unacquainted, as he is, with the habits and manners of the Irish who chiefly constitute the Catholic population in the Colony. When the British Government had, in the first instance, sanctioned the appointment of R. C. Chaplains in N. S. Wales and Van Diemen's Land, Ireland was the place where missionaries were sought for. I respectfully submit it is there they ought still to be sought for. Many persons in N. S. Wales cannot make their confessions but in Irish. What can an English priest do in such cases? The appointment of Vicar General, especially for N. S. Wales, without any report received from me on the state of that mission or any fault found with me is what I have not yet been able to comprehend. If my residence in Van Diemen's Land formed any part of your reasons for making this appointment, that residence is attributable to the indecision of your predecessor. Had he acted on the repeated statements and suggestions, made by me, the scandalous schisms that took place at Sydney would have been prevented, and I should have returned to N. S. Wales as I always intended. But, poor man! (I deeply lament his case) the vexations and perplexities in which he was involved did not allow him properly to attend to my representations.

"The white population of Van Diemen's Land is nearly 30,000. The proportion of Catholics is very considerable, and, at this time, rapidly increasing by the great influx of emigrants. To state anything near the exact proportion is quite impossible, the people are so scattered over the Island. Between one fourth and one fifth is perhaps the ratio. Hobart Town and Launceston on opposite sides of the Island are the principal towns. There ought to be a priest in each of these, as well as one occasionally to visit the settlements in the interior. As there is no priest in the Colony but myself (which it appears your Lordship was not aware of when you addressed me), the people cannot be properly attended to, separated as the settlements are over the face of a country nearly as large as Ireland. Each chaplain ought to be allowed a salary of, at least, £200 a year. Mine is but £100, yet I have not asked for any fees, on any occasion, here or in N. S. Wales. Though very civil to me individually, in many instances,

the present Lt. Governor has strong prejudices against the Catholic religion which he candidly avowed to me. It is not, therefore, through him application can be made for more priests. He has given, on the part of Government, Chapel and burying ground in this town and Launceston, garden ground, etc. I have hopes of getting assistance from him yet to build a Chapel, a thing much wanted here: hitherto my applications to him have been unsuccessful.

"The obligation of abstinence from flesh meat on Saturdays being removed in Ireland as well as certain Holy days abrogated, it was my intention on my arrival in Sydney, (which I was about visiting when Mr Ullathorne arrived), where I could learn the particulars of this matter to introduce that discipline into these Colonies as Dr Slater had arranged with me to follow the discipline of the Irish Church. I mentioned this to Mr Ullathorne, and requested him to ascertain the regulation exactly from the Rev. Mr M^cEncroe, that it might be published in N. S. Wales and Van Diemen's land on the same day. Having reached Sydney he thought better to decline until he should hear from your Lordship. For the sake of uniformity of discipline in both Colonies, I have not published the regulation here nor shall I for the same reason, until approved by you. Unquestionably, the sooner this regulation is adopted the better, for the commission of many sins will be thereby prevented.

"Lest you might for a moment suppose from what I have stated in this letter about the appointment of a Vicar General in N. S. Wales, that I expressed any dissatisfaction to Mr Ullathorne himself, I beg to assure you that, far from that, I did everything I could to give him the best information in my power for his guidance in that Colony. Being at Launceston on his arrival here, I was very glad I had returned in time to see him previous to his departure. Persuaded as I am that had you known how I stood circumstanced relative to the mission in N. S. Wales you would not have placed another there instead of me, I do expect, in justice to myself, you will revoke the appointment.

"I feel very desirous to have the pleasure of seeing you—much good would be the result. To enable me to do so (before you take any steps to supply Van Diemen's Land or N. S. Wales with more priests), I earnestly request you will be pleased to direct either the Rev. Mr M^cEncroe or the Rev.

Mr Dowling, both in N. S. Wales, to proceed for some time to Van Diemen's Land.

I remain,

My dear Lord,

With sincere respect,

Your obedient servant,

P. CONOLLY.

The Right Reverend Doctor Morris."¹

"Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land,

16th September 1833.

MY DEAR LORD,—On the 16th ult., I had the honour of addressing your Lordship a letter of which the annexed is a copy. I do myself the pleasure of forwarding you by this conveyance (*per Atlas*) one Launceston and two Hobart Town newspapers.

"The encouragement to emigrate given Chelsea pensioners by the Home Government, has thrown a swarm of that class on this community. But few of them know how to work. Having commuted their pensions they are penniless, in a condition infinitely worse than they were at home, and a burthen on this Colony. There is great outcry here against the injurious effects of the commutation of their pensions.

"So many have arrived here of late from Ireland and England, our Congregation is very considerably increased. The pleasure thus afforded is the more agreeable on account of several very respectable persons being amongst the number. Most of them have been egregiously disappointed through false prospects shamefully held out by self interested designing men—ship owners or their agents.

"I trust I shall be able in my next letter to inform your Lordship that the Lt. Governor will, on the part of Government, afford assistance towards building a Chapel here. He has lately given a salary of fifty pounds a year to the Catholic Schoolmaster. Many Protestant gentlemen will subscribe liberally to build our Chapel. One, a particular friend of mine, told me he would [give] one hundred pounds.

"Your Lordship will oblige me much by favouring me with a copy in the original Latin, of the Encyclical Letter of His Holiness Pope Gregory the sixteenth, dated Rome, 15th

¹ *D. A.*, I 85.

August 1832. I conclude from a translation I have seen that it is an admirable letter.

I remain,

My dear Lord,

With sincere respect,

Your obedient servant,

P. CONOLLY.

The Right Reverend Doctor Morris."¹

Father Ullathorne states in his Report to Propaganda in 1837, that while in Sydney, he continued to receive complaints against Father Conolly, and that, finally, the people in Hobart Town were driven to such a point of exasperation, that some of them called a public meeting, whereat resolutions of protest were passed, a sum of money was collected, and the Governor was actually approached with the request to take charge of it and transmit it to England for the purpose of paying therewith the passage out of a more suitable and worthy priest. This statement receives confirmation from an unexpected source. On the very same day letters were written by both parties to the dispute, to wit, Father Conolly and the aggrieved parishioners, to the Right Rev. Dr Bramston, Vicar Apostolic of the London District. Why they should have both appealed to this venerable prelate, seeing they knew that their Vicar Apostolic was Dr Morris, is a mystery. However, Dr Bramston, knowing he had no jurisdiction in the matter, forwarded the two petitions or letters to the only person competent to deal with them in the first instance—to Dr Morris; found amongst his papers, they now help to shed light on the condition of affairs, and may suitably find a place here.

"Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land.

8th February 1834.

The Right Reverend Dr Bramston.

MY DEAR LORD,—A spirit of discord having lately broken out here, I feel it incumbent upon me to address your Lord-

¹ *D. A.*, I 100.

ship and transmit you the annexed papers [*wanting*] which will show the nature of a conspiracy entered into against me, by certain individuals, such as are described in my remarks to the Lieut. Governor on their proceedings.

"When the mixture of characters, of which the community in Van Diemen's Land is constituted, is considered, there is nothing surprising in hearing of attacks made upon any respectable person in it; for, the depraved wish to bring as many as possible down to their own level. I am not, however, under apprehension of falling, in any respect, in the estimation of those whose good opinion is of any worth, by the outcry so maliciously attempted to be raised against me. Thinking the meeting (got up as stated in the paper marked No. 2), was for some laudable purpose, four or five respectable Protestants attended. Amongst these the Solicitor General, who spoke in strong terms against their unwarrantable and unjust proceedings. He had the good fortune to escape without suffering personal violence, which some of the profligates assembled were desirous to inflict on him. The Resolutions are so libellous they did not venture to publish the whole of them, though one newspaper is edited by a notorious character (not in name a Catholic) who took a prominent part at the meeting; nor did they publish the names of the individuals composing their committee. What these committee-men are, will be seen in the paper, No. 2.

"At an interview yesterday with His Excellency the Lieut. Governor, he agreed with me in the object and character of this meeting; said he would forward the Resolutions and my remarks to the Secretary of State, accompanied with an expression of his opinion of my inoffensive conduct, and the impropriety of sending a priest here on such an application. If your Lordship will be pleased to call at the Secretary of State's Office you will be able to see his despatch, which usage would not allow him to give me an extract from, that I might forward it with this letter.

"Though Lieut. Governor Arthur entertains prejudices against the Catholic Religion, I must say that to me individually he has been substantially civil; yet I have not hitherto been able to obtain assistance from him, on the part of Government, to build a chapel. He wishes to have directions on that matter from the Secretary of State. Until such assistance be given I do not intend to open any subscription beyond what may be collected on Sundays in the Congregation.

"The population of Van Diemen's Land is estimated at

32,000 souls. Last year it was under 28,000. Hobart Town and Launceston form two considerable towns, containing a very large portion of the inhabitants. The rest are scattered here and there through the different settlements in the interior. There are several Catholics amongst them; it is impossible to say in what proportion.

"Our Community has lost a most excellent exemplary man, and I, an esteemed friend, in the death, lately, of Lieut. Robertson of the 70th Regt. Bengal Native Infantry. He retired from the army and settled here. Such a man is but rarely to be met with. I beg you will present my respects to the Rev. Mr Tuite.

I have the honour to be,
 My dear Lord,
 Yours respectfully,

P. CONOLLY."

Mr J. Haskett to Dr Bramston.

"Van Diemen's Land. Hobart Town,
 8th Feby. 1834.

To the Right Reverend Dr Branscomb (*sic*)
 Bishop of London.

MY LORD,—I am instructed by a Committee, elected by a most numerous Catholic meeting, held in Hobart Town, to apply to your Lordship, for additional clerical assistance. As the education of our youth has been almost entirely neglected, the meeting could not but deplore the supineness of the present Incumbent. This gentleman has therefore thought proper to use his endeavours with the Local Government to prevent our succeeding in our attempt. In answer to our application, he only attacks the character of our committee, and even, my Lord, should he succeed in impressing your Lordship's [mind] with our irreligion, I trust your Lordship's enlightened mind will at once perceive the necessity of more religious instruction!

"I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that we have forwarded to the Right Honourable the Secretary for the Colonies, one hundred pounds, with a respectful request that he will appropriate that sum to the equipment of the gentleman who may undertake the mission. There are about 4000 Roman Catholics in this Island, some of whom do not see the clergyman once a year; there is not a single Catholic school in the entire Colony; and, our youth exposed to destruction by the want of religious impressions,

the more essential, as their infant ears are assailed by most corrupt language, naturally to be expected in a Penal Settlement!

"I beg to trespass upon your Lordship to refer to the following gentlemen, should your Lordship entertain a doubt of the sincerity of the writer :

Daniel O'Connell, Esqr., M.P. of Dublin.

Daniel Callaghan, Esqr., M.P. of Cork.

Herbert Baldwin, Esqr., M.P. of Cork, and

Richard Sullivan, Esqr., M.P. of Kilkenny, my brother-in-law.

"These gentlemen will remove any impression which the Reverend Incumbent might have made upon your Lordship, who, having tasted the sweets of monopoly, having accumulated a large fortune, is not disposed, as yet, to give up his happy situation!

"I implore your Lordship, in the name of our holy religion, to exert your Lordship's high influence, in forwarding to us an exemplary divine, who will be qualified to educate our children, now exposed to the destruction of the devouring enemy, without one imparted moral impression! I have the honour to be your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JAMES HASKETT, Chairman."

Cover Addressed.—To the Roman Catholic Bishop of London.

Endorsed.—Hobart Town. Petition for Priest.¹

Father Conolly did not rest content, however, with a protest addressed to a Bishop at the other side of the globe; he issued a writ for libel against one of his parishioners. Thereupon ensued a public scandal, and Father Conolly wrote to Father Ullathorne asking him to send a priest to Van Diemen's Land temporarily. Instead of adopting that course, however, Father Ullathorne proceeded there himself, staying, as he says, a fortnight, hoping to act as mediator and peace-maker, and endeavoured to make the laity see the error of thus openly quarrelling with their pastor. He had sorrowfully to admit that he found the laymen far readier to make peace than was the priest, who persisted in his old reprehensible ways. It was clear, moreover,

¹ *D. A.*, I 174.

to Father Ullathorne, that the lamentable breach between priest and people was being fomented by Colonel Arthur, the Governor. Father Ullathorne then wrote at length to Dr Morris giving him full particulars of these deplorable occurrences. Dr Morris replied, informing him that he had applied to England for another priest for Van Diemen's Land; but up to the time of writing he had not yet arrived.

Father Ullathorne wisely said as little as possible in writing for the public. With the knowledge of the fuller information supplied by him to Propaganda we can read between the lines. Thus, in his pamphlet *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, he says :

“ Van Diemen's Land has been visited by our good Bishop [Polding] on his way. Every effort, which a short time would permit, was made to instruct and reclaim the people. Numbers embraced the occasion. The foundation of a Church was laid at Richmond; a poor school established at Hobart Town. Circumstances, then uncontrollable, alone prevented the commencement of a Church in this latter place, for its 2,000 Catholics; the Rev. Mr Cotham remained in the Colony for their assistance. The Bishop in vain applied to the Governor, in vain urged the justice and expediency of supporting a proper number of clergymen and of schools. The 2,000 Catholics of Launceston, and those dispersed over the surface of the country, from that day to this, have lived and died without either religious aid for themselves, or instruction for their children.”¹

What is here described in short, is more fully explained in the Report to Propaganda.

Father Ullathorne pursues his account from this time till 1837 as follows. When, towards the end of 1835, Dr Polding reached Hobart Town from England on his way to Sydney, he was received by the Governor with every mark of honour. Dr Polding found things just as Father Ullathorne had described : Father Conolly pursuing his accustomed life : the people wholly neglected. Owing, however to the

¹ p. 13.

existing dissension between pastor and people, and in order to maintain the principle of authority, Dr Polding treated Father Conolly before the people with great consideration and mildness, while in private strongly remonstrating with him, ordering him to instruct and visit his flock, enjoining on him the necessity of urging them to frequent the Sacraments, and of visiting the prisons and hospitals, etc.

From a diary of the long voyage out to the Antipodes of Dr Polding and his party, by one of them¹ we learn that the *Oriental* arrived at Hobart Town on 6th August 1835, Dr Polding sent Rev. Mr Corcoran and Br B. Sumner, O.S.B. ashore with a letter to Father Conolly. The diarist says Father Corcoran and his companion on their return to the ship "gave us a long and lively description of Mr Conolly, his house, the chapel, the town and everything they saw." They saw, however, but the surface of things. Next day at 10 a.m., "Captain Forth came from the Governor's House to receive Dr Polding and take him on shore, where a carriage was in waiting. We shortly afterwards landed and walked up to the chapel to return thanks for our safe arrival and preservation from all dangers." The length of stay at Hobart Town was just one month. Dean Kenny² says :

"The Bishop was cordially received by the Catholic laity: and those of them who were in good circumstances and influential showed him every respect. . . . During the short stay of the Bishop a great deal was done for the spiritual well-being of the Catholics of Van Diemen's Land, alias Tasmania. He appointed the Rev. A. Cotham to the spiritual charge of the mission with Father Conolly, who had been there for so many years; he also established a Catholic school in Hobart Town and obtained from the Government £90 as a salary for the teacher. The first teacher was Mr John Kenny, [the writer himself], one of the ecclesiastical students who came with the Bishop to the Colony. At the request of Dr Polding he remained for six

¹ *D. A.*, I 506.

² *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, p. 70.

months to organise the school, and instruct the children in the Christian doctrine. Whilst the Bishop was in Tasmania, he laid the foundation stone of a church at Richmond, and visited various parts of the Colony, forming congregations and imparting new life into the Catholics, who rejoiced to see the day when they were visited by a bishop appointed by the successor of St Peter."

About Father Conolly and his church Dean Kenny was charitably reticent. All he cautiously says, is:—

"His place was situated a little above where the Catholic Cathedral now stands, and contiguous to his small church. This structure was certainly not creditable to the Catholics of Hobart Town—a small oblong rough building for divine worship, and the flooring boards were not laid. Still, it must be taken into consideration that the Catholics were few and not wealthy, and the Government was by no means liberal in those days."¹

When Dr Polding quitted the Island for Sydney, he left behind him as has already been stated a young Benedictine priest, Father James Ambrose Cotham, and a lay catechist, Mr Kenny, to attend to the spiritual wants of the sorely-trying Catholics. Father Cotham was born in Liverpool in 1810, and at an early age entered the school of St Edmund's, Douay, and in due course was admitted as a member of the community on 18th May 1829, making his solemn profession in 1830, being thus one of the early members of the newly resuscitated ancient Paris house, dedicated to St Edmund, King and Martyr, which had been dispersed at the French Revolution. Restored in 1823 through the instrumentality of the indomitable Dr Richard Marsh, O.S.B., a community was once more gathered together in the former home of St Gregory's at Douay, then happily settled at Downside. The old Douay house was made over to the homeless Paris Fathers, and here Father Cotham prepared himself for his arduous missionary career. The difficulties of his task may be gauged by what has already been recounted as regards

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Van Diemen's Land, and these were even harder for him in view of his inexperience, for his ordination had been hurried on to enable him to accompany Dr Polding. He was stationed at Launceston and Richmond from 1835 to 1844, in both of which towns he erected a church, presbytery, and schools. Thence he went to Hobart Town where he had charge of the Queen's Orphan Schools, the General Hospital, and the principal convict establishments in the vicinity. Having obtained eighteen months' leave of absence from the Government, he sailed for England in January 1857, and on the discontinuance of convict transportation to Tasmania, subsequent to his arrival in his native country, the Government granted him a retiring pension of £57 10s. per annum. In July 1852 he was appointed to the mission of Cheltenham, where he stayed till 1873, and while there built the present fine Church dedicated to St Gregory. In 1873 he retired from active work and spent three years in his monastery at Douay, and in 1876 went to the monastery of La Cava in Italy, where he stayed till 1878. In 1879 he resided at St Michael's, Belmont, Hereford, and towards the end of that year resumed active work, supplying the solitary little mission of Bonham, Wilts, till 1881. His health, however, was so broken by his early privations that he retired once more, and died at Belmont of a very painful cancer, on 1st May 1883.

After some six months experience of the arduous life of a missionary, this young priest had had time to form his impressions of his surroundings. Without other sources of information, we might be tempted to take his estimate of them as the exaggerated view of a novice, filled with zeal, but untempered by knowledge of the world, and the allowances such knowledge must urge us to make. Unfortunately, the evidence already before the reader must perforce cause us to accept his judgment about the shortcomings of Father Conolly as only too accurate. The experiences of bush travelling as they were seventy-five years ago are interesting as compared with the ease with which the same journeys could be made to-day and add largely to the interest

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of the report he made to Bishop Polding on 12th March 1836.

"Launceston,

Private.

12th of March 1836.

MY DEAR LORD.—I received your letter dated the 12th of February, this day, the feast of St Gregory the Great, a day of jubilee in our body universally, and particularly so to our kind friends of Downside. It is on the return of these festivals which we were wont to celebrate with religious joy in our College, that we think of the friends whom religion, education and a long habit of intercourse have endeared to us, with whom for years we formed a part in the circle on those occasions, but from whom we are now separated by an immeasurable ocean. Peace be to them!

I now write to you from the town of Launceston where I arrived this morning, after a rather tedious but somewhat romantic journey; for having left Oatlands, where I had stopped for the first night, at six o'clock the following morning, without having breakfasted, in taking a short cut across the country, through the bush, to Ross, I lost myself; and there being no human being visible, or within hearing to direct me in such a mishap, was wandering about high hills and deep valleys till half past four in the afternoon without food, save a little grass which I chewed to moisten my mouth, the heat being great, and my thirst almost intolerable. After a journey of upwards of 50 miles walking up steep hills and rocks where there was scarce any footing, pulling my horse after me, I came fortunately to a cart road which led me to a shepherd's hut, where both I and my good horse received refreshment; and I was happy to find myself within a mile and a half off the house of a friend. I moreover had another romantic adventure this last journey; for in Epping Forest betwixt Campbell Town and Perth, the rains having rendered some parts of the road impassable, I was compelled to go more into the bush and being overtaken by the night, was wandering about for some hours before I heard the friendly voice of a dog in answer to my repeated cooes. I am, however, now arrived quite safe, and just received your letter which had been sent after me from Hobart Town. I am in an Inn without any of kindred feeling around me; your letter, therefore, gave me great pleasure as assuring there was some one at no very great distance who felt an interest in my welfare.

"I say Mass here on the Sunday in a large store which

belongs to a Protestant; there is no place in which the people can assemble to prepare for the Sacraments. If there were another Priest in the country so that I could remain here for a month or two at a time, I would begin to build, and in the meantime instantly take a house, in which I would say prayers every day and give the people an opportunity of going to their duty; at present this is impracticable, living as I do at an Hotel, and my stay being necessarily so short; the people in Hobart Town will not admit the services of Mr Conolly, so that all the duty of the Confessional there devolves upon me, and, they all being in such a state of excitement, I cannot remain long away. I have not therefore administered the Sacraments to any here except the infirm; nor do I mean to do so until we can get a proper place for that purpose, where the people can attend without restraint, which would not be the case in a private house; indeed, there is no Catholic person's house here that is suitable. The people here are wealthy, but of the lowest grade in life, the most respectable of those who attend being a District Constable, a Tailor, Publicans, etc., etc. Several, indeed, viz., 14 or 15 of the most respectable residents here are Catholics, but they do not for the most even acknowledge themselves as such, but go to Church. They would however all come over with proper treatment. Mr Conolly has made himself detested here equally as much as in Hobart Town, and has injured our religion by his unchristian conduct. My object in coming down here has been merely to induce those who have forsaken their religion to return to it and to hold out better days to those who though they acknowledge themselves Catholics, know no more of their religion than the name. Before such people can approach the Sacraments they must be instructed like children, many have not been to their duty for 30-40 years, and a great many of them have *never* been. I have endeavoured to instruct the people here as well as my short stay amongst them would allow; and I shall inform them next Sunday to prepare to approach the holy Sacraments in the course of 6 weeks when I expect matters will be so arranged by the arrival of another clergyman, that a Priest may be able to come down and reside a month or two on this side, to commence their chapel, and give them at the same time an opportunity of attending their duty.

"I applied to Government for assistance towards the building of a Chapel in Launceston; but no prospects of any immediate assistance. The foundation of the

Richmond Chapel is now commenced ; nevertheless Government has not secured to us the grant of £300 nor have securities been entered into for the payment of the contractor : he commenced, however, *ex proprio motu*. The Governor has been at Launceston for some weeks, otherwise it would have been arranged before now. Mr C[onolly] will not interest himself about these things ; so that I am obliged to return to Hobart Town, whither the Governor has now returned, as soon as possible, to further this matter ; what with one thing and another, our religion degraded in every place, the just complaints of the Catholics on every side, without one friend to assist or console me, I am nearly distracted, nearly mad. During Holy Week I shall say prayers every morning in the schoolroom, and attend the Confessional every day that week : and do the same the next week at Richmond. The people do not like going to Mr Conolly's Chapel, nor would many of them attend their duty there if I were to hear confessions in it. I consequently have appointed the schoolroom. Mr. Kenny, as far as I have observed or discovered, has conducted himself with great propriety since the time you left ; nor have I any fault to find with him, but on the contrary to commend him in everything ; his good conduct and attention to the children, and their consequent improvement, have been to me a subject of the greatest consolation, it has been indeed the only beam of sunshine amidst the darkness that surrounded me.

“ You mention that you have been daily expecting to hear from me ; I wrote to you not more than three weeks or a month ago, and, in one or two letters previous to that, informed you of the necessity of a speedy alteration. Mr Conolly's gross misconduct here is a subject upon which I cannot think without pain, and therefore loath to express it upon paper. You were here for a month ; you yourself, my Lord, declared that the straightforward line of duty would be his dismissal ; nevertheless you left him as Vicar General without my being acquainted in what capacity he stood ; and indeed, when I was given to understand from you in express terms, that he was only tolerated ; that Mr Ullathorne as Vicar General would come down in six weeks or two months at the latest ; that he had no power or jurisdiction over me, had nothing to do with me ; and that, in a word, everything in course of two months would be satisfactorily settled. The time you mentioned transpired, three months transpired, I did not even hear from you.

When you did write it was nothing to the point to which my anxiety was directed. He still remains here as the highest representative of our Religion, as the person of your confidence, and from the situation he holds from you, as one deserving of commendation and imitation. Great God! how does his conduct answer this situation? He acts with the greatest indifference, with the greatest disregard to its interests, nay, directly against its interests; he is now engaged in another lawsuit to the infamy of his character as a Minister of Religion; he never even thinks of instructing the children, of preparing them for the Sacraments; his conduct, instead of being mild when any one by chance applies to him, is unchristian, disgusting; his drunken conduct with Nessward, an old Protestant minister, is a subject now of common conversation; I mentioned to you before that I had seen him several times intoxicated; nay, I do believe I could any evening put him, or cause him to put himself into this state, if I were to take wine with him or keep moderate pace with him. I therefore believe these reports which are now common, though I have never seen him in that state in the streets. I attribute his disregard to the interests of Religion and his conduct to the people to this habit of drink. You mention some unpleasant reports of his conduct in my regard; with the exception of his once refusing to let me administer the Holy Communion with his pyx to a poor man from the altar, telling me to make use of my own; and his refusing to lend me an *Ordo Administrandi* when I had lost mine, and which he the day following very kindly lent to me—with these two exceptions, and which were only the consequence of a moment's bad temper, he has always acted towards *me* with civility and as a gentleman; not as a friend, and as one priest should to another, but with civility. But it is on both sides the civility of policy without much love on either side. I do not know at present how to keep up any understanding with him, since his conduct has become public. I must candidly say I have an opinion of Mr Conolly which I never had of any man yet—it is indescribable. *Entre nous*, I really sometimes have taken him to have dealings with his Satanic Majesty; nay, really one night when he was *inebriatus*, I thought by what he said, his countenance, and the figure he cut, that he was the devil incarnate; he would never enter into any pious conversation with me; indeed, I do not know what to think of him.

“You mention that you heard that the people had purchased

and furnished a house for me; they have not done so, but would have done so, and made proposals to me to that effect, but I declined them as I am not settled; if some one does not come down from Sydney I cannot in conscience remain in the Colony, if some one does come down he will in all probability remain at Hobart Town to commence the Chapel, and I could not therefore accept of such a [house], when in all probability I should not answer their expectations in remaining amongst them; to induce me to do so as appearing to remain, for they understood by some means or other that a Priest was not to come from Sydney, and since they knew if one did not come I would not remain and they would be again, as they thought, left to Conolly, they made this offer to induce me to stay with them in Hobart Town. I must candidly tell your Lordship that nothing on earth would induce me to remain here much longer, as circumstances are at present. I have fully made up my mind on that score. If a Priest cannot come down in the course of two months, you will hear from me again, when I will explain myself more clearly. I consider it my duty to press once more upon your Lordship the necessity of either coming down yourself or sending Mr Ullathorne or Mr M^cEncroe or Mr Therry to take the place of Mr Conolly, which would induce him to quit the country. Be assured my dear Lord of my love and obedience, as long as I may remain in your Diocese; nothing but the miserable state of affairs here could make me write to you as I have done. I have not any means of attending my own religious duties and cannot therefore minister with the same effect to the salvation of others.

I remain,

My dear Lord,

Your obedient humble servant,

J. COTHAM.

There is a Catholic going to Sydney to-morrow, or rather to-day by whom I shall forward this letter. I wait most anxiously to hear from you."¹

At this point it is necessary to resume our study of Father Ullathorne's Report to Propaganda. He says that while Dr Polding was investigating matters for himself

¹ *D. A.*, J 118.

I should have been in deplorable circumstances; as it is, we live most frugally, and are not in debt."¹

A few more words may be quoted from Father Ullathorne's Report, to close our knowledge of this very painful episode.

"As Colonel Arthur refused all help for our schools, Dr Polding told him he would send Father Ullathorne to England in order to lay the matter before the home Government. Colonel Arthur thereupon gave way and promised what he had for so long refused. A few days later he received his recall from the office he was holding. The new Governor, Sir F. Frankland, has received orders to act under the advice of Sir Richard Bourke in matters affecting religion.

"Dr Polding purposes to place five priests, if he can secure them, in Van Diemen's land; two in Hobart Town—one to visit Port Arthur from time to time with its penal settlement of 1200, similar to that of Norfolk Island; another at Launceston, another at Richmond, and two in the interior. Meantime he is sending one from New South Wales, at great personal sacrifice, to replace Father Conolly for the time being. He hopes to extend the system of free elementary schools in this Colony. The prospect of commercial expansion makes it necessary to establish religion firmly here, as it would affect even Australia."²

This priest sent out at personal sacrifice was Father Watkins.

While at home in England, Dr Ullathorne did not neglect the needs of Van Diemen's Land in his campaign to secure recruits for New South Wales. In fact, even while in Hobart Town, through Lt. Governor Arthur he prepared a petition to Lord Glenelg, putting before him the needs of that distant colony. The correspondence was published in the *Report from the Select Committee on Transportation*. App. A., No. 25.

"No. 25. Despatch from Lt. Governor Arthur to Lord Glenelg.
Van Diemen's Land, Government House,
2nd October 1836.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that on the Rev. Dr Polding's last visit to Van Diemen's Land, he urged upon my attention very strongly the want of three additional clergymen of the Church of Rome in the colony.

¹ *D. A.*, J 168.

² *Ibid.*, J 401.

"After the Bishop's departure, by his direction the Rev. W. Ullathorne addressed to me a letter, of which the enclosed is a copy, requesting that the subject might be brought under the consideration of His Majesty's Government.

"Scattered as is the Roman Catholic community throughout the Island, of course the services of two clergymen are not adequate to supply clerical instruction to all; but I do not concur with Dr Polding that three additional chaplains are at present absolutely necessary: a third chaplain to be stationed at Launceston alone, comes, I think, within that strong representation; a fourth would no doubt be very desirable.

"It is gratifying to me to report to your Lordship that the services of the second chaplain have been already attended with much benefit, as the moral character of the lower class of Catholics has certainly in some instances that have come to my knowledge greatly improved by the instruction and advice they have received from their priests.

I have, etc.,

GEORGE ARTHUR."

Enclosure. Rev. Wm. Ullathorne to Lord Glenelg.

"9 Liverpool Street,

4th June 1836.

SIR,—I am directed by the Right Rev. Dr Polding, respectfully to submit to his Excellency the Lieut. Governor, the painful and distressing situation in which the greater part of those persons who profess the Catholic religion in this colony and penal settlement are placed, owing to their want of spiritual pastors.

"The Catholics of Van Diemen's Land, we are confidently assured and believe, amount to not less than 5000 persons, diffused through the entire population, but found in the greatest numbers at Hobart Town, Launceston and its environs, and the district of Richmond.

"And I respectfully submit to the judgment of his Excellency, that it would be expedient in point of policy, just in point of right, economical in point of public expenditure, and in every sense advantageous to the colony, that this, their need, should, by His Majesty's Government, be provided.

"The Catholic population consists either of prisoners of the Crown, who have no means of procuring religious aid except through the Government, or of free persons, who, contributing their proportion of substance or of labour to the public

revenue, claim a proportionate share of the provision furnished from the revenue for religious instruction according to their principles, with their fellow subjects who are members of other communities.

"At present two Catholic clergymen only are provided by the Government, and were the Catholic population collected upon one locality, this supply would be amply sufficient: but the efficiency of clerical labours, it is respectfully submitted, depends upon permanent residence amongst a congregation constantly under the eye of their pastor, to whom the habits of his people are familiarly known, and with whom he can follow up a systematic course of instruction and direction. Out of Hobart Town, with the present number of pastors, Catholics can enjoy but rare and transient visits from a clergyman; the people are then but partially collected, and the passing visit leaves but its passing impression.

"With respect to the prison population, it is respectfully submitted to his Excellency that, without religious instruction, one of the great ends proposed by the system of transportation, viz:—the information of the criminal—is left without the means for its accomplishment.

"With respect to the Catholic population generally, it is respectfully submitted that the labours of a resident (and only a resident can be a truly efficient clergy) would be followed by a considerable diminution of public crime, and consequently of a proportionate diminution of the expense of the discovery, of the conviction, and of the punishment of crime.

"Until very lately, the Catholics of Van Diemen's Land have lived, as regards religious aids, in a state of utter deprivation; hence their crimes and disorders. But before the exertions of a zealous clergy, we submit to his Excellency our experience, that property would become more secure; habitual concubinage would give place to marriage and domestic order; drunkenness, that paralysis of the Colony, would be diminished in its causes; the sanctity of an oath would be better understood and observed; and the children, on whose education the reformation of the Colony mainly depends, would have better guides and instructors than the bad example of vicious parents.

"It is respectfully submitted to his Excellency, that to render the Catholic a resident, and consequently an efficient clergy, five clergymen, three in addition to the present number of two, would be requisite, one to be stationed at

Launceston, one at Richmond, one in the neighbourhood of Hamilton or Campbell Town, to attend the central settlements of the island, and one at Hobart Town, in addition to the principal chaplain, also resident at Hobart Town, so that Port Arthur, and the country about Hobart Town, may be visited from that place.

"I therefore beg leave respectfully to solicit, that his Excellency would be pleased to recommend to the Right Honourable the Secretary for the Colonies, that the Catholic establishment in Van Diemen's Land may be raised to the efficient number of five clergymen.

I have, etc.

WILLIAM ULLATHORNE."

Very shortly after this petition was prepared, and before Governor Arthur forwarded it to the Colonial Office, the local Legislative Council had been aroused to a sense of its obligation towards the Catholic colonists. The Governor prepared a very lengthy minute on the affairs of the Island; and from this are here extracted those paragraphs which are concerned with the religious situation as it affected the Catholic portion of the population. They serve to show what was being done or proposed to be done.

Extracts from No. 23. Enclosure 2, from *Minutes* of his Excellency Lt. Gov. Arthur to Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Land, dated

"Government House,
5th August 1836.

"40. There has passed a vote, not yet actually appropriated, of £1500 for the members of the Church of Rome, to be expended in the erection of a chapel at Hobart Town. . . ."

"43. The salary of the Vicar General of the Roman Catholic Church remains at £200 per annum, and that of the chaplain is raised to £150. These clergymen will each retain the advantage of drawing the usual allowance for forage for a horse, to enable them to visit the members of their Church in the interior."

"50. By a reference to the estimate, you will perceive that the sum of £500 is proposed to be set apart for the erection of a Roman Catholic Chapel at Richmond. . . ."

"52. . . . I am aware that it can scarcely be hoped that the Roman Catholics will send their children to schools so conducted;¹ but then provision can be made against this difficulty, by granting aid in support of such schools as the congregations of that or any other church may desire to maintain separately; and I feel assured that the children of this communion will receive your liberal consideration."

Dean Kenny records in his *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*² that "the Rev. T. Watkins was appointed Vicar-General of Hobart Town, and sailed from Sydney for that place on 13th August, 1836," some two months after Dr Polding's return from Van Diemen's Land. The Dean discreetly and charitably veils what, as we know, actually took place under the following words: "There had arisen a misunderstanding between the Bishop and Rev. P. Conolly; Father Conolly was superseded by the Vicar-General Father Watkins."

The unfortunate Father Conolly died in 1839; but although the present writer has come across no evidence to show that he was released from the sentence of suspension before the end came; nevertheless we may charitably suppose that as death drew near he made due preparation (as a priest should) to meet it; and we may feel equally sure that Father Therry, at that time in the island, would not have rested until he had done all that could be done for his quondam fellow-worker. The epitaph on his grave is pathetic:—"Of your charity, pray for the soul of the Rev. Philip Conolly, who died the third day of August, 1839, aged 53 years. 'My days have declined like a shadow, and I am withered like grass' [Ps. 150, 12]"

Father Therry had been sent to Van Diemen's Land about the close of 1838 as Dr Polding's Vicar-General, superseding Father Watkins in that post, and from this point we must trust mainly to Cardinal Moran's pages³ in following his fortunes there.

"The Government officials there," he writes, "had caught

¹ On Protestant lines.

² p. 115.

³ *History*, p. 117 seqq.

the contagion from Sydney and threw every possible difficulty in his way in exercising his sacred functions, but he steadily pursued his course and eventually his self-sacrificing zeal and merits were fully recognised." We read of help received from home. The *Catholic Magazine* for 1839¹ records that "The Catholic Institute have transmitted, through T. C. Anstey, Esq., 2000 Tracts, and 200 of Bishop Poynter's Prayer Book, for distribution amongst the Catholics of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land." In the same magazine² we read:—

"On the 29th of May last a branch of the Catholic Institute was formed at Hobart Town, under the name of the 'Hobart Auxiliary Branch Catholic Institute.' The inaugural meeting was held in the temporary Catholic Chapel in the Argyle Rooms, the Very Rev. J. J. Therry presiding. The meeting was addressed in eloquent terms by T. C. Anstey, Esq., Barrister at law, on the advantages of the Catholic Institute of which he had personally witnessed the results, and of which society he was one of the founders. The Very Rev. J. J. Therry has accepted the offer of President of the Hobart Branch.

"We have read in Murray's Austral-Asiatic Review, a very able and withal temperate paper of remarks by Mr Anstey, on a plan issued by a Mr Gall for founding a College in Van Diemen's Land, submitted for the consideration of his Excellency Sir John Franklin the Governor. Mr Gell is an *exclusive*, and would wish to transplant the bigotry of the English Establishment to the soil of his adoption; but if we are not mistaken, Mr Anstey has given the *coup de grace* to Mr Gell's proposal; and if a College should be resolved upon, we should suppose that the plan of the London University will be adopted."

As in New South Wales at that period, auxiliary branches of the Catholic Institute were being multiplied for the defence of the faith. Thus the *Catholic Magazine*³ records:—

"*Van Diemen's Land*.—At a meeting of the Catholics of Richmond, held on Sunday, the 19th July [1840], a branch of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain was formed, to be

¹ p. 832.

² Dec. 1840, p. 766.

³ Feb. 1841, p. 123.

called 'The Richmond Auxiliary Catholic Institute.' The Rev. J. T. Butler, who was in the chair on the occasion, was elected President, Mr John Cassidy, Secretary, and Mr Lawrence Cottam, Treasurer."

"In Hobart and throughout Tasmania," writes Cardinal Moran, "Father Therry was indefatigable, building churches, founding schools (oftentimes somewhat primitive in their construction), gathering the children of the settlers round him on his journeys inland, preaching, teaching, and administering the Sacraments, but never in his zeal for others, forgetting the unhappy prisoners"; though in his tireless labours he did himself great bodily harm. "He did not, however, even in Tasmania, forget St Mary's Cathedral, that so long had engaged his attention, and more than once he forwarded subscriptions to aid in carrying on the great work to completion. In a postscript to a letter addressed to Dr Polding on the 14th of November 1838, he writes: 'Permit me, my dear Lord, to remind you that you promised to have a weekly Mass offered for me during my life and after my death, as the humble founder of St Mary's Church, to which I intend, please God, to send a handsome Tabernacle in the course of a few weeks.'"

"Dr Polding thus wrote to Father Therry on 23rd of March 1839:—"With respect to yourself, it will give me, my dear and reverend friend, great satisfaction if you will retain the position you now hold as Vicar General of Van Diemen's Land, in which you have rendered very great service to religion. I am aware that this arrangement will call upon you for a great sacrifice. Were the circumstances similar to those in which you were placed when you first arrived in Hobart Town in 1820, I could not ask you to endure so much inconvenience; they are, however, much altered. Your own good sense will tell you how requisite, with many other excellent qualities, colonial experience is in such a situation. How essential it is that I should have a local Superior, who will encourage by word and example his subordinate co-operators, that the first missionaries should be imbued with the proper spirit. The present number is not sufficient for the extent of country over which the population is scattered. But I think that in the course of a short time I shall be able to send additional aid from the Seminary. I would wish to consult your own inclinations. If they are in accord with the views above expressed, I shall be much gratified."

Under these conditions, therefore, Father Therry con-

tinued to labour at the building up of the Church in Van Diemen's Land, the while Dr Polding was in Europe.

Dr Ullathorne tells us in his *Autobiography*,¹ that :—

“During the early part of the voyage,² I had thought much on the religious requirements of Australia. There were then five Colonies at great distances from each other, as well as the distant penal settlements of Port Macquarie and Norfolk Island. And yet the one Bishop was entirely occupied with New South Wales, and could know little of what passed in the other Colonies. Until they had each a Bishop they were not likely to have a due provision of priests. It appeared to me that what was wanted was an Australian Hierarchy with an Archbishop at its head. . . . I therefore drew up a scheme for a Hierarchy.”

Dr Polding after some time approved of the idea, and Van Diemen's Land was the first section to be considered as needing a bishop for its own individual wants, owing to its distance from the centre of authority—1000 miles by sea.

Notwithstanding the reluctance Dr Ullathorne had already so energetically expressed to his Bishop, and notwithstanding the fact that the main object of his present voyage to Europe was to prevent his name from being sent to Rome as a candidate for the mitre, Dr Polding would not abandon the hope that he might at last wear down his Vicar General's opposition to his desires, and that he might secure his services in permanence as a suffragan. He was, however, foiled.

The negotiations to further that object, and the final selection of Dr R. W. Willson as the first Bishop of Hobart Town are dealt with elsewhere, as also the stipulation made by Dr Willson that before he took possession of his See Father Therry should be recalled from that diocese to New South Wales, and the difficulties that prevented the fulfilment of these conditions, insisted upon at a distance before the actual local necessities and obligations had been taken duly into account, and proper allowance made for them.

¹ p. 195.

² From Australia to Europe.

We need here, therefore, only recall to the reader that Father Therry's continued presence in Van Diemen's Land embittered for several years the relations between Dr Willson and Father Therry, who was removed from the Vicar-Generalship as soon as the Bishop arrived; for sooner than surrender what he believed to be his legal and canonical rights, he submitted to be suspended from the exercise of the functions of his sacred ministry. What a privation that must have been to one eaten up as he was with missionary zeal and burning love of souls, sorely in need of the aids only a priest could offer them, where priests were so needed and so scarce, is eloquent tribute to his firm conviction of the inherent justice of his cause. In 1846, when he saw his way to disburthen himself of his obligations, he withdrew from Van Diemen's Land, and being once more under the immediate jurisdiction of Dr Polding, that Prelate sent him to Melbourne to take the place of Father Geoghegan who was absent during that and the following year. Towards the end of 1847 he returned to Sydney, and in the latter years of his life was stationed at Balmaine, where he died.

The remainder of the history of the Church in Van Diemen's Land separates itself from that of Sydney, and with that separation, this narrative takes its leave of a Diocese the account of which is not the least interesting and glorious of the story of the spread of Catholicity in the Antipodes, even though marred, in the commencement, by troubles of various kinds as chronicled in the foregoing pages.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLIEST DAYS IN AUSTRALIA—ARRIVAL OF FATHER ULLATHORNE

SYDNEY Catholics had, in 1818, rejoiced in the presence of the first priest endowed with full ecclesiastical faculties, in the person of the Very Rev. Jeremiah O'Flynn, but that joy had been short-lived, for, so great was the influence he from the first exercised, that a petty jealousy prompted the Colonial authorities to take occasion of his not having received the sanction of the home Government to enter the penal settlement, first to cast him into prison, and then to order him to leave by the next ship. Fortunately for his flock, the sailing of ships from Sydney was not very frequent in those days, and he was thus able to minister to its wants for a brief space longer. The time, however, passed only too quickly for his zeal and his people's love. On the eve of his departure, for the last time he assembled the Catholics in the house of one of their number in Sydney for Mass; and there, moved by an inspiration of Divine Providence, he left the Blessed Sacrament in a cupboard as a spiritual safeguard and a lamp to keep their faith alight. As Dr Ullathorne says:—

“The Blessed Sacrament had been left by the Archpriest in the dwelling of a Catholic of Sydney, where, for two years after his departure, the faithful, as many as could, were wont to assemble, there to offer up their prayers and receive consolation in their miseries. It is mournfully beautiful to contemplate these men of sorrow gathered round the Bread of Life—bowed down before the Crucifix—no voice but the silent one of faith—not a priest within 6000 miles to extend

to them that pledge of pardon to repentance—whose near presence they see and feel.”¹

It is difficult, even after this lapse of time, to contemplate the picture unfolded to us in the above few words, without emotion. At a period when spiritual direction and aid would have meant so much, those who stood in greatest need of it were forced to fall back upon their own weakness. And yet, faith was so strong in these simple souls, that, notwithstanding these heavy trials and discouragements, they kept themselves true to their religion and their beliefs, and sought courage and constancy at the hands of Him to whom no appeal was ever made in vain. Surely such trust and loyalty has been “reputed to them unto justice.”² What a picture it is! The mean room, yet the dwelling of the most High; the silent sorrowful worshippers, pouring out the desires of their hearts in “unspeakable groanings,” seeking light, asking pardon, beseeching that they might not be called to their account until they had received the Sacraments then so cruelly denied them. And, at a moment when all seemed darkest and most hopeless, sorrow was indeed turned into joy at the advent of two priests secure of their tenure in as much as they were salaried Government officials. They had left Ireland on 5th December 1819, and set foot in Sydney on 2nd May 1820, armed with their episcopal mandate of mission from Bishop Slater. Thus they commenced their labours in the only way that can be spiritually effective.

When Christ commissioned His Apostle to “go and teach all nations,” He thereby gave them jurisdiction over all those nations. And, conversely, He placed those nations in spiritual subjection to the teachers whom He sent to them endowed with His supreme authority; and so, St Paul writing to the Romans, speaking of these nations, says:—“How shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach, unless they be sent?”³ *Mission*, therefore, in

¹ *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, p. 8.

² Gal. iii. 6.

³ Rom. x. 14-15.

which is necessarily bound up the idea of jurisdiction, is an essential of spiritual authority. It is a fact, only too patent, that there are many preachers throughout the world self-sent, or sent by agencies with no higher credentials than human ones. An apparent and outward measure of success attends their efforts; but no solid and lasting good can reward their labours, for "how shall they preach unless they be *sent*?" The Pope is Christ's Vicegerent on earth, as the successor of him to whom the commission was first given: "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep,"¹ and, "Thou being once confirmed, confirm thy brethren."² The Pope gave commission to Bishop Slater to supply the needs of the vast Vicariate entrusted to his pastoral care; and in fulfilment of his office, he sub-delegated to Fathers Conolly and Therry the spiritual charge of the souls in that part of his Vicariate known as Australia and Van Diemen's Land. Armed with this authority, therefore, traced back to Christ Himself, these two missionaries set foot in Sydney.

These priests, Fathers Conolly and Therry, found the Sacred Species in that lowly yet thrice-blessed Australian "house of Obededom", incorrupt. The Church of St Patrick now occupies the site of this most hallowed spot, which, because of its interesting history should be very sacred in the memories of all Australian Catholics, a place of pilgrimage, and the symbol of God's love for those who serve Him.

Immediately on their arrival, the two priests sought an interview with Governor Macquarie and presented their credentials, which were thus officially acknowledged. A month later, on 6th June 1820, the Governor sent them instructions for their guidance, and, in the spirit of intolerance then rampant, "he advised them not to try to make converts from the members of the Church of England, nor Protestants in general, to confine their labours to those of their own flock, and warned them on their peril."³ He also enjoined that Mass should not be celebrated publicly except on

¹ John xxi. 15-16.

² Luke xxii. 32.

³ Kenny. *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, p. 37.

Sundays and holidays of the Church of England, and further laid down the regulation that the priests were not to interfere with the religious instruction of the Catholic children being brought up in the orphan schools under the sole management of the Church of England. The gross injustice of this disgraceful command is patent, was intolerable, and, as will be seen, led to future trouble, as it could not avoid doing. No priest who obeyed his conscience could submit to be bound by such an order, least of all a man of Father Therry's stamp.

By reason of the officially recognised status of the newly arrived priests, Catholic worship could now be more free and open, although many difficulties had still to be overcome. The services of the Church—such as least as could then be carried out,—were held in a humble temporary chapel in Pitt Street, and later on in the old Court House on Castle-reagh and Elizabeth Streets,¹ and later still, till the Cathedral could be utilised, in St Joseph's Chapel, hard by.

A ray of light is thrown on this episode in the Report of Commissioner Bigge.² That gentleman wrote:—

“ . . . Since the arrival in the Colony of two clergymen of the Roman Catholic religion, the inhabitants professing that faith have attended the celebration of Mass, either at the Court-house of Sydney, or at the houses of individuals in Parramatta, Windsor, and Liverpool. They were required to give notice to the magistrates of the place and hours of their meeting, with a view to the proper attendance of the convicts; but as no separate place had been provided for the latter at the Court-house at Sydney, it was not deemed proper by the commanding officer of the 48th regiment to allow those of his men who were Catholics to attend Mass.

“ A subscription was commenced by the Catholics in New South Wales, prior to my departure, to build a chapel at Sydney, and Governor Macquarie had promised to give them an allotment of ground for the purpose. I observed that although some difference of opinion arose amongst the

¹ In 1865 this building was used as a school-house by the Established Church.

² *Colonial Reports*, No. 15, 1823 (136) pp. 69 and 75.

Catholics themselves respecting the situation of the allotment, and the preference that had been given to the town of Sydney, yet a very liberal disposition was manifested by them to defray the expense of the work, and it also met a still more liberal encouragement from the higher classes of the Protestants."

The Commissioner further offered some remarks on the question of schools; but the inference drawn by him is susceptible of a different interpretation, voiced in the proverb 'When needs must.' He reported:—"Since the arrival of the two Catholic clergymen in New South Wales, a small school for the instruction of the children of Roman Catholics has been established at Parramatta; but it appears that before that period they had been admitted into the orphan and other schools of the Colony, without any reference to their religious creed, or without objection on the part of their parents."

The outlines of Father Conolly's life have been given in a previous chapter: here a few biographical details about Father John Joseph Terry will be acceptable, as he now becomes the pivot around whom for a few years the religious history of the Colony centres. They are taken from the account of the destruction of St Mary's Cathedral by fire in 1865.¹

John Joseph Terry was born in the city of Cork in 1791, was piously reared in childhood, and, on attaining the suitable age, was sent to Carlow College, where he studied for the priesthood. During his student days, he is reported to have organised amongst his companions a society whose members undertook to offer up daily prayer for the spread of Christian doctrine among those who were in darkness. These young men, by prayer, further offered up their lives to God for His service in foreign countries and among the heathen, if it should please Him, by any special sign, to manifest an acceptance of that offering. Father Terry was

¹ *The History of St Mary's Cathedral*, with Ten Illustrations, published under the Sanction of the Catholic Clergy, price one shilling. Sydney, W. E. Mason, 134 King Street.—*D.A.*, O 92.

ordained priest in April, 1815, by the Most Rev. Dr Troy, Archbishop of Dublin. His first employment was in Cork, where he served the Church of SS. Peter and Paul for about two years. He was thence transferred to the Cathedral where he remained for about another three years, residing with the Bishop, the Right Rev. Dr Murphy. Whilst stationed there, he came in contact with Father O'Flynn upon his return from Australia; and learning from him of the state of spiritual destitution under which the Catholics of New South Wales were suffering, he burned to go to their relief; and hearing that Bishop Slater was then on the look out for volunteers for 'Botany Bay,' he offered his services. Bishop Murphy for some time refused his consent to this step; but, at length, seeing that the young priest was resolved upon it, and recognising in this case the will of Almighty God, he no longer opposed it. The sequel has already been told. Armed as he and his colleague were with the authorisation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, they experienced no direct opposition on entering on their spiritual mission among the poor Catholics who so needed their help. The labour was arduous; but Father Therry, at least, had just that strong faith, that firm conviction of success, that unquenchable and undaunted courage which sustains a man under all difficulties.

The reader has already realised that local calls and duties prevented Dr Slater from personally visiting the outlying portions of his vast Vicariate; nevertheless he was as fully in touch with the priests he had sent to Australia as circumstances would permit in those far-off days of slow communication.

It is an unfortunate fact that notwithstanding their isolation—six thousand miles from the nearest priest—and the consequent vital importance of greater union, these two priests very soon got to cross purposes. While it is impossible wholly to acquit Father Therry: yet, in the light of Father Conolly's conduct in Van Diemen's Land, it would not seem a stretch of charity to suggest that his motives for emigrating were not apostolic, but to get away from the

pressure of authority, and Father Therry's energetic zeal brought him into collision with the apathy and indifference of his senior. Hence, even Australia was not big enough to contain the two of them; and, finally, Father Conolly betook himself to Van Diemen's Land where he remained till his death in 1839.

Meanwhile, Father Therry thus left alone in New South Wales, faced his difficult task with extraordinary energy and apostolic devotion, and, as Dr Ullathorne says: "employed himself indefatigably in traversing the Colony of New South Wales, in administering the Sacraments in every case of necessity he could reach, and in erecting the Church of St Mary's, Sydney."

As soon as he possibly could he entered into negotiations with the Colonial Government for a grant of land, and secured one abutting on Hyde Park. Under the depressing circumstances in which Catholics had hitherto existed, it seemed absurd to suppose that a Church so large as the one he projected could ever be completed; or that, if completed, there would ever be found in that vicinity a congregation large enough to fill it. But Father Therry's confidence made him a veritable seer; and a not very distant future amply justified the foresight of the founder.

The idea of erecting a church had first been mooted, and the proposal adopted, at a meeting of the Catholics of the Colony held in the Old Court House, in July 1820, presided over by Father Conolly, the senior of the two missionaries. Father Conolly, however, leaving Sydney for Van Diemen's Land soon after, the entire burthen of the nascent Church in New South Wales devolved on the shoulders of Father Therry. After due preparations, and the opening of a subscription to raise the needful funds, the first stone was laid on 29th October 1821, by Governor Macquarie. Father Therry clothed in his priestly vestments delivered an address on the momentous occasion, to which His Excellency the Governor made a suitable, and to the Catholics, reassuring reply.

The following account of the ceremony from the *Government*

Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser of 3rd November 1821, taken from Dean Kenny's pages,¹ will be of interest.

" FOUNDATION STONE LAID 29TH OCTOBER 1821

ON Monday last the first stone of the first Roman Catholic Chapel was laid in this part of the world in the presence of a vast assemblage of respectable persons, who were anxious to witness so important and interesting a ceremony. The site chosen for the erection of this edifice, which is intended to be spacious as well as handsome, is to the east of Hyde Park, the front of the chapel facing the town. The spot in every way seems extremely eligible, and there can hardly be a doubt entertained but that the structure when completed will join with the other superb buildings in that attractive end of the town in affording additional and consistent beauty to the rapidly improving Australian capital. His Excellency the Governor performed the grateful ceremony, for which purpose a very handsome silver trowel had been prepared by Mr Clayton, which was adorned with an appropriate inscription.' 'St Mary's Chapel' was the designation which this intended place of worship received from His Excellency. The Rev. Mr Therry's address on this occasion, and His Excellency's answer have been transmitted to us for insertion, and are subjoined for the information of the public."

Father Therry.—"In presenting to your Excellency this humble instrument (which, undervalued as it may be by the supercilious and the unscientific, will not be condemned by any who have studied and patronised, as your Excellency has done, the sciences and useful arts), we, the Catholics of this Colony cannot refrain on such an auspicious occasion from expressing our most sincere and heartfelt gratitude to your Excellency for having deigned to honour us by personally laying the first stone of the first Roman Catholic chapel attempted to be erected in this territory.

"As a worthy representative of a benevolent King, you, by this act of condescension, give an illustrious example which will prove to be not less beneficial to society than meritorious

¹ *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, pp. 39-40.

² "This trowel was presented by the Catholics of New South Wales, to Major General Lachlan Macquarie, Governor in Chief, etc., etc., on the auspicious occasion of his laying the foundation stone of St Mary's Catholic Church."

to your Excellency. You will have the merit of laying the firm foundation of a moral edifice of unanimity, mutual confidence and fraternal love, and of more strongly cementing the respect and affection of all persuasions and parties in this country to our Sovereign, to yourself, and to each other.

"In the temple which you now commence, prayers shall be frequently offered to the Throne of God to invoke upon yourself and your amiable family the richest blessings of heaven, and we venture to predict that whilst it shall continue to be appropriated to the sacred use for which it is intended, neither the name nor the virtues of your Excellency shall at any time be forgotten.

[Signed] JOHN JOSEPH THERRY,
Roman Catholic Chaplain.

For himself and his Roman Catholic brethren of
New South Wales.

His Excellency Lachlan Macquarie, Esq., Governor in
Chief, etc."

His Excellency's reply.

"29th October 1821.

REVEREND SIR,—I receive from your hands with much pleasure, in your own name and that of your Roman Catholic brethren of New South Wales, the very handsome silver trowel now presented to me, and I feel myself very much honoured in having been thus selected to make use of this instrument in laying the first stone of the first Roman Catholic chapel attempted to be erected in Australia. The sentiments you have addressed to me are congenial with my own—in the beneficial result to be derived from the erection of the proposed edifice.

"It has been a great gratification to me to witness and assist at the ceremony now performed, and I have every hope that the consideration of the British Government in supplying the Roman Catholics of this Colony with established clergymen will be the means of strengthening and augmenting (if that be possible) the attachment of the Catholics of New South Wales to the British Government, and will prove an inducement for them to continue—as I have ever found them—to be loyal and faithful subjects to the Crown.

"I beg you will accept of my best acknowledgments for the

sentiments of friendly regard and kind good wishes you have been pleased to express for myself and my family.

[Signed] LACHLAN MACQUARIE,
Governor in Chief of New South Wales.

To the Rev. John Joseph Therry, and the Roman Catholics of New South Wales.

Sydney, 29th October 1821."

The work progressed slowly; for, in the first place, the erection of such a building was a vast undertaking in those days, and the Catholics were not a wealthy body; secondly, Father Therry was unable to give it that personal and constant supervision which alone could ensure steady progress, because of his frequent and prolonged absences from Sydney, for the purpose of visiting the Catholics scattered at wide intervals throughout the Colony. In this work of visiting he was indefatigable, multiplying himself, as it were, to meet the many and various calls on his pastoral solicitude, his charity, and his zeal. Father Ullathorne bears willing and eloquent testimony to the solidity of the work he did, the extent of his labours, the good he effected, the results he achieved.

Till 1826 Father Therry laboured absolutely alone; in that year Dr Slater managed to secure the services of Father Daniel Power; in 1829 he sent Father C. V. Dowling; and in 1832 one of his last acts was to add Father John M^cEncroe to the number.

Dean Kenny,¹ referring to those years of solitary unaided work between 1821 and 1826, says:—"During those five years he had to discharge all the duties of a priest, which was no light obligation, as the Catholics were scattered in the surrounding country. He had to celebrate the divine mysteries at Parramatta, Wollongong, Hawkesbury, Penrith, Liverpool and other places, and to be ready to attend to sick calls at any time. . . . Father Therry was

¹ *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, p. 45.

actuated by the true missionary spirit, and many instances are on record of the promptitude with which he attended to the salvation of souls. A Catholic who lived in those times, now far advanced in years, informs me that he remembers one occasion when Father Therry had returned to Sydney from Wollongong, where he was attending a sick person. Without any time to rest he was sent for to see another sick person said to be dying. It was a Sunday and a very wet day. He immediately prepared and proceeded to Wollongong, distant 70 miles, on horseback, and then by an exceedingly bad road. I have heard that every day his gig was ready at the door to start for wheresoever he was required."

In 1833 came the appointment by Bishop Morris of Father Ullathorne as his Vicar General. From this point we begin to have fuller information about the condition of religion in New South Wales. Writing as early as 1837, Father Ullathorne thus describes what he had learned on his arrival. He says that he then "found one-third of the population spread over this extensive territory [*i.e.*, New South Wales] to be Catholic, with only three clergymen; the church at Sydney, not yet closed in; a chapel half raised at Campbelltown, and the commencement of a second in a ruinous state at Parramatta; a male and a female school at Sydney, and two others in the interior country.¹ Aided by the kind co-operation of His Excellency Major-General Sir Richard Bourke, a Governor of a benevolent heart and of the most enlightened mind,—whose anxiety was indefatigably directed to the establishment of a better state of things, by the diffusion of a sounder morality amongst the people, through the appliance of religious and

¹ In his Report to Rome, the same year, Father Ullathorne says : "Besides the schools established at Sydney, Parramatta, and Campbelltown, I found means to build two others in Sydney, each having separate divisions for boys and girls; another at Windsor, one at Liverpool, one at Appin, and one at Maitland; and the Vicar Apostolic (Dr Polding) has established another at Richmond, the Government granting £800 for their upkeep."—*D. A.*, J 401.

other instruction—six additional free schools were established; preparations were made for the erection of more churches, and we anxiously expected an addition to our small number of clergymen, for which the writer had most earnestly petitioned.’¹

But we have been carried too far from the commencement of the building of St Mary’s, Sydney. Father Ullathorne thus described this building. “This Church is a vast and lofty pile, of pointed architecture, without minute ornament, yet imposing from its massive grandeur. Considering the period of its commencement, and the means at that time existing in the Colony, it was a noble effort; its interior however, remains uncompleted.”² When we recall the condition of affairs in 1820: the abject state of the Catholics, mostly convicts, we are lost in amazement at the courage, the foresight, and the trust and hope of what the future had in store that characterised Father Therry’s enterprise. He wrote to Dr Slater, to consult him on the project he had formed of building a church. Many persons in official positions, and others, scouted the idea of his being able to erect a church at all, as the scheme of a madman; moreover, he had been subjected to so many petty annoyances at the hands of the Government officials, and such difficulties had been thrown in the way of his exercising his sacred ministry, that in March 1822, he put before Dr Slater the expediency of his quitting the Colony lest the personal animosity of which he felt himself to be the object might prejudice the sacred cause of which he was then the sole representative on the continent of Australia. Hitherto it has been usual to consider him as the victim of intolerance and bigotry. Candour, however, must make us admit that he was a man of peculiar temperament with whom *fortiter in re* was not combined with *suaviter in modo*. Evidence exists in plenty to show that Government officials were neither always wholly unreasonable nor unduly antagonistic if approached properly; as is proved by all that Dr Ullathorne at once succeeded in

¹ *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

securing when he brought tact and knowledge of the world to bear upon the same men who had opposed Father Therry's truculence with impassiveness or open opposition and hostility. In fairness to these sorely-tried Governors and Secretaries, so much must be admitted. At the same time, every allowance must be made for a man of impulsive temperament, galled by the miseries of his spiritual children, harassed by difficulties of every kind, hampered by want of means, appalled by the spiritual destitution he saw everywhere around him, goaded to frenzy by the injustice to which so many of his unfortunate countrymen were subjected, helpless to break the fetters that bound them, and rendered indignant by exhibitions of intolerance. The very generosity of his character impelled him to violent methods in dealing with officialdom; and it had been wise if officialdom had realised the untameable character of the man with whom it had to deal, and had made the necessary allowances. To Dr Slater, then, Father Therry appealed, and Dr Slater replied as follows from Port Louis, on 2nd October 1822:

"REV. SIR,—Very long after its date, I received yours of March last. The ship which takes this, sails at too short a notice for me to answer you in detail, but I feel great pleasure in observing that there is much in your letter and in your conduct, as therein represented, which claims my warmest approbation.

"That everything, which is intended to secure future generations, should, in its first origin, be laid on an extended foundation, has at all times been the opinion of wise men, provided the early means be adequate to the purposes of extent and firmness. I would rather you should be three years in building a commodious chapel, offering a respectable and inviting front to the public, than see your first means exhausted on one that must afterwards be destroyed, to make place for another better adapted to the wants of a rapidly increasing congregation. I am pleased, too, with the wish you express to establish as much as possible, schools in the different towns and divisions of the colony. But you must remember that an ardent head will always form plans more rapidly than the most active hand can execute them, particularly when the kindly affections of the heart, elevated to the rank of Christian charities, are in union with the

wishes of the head. Suggest the idea to the principal inhabitants of each district—commence real subscriptions, they will tend to form a capital, and when you see that your means are sufficient to justify a hope that you can go on—begin. Your schoolrooms may serve on Sundays for the performance of Divine Service, and whenever you are rich enough to erect a building for that particular purpose, do it on such a plan, that the construction may afterwards form a portion of the chapel your future means may enable you to complete. I shall be exceedingly happy to see the number of the labourers increased by any means, but if you quit the vineyard, who will cultivate the portions committed to your care? I have the prospect of raising a seminary here, and if you have any young men, who are promising subjects, you may send them hither. We have great facilities of education in this Island. The classics are taught exceedingly well. No town out of Europe has so large or so well appointed a college as Port Louis. We have now 340 students. The whole expense for any boys you may send hither will be £50 per annum. If intended for the Church, clothing will be included, without any claims for reimbursement, in case the dispositions of the student should be found incompetent with the vocation. Continue, I entreat you, a yielding disposition. It is necessary that fellow-labourers in the vineyard of Christ should live together as brothers, but a superiority must exist, and the claims of prior appointment and more advanced age, should in the first instance have obviated any appeal. I trust in the Lord, the first difficulties got over, you will have no future subject of difference. You should have sent me a copy of your catechism for approbation. Be exceedingly cautious in baptising the children of the indigenous inhabitants of the country. You must not forget that no baptism can be given except in the immediate proximity of death, without a credible voucher that the promises required in the administration of the Sacraments, will be faithfully executed. Mixed marriages have always been condemned in the Church, and it is the duty of its ministers to lend themselves on such occasions with very great caution. The instrument of publication of banns may be affixed on the door of a building used as a chapel, when Mass is not celebrated in the district. When a marriage is intended to be contracted, you must consider the discipline of the Council of Trent as in full force in the whole of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Allow me, my dear Sir, to recommend to your frequent perusal, the Catechism of that Council, and the

Canon and Doctrinal Chapters of that Council, as the most useful book a clergyman can read. I perceive that I have written to you more at length than I thought my time would allow. Receive my thanks for the good you have done, continue with zeal in the land committed to your care. Remember that charity—soft, indulgent, forbearing charity—is the spirit which animates a faithful servant of Christ, which secures to his own soul peace whilst it administers hope and consolation to others, and gives him on earth a foretaste of the happiness which awaits him in Heaven. May the Lord have you in His holy keeping.

EDWARD EP. RUSP."¹

No further communication between Dr Slater and his Australian clergy is recorded by Cardinal Moran, except in general terms that "In the month of May 1832, the Rev. Mr Terry received a communication from the Right Rev. Dr Slater, in which his Lordship stated that Mr Terry was to be master of the house which he himself built, that whatever trustees he may appoint for the Catholic Church in Sydney would only be those approved of by him, and, moreover, that Mr Terry was to take precedence in this church."²

With this, Dr Slater's connection with Australia ceases: for, shortly after, having been recalled home and superseded by Dr Morris, he embarked for Europe, but died a few days after commencing his journey, and was buried at sea.

Meanwhile, Father Terry's enemies had managed to secure a triumph over him in a signally mean and disgracefully underhand way. The whole story can best be reconstructed from a printed paper of June 1833.³ These official papers obviate the necessity of telling the story anew; and the documents appended show the whole course of events, and the obligations which the Government had assumed and then, under pretext of Father Terry's dismissal, had left unfulfilled. Though Father Terry did not

¹ Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*, p. 97.

² p. 133, quoting from a pamphlet issued in 1834 by Father Terry's partisans as a defence of him in the dissensions then rife.

³ *D. A.*, I 130 (i).

realise it at the time, he was by his courage and by his uncompromising attitude, fighting the battle of liberty and equality against the injustice of the Church Lands Charter, and was paving the way for the Church Act which was so distasteful to the members of the Established Church, as depriving them of their unwarranted predominance.

“To His Excellency Major-General Bourke, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty’s Territory of New South Wales and its Dependencies, etc., etc., etc., and to the Honourable the Legislative Council.

“The Petition of the Reverend John Joseph Therry, Missionary Apostolic, Respectfully sheweth,

That your Petitioner arrived in this Colony upwards of thirteen years since, with full Pastoral jurisdiction over the Catholic population of New South Wales, and under the sanction of the then Colonial Secretary, the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst.—That this spiritual jurisdiction he continues to possess, notwithstanding the recent arrival of a gentleman, invested as Vicar-General, with still superior ecclesiastical authority.—That for having in June 1825, published an article (a correct copy of which accompanies this), in the *Sydney Gazette* (A)—(which article commences with the words ‘The Roman Catholic Chaplain,’ and terminates with the word ‘respect’)—Petitioner was removed from his official situation as Government Chaplain, and his salary withdrawn, by order of Earl Bathurst, who, at the same time, ordered that three hundred pounds sterling should be given to Petitioner to provide a passage to England, should he wish to return thereto.—That Petitioner could not for any temporal consideration whatever, without compromising an imperative and most sacred duty, consent, at that time to leave the Colony, circumstanced as the flock committed to his pastoral care then were.—That through the negligence of the compositor of the *Gazette*, or the malice of some person or persons having influence over him, a fatal typical error appeared in the word immediately preceding the last one of that article, by which an expression of respect was converted into one of absolute contempt for the Protestant Chaplains of the Colony.—That the Editor of that paper declined to republish the article in an amended form, in accordance with the manuscript in his possession, but he briefly apologised for the mistake of his compositor in rather an

obscure part of a subsequent number.—That the article thus incorrectly published, was transmitted to the Noble Secretary of State, who it is probable has never since seen or heard of the Editor's apology or explanation.—That as Petitioner was in consequence represented to his Lordship to have published, in the only official public paper in the Colony, that he entertained only a *qualified* respect for the Government Chaplains, a sort of respect which of course is due even to the most degraded portion of our aborigines; that nobleman is not to be blamed for having removed from his official situation a person who, he believed had offered so unwarrantable and unmerited an insult to a highly respectable body of Government officers.—That Petitioner has from the time of his removal from the office of chaplain to the present, continued uninterruptedly to perform gratuitously the various duties of it, and it is generally known that the performance of these duties is often attended with considerable expense, and almost always with great mental or corporal labour.—That having, as in duty bound to do, placed firm confidence in an official promise made to him by the local Government (which was published in the *Sydney Gazette*, December 1822) (B), to pay a moiety of whatever expenses should have been incurred after its date, in proceeding with and completing the Catholic Chapel, Hyde Park, he was encouraged to collect and apply to that purpose upwards of five thousand pounds sterling, and to incur debts on its account, amounting to about six hundred pounds more,—that of the latter sum he has paid *in cash* within the last eighteen months from his personal resources, two hundred and fifty pounds, and by his *personal Bills* within the same period, one hundred and fifty pounds sterling.—That on the recommendation of His Excellency, General Bourke, five gentlemen have been appointed to act with Petitioner as Trustees for that building, etc., but these gentlemen have not consented to take upon themselves either individually or collectively, any responsibility for its debts (a responsibility that should be inseparable from that Trusteeship), or to compensate or indemnify the Petitioner in any way for the labour, solicitude, and expense which he has, for more than ten years, devoted to that and the other ecclesiastical buildings.—That as these Trustees have been appointed by desire of the local Government, and have not funds available for that purpose, the same Government should contribute in some way to enable them to pay the debts attached to their office.—That as the whole, or at least the principal part of the

duties of the Chaplaincy are comprised in those which he has continued to perform for the last seven years, Petitioner solicits that the salary annexed to the Chaplaincy may now be given to him for the whole of that time, and that two hundred pounds per annum may in future be allowed him as the Senior Catholic Clergyman of the Colony; and that in the event of His Excellency the Governor and the Honourable the Legislative Council not deeming it expedient to grant the compensation which he here solicits, and which, as a deeply and unmeritedly injured man, he conceives he is authorised to expect from the hands of so liberal and benevolent a Government as the present one is universally acknowledged to be, the Petitioner trusts that there may be no difficulty on the part of Government to prevent his receiving at present the sum of three hundred pounds sterling, ordered him by the Right Honourable Secretary of State for the Colonies, at the time of Petitioner's removal from office, as this sum would serve, and is required, to diminish his pecuniary responsibilities, and to assist to enable him to proceed to England by an early opportunity.—And your Petitioner will ever pray, etc.

JOHN JOSEPH THERRY.
Missionary Apostolic.

Chapel House, Hyde Park,
Sydney. June, 1833."

"Believing the statement of the case of the Rev. John Joseph Therry, as given above to be correct:—convinced that that Rev. Gentleman has been much misapprehended, having been myself much more than satisfied with the Rev. Gentleman's conduct since my arrival in the Colony, from a sense both of duty and of justice, I beg leave most earnestly to recommend the application of the Rev. John Joseph Therry to the favourable consideration of His Excellency Major-General Bourke and the Honourable the Legislative Council.

[Signed] WILLIAM ULLATHORNE, *Vicar General.*

[A true Copy.]

E. DEAS THOMSON, *Clerk of the Council.*"

(A.) The Article for the publication of which (in the *Sydney Gazette*), the Rev. John Joseph Therry was removed by Order of Earl Bathurst, from his Official Situation of Roman Catholic Chaplain of New South Wales.

"The Roman Catholic Chaplain has publicly to express

his grateful acknowledgments to Mr James Burke, of Airds, a native of the Colony, for his offer of five acres of cleared land, contiguous to Campbell Town as a burial ground, and site for a chapel and school-house, and for his still more liberal promise to give double that number of acres if so many should be required for these purposes. It may be necessary here to state that the Roman Catholics who form the greater number of at least the free inhabitants of that, and of some of the adjoining districts, having no place to assemble in on the Lord's day for the purpose of divine worship, but the open air (in which the prisoners of that persuasion are obliged to continue for hours together, on every Sunday exposed to all the vicissitudes of the weather, in order to be exempted from a necessity of attending at ceremonies of which they cannot conscientiously approve); and having already liberally subscribed to the erection of the Sydney chapel, the funds of which are indeed nearly, if not completely exhausted, decline contributing any further to that edifice, until they shall have first erected a temporary chapel in their immediate neighbourhood. And as, from a document (the visitation charge of the Very Rev. the Arch-deacon, as reported in the *Express* of yesterday) which has been recently published, it may be inferred that public provision is to be made for Protestant parochial schools exclusively; and that the children of the Catholic poor are to be either excluded from the salutary benefits of education or compelled or enticed to abandon the truly venerable religion of their ancestors, according to the past and present system of the Orphan School establishment in the Colony; and as the lesser of these evils is to be deprecated as a most serious one, the Roman Catholic Chaplain, with the fond hope of obviating both, is determined, *Deo adjuvante*, immediately to form a Roman Catholic Education Society, into which, however, persons of any persuasion may be admitted on subscribing to its funds fifteen shillings a year, or one shilling and three pence per month.

"But he has seriously to regret, that this design has not been anticipated; or that its execution has not been reserved for less humble and more efficient instrumentality than his.

"The intention of the Roman Catholic Chaplain, to procure places of burial separate from those of the Establishment, will not be ascribed by any person who happens to know him to a spirit of illiberality. The idea was first suggested to him by a personage of high rank and distinguished liberality and benevolence of another persuasion, who had

known by experience such a measure to be in strict accordance with the discipline of the Catholic Church, and calculated to prevent the collision or inconvenient interference of the respective duties of clergymen of different societies, and the recurrence of an instance which had more than once taken place, in which burial or surplice dues were required from the surviving friends of deceased Catholics by a minister who had not officiated at the interments; and, on payment of them being refused, were enforced by him in his capacity of magistrate.

"This precedent, however, he feels it his duty also to state, has neither been nor is likely to be adopted by the other Rev. Gentlemen of the Establishment, who (with the Rev. Gentleman alluded to, who he sincerely believes on these occasions merely vindicated what he considered to be his just rights) are in every way entitled to, and possess his *unqualified* respect.
Sydney, 14th June 1825."

OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS

"Sydney, 3rd December 1822.

SIR,—The Funds established for the erection of a Roman Catholic Chapel in this town being now completely exhausted, and the work itself consequently interrupted, I am under the necessity of earnestly soliciting His Excellency Sir Thomas Brisbane, K.C.B., to be graciously pleased to grant us such assistance on the part of Government, as shall enable us to resume and complete it.

"The well known benevolence of our Government, the moral and political importance of the undertaking for which its patronage is now solicited, and the written recommendation of one of the Judges and twenty-six Magistrates of the Territory (which I sometime since had the honour of submitting to you, and a copy of which, to prevent the trouble of having reference to the original, I beg leave to enclose), give me the greatest confidence that my humble prayer will on this occasion be attended with the happiest result.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

With the greatest respect,

Your obedient humble servant,

JOHN JOSEPH THERRY,
Roman Catholic Chaplain.

Frederick Goulburn Esq.,
Colonial Secretary, etc., etc., etc."

"We the undersigned Magistrates, being of opinion that His Majesty's and the Public Service require that a suitable place of worship should be speedily established for the Roman Catholics of Sydney; and perceiving that the Contributions which have been made for that purpose by individuals are not adequate to the expenses likely to be incurred, in consequence of the necessary magnitude of the required edifice, beg leave to submit to the consideration of His Excellency Sir Thomas Brisbane, K.C.B., the expediency of granting on the part of Government, such assistance to the Roman Catholic Committee, as may enable them to complete in a reasonable time, the Chapel lately commenced in Hyde Park:—

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|---|--|
| BARON FIELD, Judge of the Supreme Court. | JOHN HARRIS, J.P. |
| JOHN PIPER, J.P., and N.O. | THOMAS REDDALL, J.P. |
| JOHN THOMAS CAMPBELL, J.P., and P.M. | THOMAS M'VITIE, J.P. |
| D. WENTWORTH, J.P., and S.P. | ARCHIBALD BELL, J.P. |
| HENRY GRATTAN DOUGLAS, J.P., and M.D. | CHARLES THROSBY, J.P. |
| EDWARD WOOLSTONECRAFT, J.P. | H. C. ANTILL, J.P. |
| ALEXANDER BERRY, J.P. | THOMAS MOORE, J.P. |
| WILLIAM BROWNE, J.P. | JOHN OXLEY, J.P., and Sur- veyor General. |
| RICHARD BROOKS, J.P. | JAMES BOWMAN, J.P., and Surgeon General. |
| HANNIBAL McARTHUR, J.P. | JOHN JAMISON, J.P. |
| WILLIAM COX, J.P. | JOHN BRABYN, J.P. |
| JAMES MITCHAM, J.P. | EDWARD REILY, J.P. |
| | JOHN BLAXLAND, J.P. |
| | JOHN PALMER, J.P. |
| | GEORGE THOMAS PALMER, J.P." |

"Colonial Secretary's Office,
4th December 1822.

REV. SIR,—I am commanded to acquaint you, in reply to your letter of the 3rd inst., that the Governor feels sorry that you find yourself unable to perfect the Roman Catholic Chapel in this Town, on the grand scale on which you have commenced it; His Excellency experiences no small gratification, however, at the present interest which seems to have been excited respecting its completion, in the breasts of one of the Judges and twenty-six Magistrates of the Territory, as manifested by their written recommendations of assistance, a copy of which you have done me the honour to enclose;

after the anxiety so generally felt, the propriety of opening a fresh subscription for the consummation of that religious, political, and elegant undertaking naturally suggests itself, and in any list that may be opened, I am directed by the Governor to enter the name of this Government for a sum equal to the *Sum Total* of all such additional Donations.

I have the honour to be,

Rev. Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

F. GOULBURN, Colonial Secretary.

The Rev. Mr Therry.

Roman Catholic Chaplain, Sydney."

"6th December 1822.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, and to beg that you will have the kindness to convey to His Excellency, Sir Thomas Brisbane, K.C.B., my most sincere thanks for the highly gratifying financial arrangement which His Excellency has graciously made in favour of the Roman Catholic Chapel.

"To you also, Sir, I feel greatly indebted, for the polite, and condescending manner in which you have been pleased to communicate to me His Excellency's pleasure.

"With sentiments of the most sincere gratitude and respect,

I have the honour to be,

Sir.

Your obedient humble servant.

JOHN JOSEPH THERRY.

Roman Catholic Chaplain.

Frederick Goulburn, Esq.

Colonial Secretary, etc., etc., etc."

To Father Ullathorne's endorsement of Father Therry's appeal for justice, may be added the following testimony of a layman, in the form of a letter addressed to Bishop Morris in the Mauritius. The paragraph relating to an unnamed priest does not need to be suppressed: it is better to leave such statements or insinuations to refute themselves by facts. The allusion to the said priest's departure from America enables us to identify him with no less a person than Father

John M^cEncroe, whose exemplary life, to its very close, won him the affectionate esteem and confidence of Father Ullathorne and Dr Polding, which he never forfeited, and furnishes the best refutation of a baseless calumny which was uttered merely on malicious hearsay. He had been Vicar-General to Bishop England in South Carolina.

To the Right Rev. Wm. Morris, D.D., Mauritius.

“Burwan Cottage [Sydney].

21 December 1833.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am now expecting every day to see the *Enchantress* come back, and I trust I shall have the honour of receiving a letter from you, but I could not allow the present vessel to leave Sydney without handing you a copy of the Memorial of my Revd. and truly worthy friend Mr Therry, and I can assure your Lordship, that in supporting (by your influence at Downing Street) in any way the prayer of the petition, you would be aiding the best Interests of Religion, and perhaps be the means of extricating a most worthy man from difficulties brought upon him, in endeavouring to raise a Temple to God, which would do credit to the most refined quarter of the world: and thus perhaps be the means of preserving to the Catholics of this Colony the services of one who has done more towards the keeping alive the seeds of religion in the souls of the Catholics of this Colony than any other man could possibly have done: he is most industrious; fatigue of body he values not, for to-day we hear of him in one place, perhaps to-morrow fifty miles farther off, visiting the dying sinner, raising chapels, instituting schools, and in fact performing beyond almost the power of an individual the sacred duties of his office, travelling by day and by night, enduring without complaining, but even with cheerfulness, the heats of the noonday sun and the fogs and cold of night; being frequently obliged to sleep in the woods at night. The loss therefore to us by his going away would be very great, especially at the present moment, as I am sorry to say one of your clergymen (although in other respects a seemingly worthy man) is rather given to drink, (I believe his constitution requires it), is incapable at times to perform his duties; in fact, if it was not for the public scandal that he gives I would not have dared to have hinted such a thing to your Lordship. I myself have never seen anything of it, being out of Sydney, but it has met me in a

great many quarters. I have also heard it said that was the reason why he left America. Mr Ullathorne, has, I understand, done everything in his power to reclaim him, and I trust he may ultimately accomplish his end. I am happy in believing that this is not as yet known to our Protestant brethren, which is a great comfort.

"I sincerely trust your Lordship will do everything in your power to assist Mr Therry, whom I am confident if you knew, you would most highly esteem. The high opinion entertained of this gent. in 1822 is maintained and increased. I have never heard him spoken of but in the highest terms, in fact a Protestant gentleman declared to me, that he believed Mr Therry did more good than the whole of the Protestant establishment put together; this was high praise, especially from one who held the Catholic Doctrines as impious and absurd, until I did everything in my power to disabuse him of his opinions.

"Mrs Wilson requests to be remembered to your Lordship in the most respectful manner.

And I remain,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble servant.

ADAM WILSON."¹

¹The following letter, though of no particular value as regards its contents, is here inserted, as coming from the pen of one of Australia's earliest and worthiest missionaries, Father M^cEncroe, so cruelly slandered in the above communication.

"Sydney, N .S. Wales,
3rd June 1834.

MY LORD,—We have been expecting to hear from your Lordship by every arrival from the Mauritius. Our worthy and respected Vicar General has felt considerably disappointed in not receiving an answer to any of the letters he addressed to you. He has done much in bringing to some order this anomalous mission, but much remains to be regulated by Episcopal Authority.

"The Dispensations regarding abstinence and the observance of some holy days lately extended to the Catholics of England and Ireland by the Holy See are pressingly required for these Colonies. The Rev. Mr Ullathorne has visited Hobart Town, where the priest and people seem mutually dissatisfied with each other. Six or eight additional priests are required for this and the sister Colony. Government have provided for four additional here; several would join the Church if they had an opportunity of being instructed.

Dr Ullathorne in his *Autobiography*,¹ and in his *Reply to Judge Burton*² gives fuller details which deserve to find a place here.

"Government policy was still strongly in favour of an exclusive Established Church under the Crown," he writes. "A Royal Commissioner, Mr Bigge, was sent out to report on the condition of the Colony; Mr Thomas Hobbs Scott, formerly a wine merchant, accompanied him as Secretary. On their return, Mr Scott was made the first Protestant Archdeacon of the Colony;³ and on his arrival announced his intention to organise the Protestant church, to establish parishes and schools, and to hand over to a corporation one-seventh of the land of the Colony for that purpose. This

"We had some hopes of your Lordship's paying us a visit; it would be productive of much good. I had an idea of going to the Mauritius to consult with your Lordship on the best means of promoting the interests of this growing and interesting portion of the vineyard, and of soliciting some aid towards the completion of our Church. The other clergymen concurred in this idea.

"A Captain Sinott of the Bark *Freack*, has kindly offered his services to collect and bring us any offerings of money, vestments, or ornaments for the Church, that the piety of the faithful, encouraged by your Lordship's recommendation, may please to make to our poor congregation.

"I would wish to know what may be the expense of boarding and tuition per annum for an ecclesiastic in your college.

"A woman named Josephine Alli, transported here, recommends her children to your Lordship's notice. She has a daughter married to Antoine Savarre, rue de Mocat, Port Louis. I attended her lately in the Hospital. As the Vicar General has written fully to your Lordship on the state of things in this Colony, I will not take up your time with a repetition, but subscribe myself, your Lordship's most obedient servant and subject,

J. MCENCROE.

The Right Rev. Dr Morris, etc., etc., etc.

Vicar Apostolic, Mauritius.

Favoured by Capt. Sinott."

Endorsed.—"Received 1st August 1834, answered 2nd August 1834. Wrote same time to Rev. W. Ullathorne."

[*D. A.*, I 238.]

¹ pp. 68-69.

² p. 21.

³ Supported by a salary of £2000 per annum.

was accomplished by a Deed under the sign manual of George IV."

This royal enactment was dated 17th July 1825, and by its provisions a Body Politic and Corporate was constituted consisting of the Governor and Government officers, together with Archdeacon Scott and nine chaplains. Their instructions were to set apart in every division of the Colony, "the seventh part in extent and value of all the lands in each and every such county, and to be known by the name of the Clergy and School Estate of such county." At the close of 1829, it was intimated that the King intended to revoke this unjust charter. This was not actually done till 4th February 1833, and its revocation was then officially notified in the *Gazette*, 28th August 1833.

"Moreover, in the orphanage established by Government at Parramatta, the children left without parents were all to be taught the Protestant religion. This new state of affairs was very alarming to the Catholic population, and Father Therry addressed a letter to the *Sydney Herald* (which was at that time also the *Government Gazette*), on 6th June 1825, in which he signified his intention of forming a Catholic School Society, and also of doing his best to establish Catholic Cemeteries, which would prevent any inconveniences, besides avoiding collision with the Anglican clergy."¹

From this point we may pursue the narrative from his *Reply to Judge Burton*.²

"In concluding the article, Mr Therry deemed it expedient to remove any possibility of his being considered, by any one, as acting under the influence of vindictive feeling, by declaring his 'unqualified respect,' for the clergy of the Church of England, without exception. It so happened

¹ In his *Reply to Judge Burton*, p. 20, he states that one of them "had more than once required the payment of burial dues, for the interment of Catholics, where he had not officiated; which, when refused by the friends of the departed, had been exacted by him in his capacity of a magistrate"!

² p. 21.

that, by a blunder of the printer, the word *unqualified* was curtailed of a syllable, and printed *qualified*; and, although the editor of the *Gazette* apologised for the blunder in his next following number; although Mr Terry himself afterwards reprinted the article in its correct form; although he ever disclaimed, both the sense conveyed in that typical error, and all intention of disrespect; although the article itself, on examination, shows that it could never have been written as at first printed; nevertheless, the article, with its mechanical error unexplained, was sent home to Government, and Earl Bathurst was induced to deprive the writer of his salary and of his official appointment as colonial chaplain, making, however, an offer of £300, to enable him to leave the Colony—an opportunity which Mr Terry considered it his duty to decline. That the expression of supposed disrespect against the Protestant Archdeacon and clergy was the ground of this act, I am able to verify from the terms of a communication made by Earl Bathurst, on the subject, to the Right Rev. Bishop Poynter. And although, after this took place, Mr Terry gave every explanation, and took various occasions to express his regret that anything written by him should have given offence to the Archdeacon; notwithstanding the well-supported petitions that were addressed in his favour; Mr Terry was not again restored to his chaplaincy and stipend, until the year 1837. That considerable trouble had been taken to impress the Colonial Office unfavourably in his regard appears evident; even so late as 1832, there existed strange and erroneous notions in that department, with respect to his character and conduct.”

Dean Kenny, in his *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*,¹ relates that:—“Whilst still under this ban, Father Terry went to visit a dying man at one of the hospitals, but was stopped by the guard when about to enter. Father Terry said: ‘The salvation of this man depends on my ministrations: which is your first duty?’ The guard lowered his arms and permitted him to pass. On another occasion, going to the infirmary to visit a sick person, the doorkeeper bade him wait till he should have ascertained from the attendant surgeon whether he could be admitted. Whilst he was away, Father Terry, who knew all the passages of the

¹ p. 51.

place, gave the sick person all the consolations of religion, and on returning, met the official, who told him he could not be admitted."

Thus, instead of returning home as the authorities expected, and undoubtedly desired, Father Therry remained, though deprived of official status and support, carrying out his clerical duties as best he could in their despite, in antagonism to the authorities. Not only had he to depend on his own poverty-stricken flock for his entire maintenance, but he was henceforth deprived of Government help towards the carrying out of his benevolent activities, and the completion of his building schemes. As has been stated, this condition of official ostracism he endured for twelve years.

Dean Kenny preserves other details which deserve recording here. He was told by a man who remembered the circumstances that Father Therry "being very disconsolate at thinking he might be compelled to leave his flock, as Father Flynn had been to leave the Colony, called upon Mr C. Wentworth, the leading barrister then in the Colony, and a most determined foe to anything like oppression, who, having heard his case, told him not to fear, that 'he defied the Governor to send him out of the Colony.' The condition of the Catholics in the Colony at this time was very disheartening. Subscriptions were coming in very slowly for the completion of St Mary's Church; and the Government was not redeeming its promise, to be at half the expense; to add to their troubles, the chaplaincy was taken from Father Therry, and he had to be supported by the people. The Catholics were becoming numerous, but the majority of them were poor: they had subscribed liberally towards the erection of St Mary's, but it was a great undertaking, and a heavy tax upon their resources. . . . Many of the petty officials were very insolent to Father Therry and his flock, taking advantage of the circumstances. It was permitted the Catholics to have divine service in the old Courthouse, a large building, now [1886] a Public School in Castlereagh Street; but because their pastor was not recognised by the Government, the door was locked against

them! But in defiance of such insolence the door was forced open. It is said Mr Wentworth was consulted as to what steps the Catholics ought to take to secure the Courthouse for divine service, as they had as good a right as others to use it for that purpose. 'What will you do?' said Wentworth, 'Why, take a crowbar and break the door open; and if they take you to court, send for me, and I'll defend you.' In the midst of all this trouble Father Terry was ever cheerful, and his sorrows only tended to make him more zealous and laborious for the cause of God and good of his fellow men; . . . Father Terry was widely respected by all classes, and highly esteemed. When travelling in the discharge of his sacred duties every door was open to him and every assistance given to further the sacred ends he had in view. In disputes the decision of Father Terry was accepted, and oftentimes the matter was referred to him for arbitration. He had a kind word and a shake of the hand for every one."¹

Dr Slater's place as Bishop of the Mauritius with jurisdiction over Australia was taken by the Right Rev. William Placid Morris, a monk of Downside, but senior to Dr Ullathorne, having been admitted to the Benedictine habit in 1810. For some years he was serving the mission in London where his abilities brought him under the favourable notice of Bishop Bramston, then Vicar Apostolic of the London District; and when he was called upon to recommend some one to replace Dr Slater at the Mauritius, his choice fell on Dr Morris. Dr Ullathorne in his *Autobiography* tells us how he came to be associated with his brother monk, and how, finally, he was sent to Australia. He also shows how Dr Polding fired him with the desire of foreign missionary labour, and how this eventually led to the disciple engaging his master in that very work.

Bishop Morris "naturally wished to obtain co-operators from the house of his profession, and accordingly made application to the Superiors of Downside. In reply to his

¹ *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, pp. 50-52.

application he was told that if I were asked I should probably not be unwilling to go. This impression was, I believe derived from an incident which took place several years before that time. I had been suffering for some two years from an acute inflammation of the liver, combined with sharp and continuous attacks of ague. I was going with other young religious, in company with Dr Polding, in a postchaise, to Bath, to consult a physician, when Dr Polding began to talk of the great want of missionaries in Australia; he spoke of the sufferings of the convicts, and observed that there was not such a field in the wide world for missionary labour. He gave his own ideas as to the way in which such a mission should be managed, expressed his attraction for it, and asked us which of us would be ready to join him. I at once declared myself ready to do so. This conversation had evidently been laid up in Dr Polding's mind, and had led to the mentioning of my name to Dr Morris. When, therefore, Dr Morris wrote to me, I replied that I had about a hundred reasons *against* going to the Mauritius, and almost as many *for* going to Australia.

"It must here be observed that the Bishop of the Mauritius had at that time a most extensive jurisdiction; it reached on the one side, to South Africa; and on the other, over Australia and the South Sea Islands, including New Zealand. Dr Morris replied that he equally required help for Australia, and asked me to go to New South Wales. I therefore submitted the question to my Superiors. The Prior at that time was Father [George] Turner, an old Douay monk, a truly meek and holy man, whilst Drs Polding and Brown filled the next offices. Dr Polding advised me to wait, thinking that the time for the Australian Mission was not yet mature. But the Prior and Dr Brown advised me to write to the President General [Dr Birdsall] who gave me up to the jurisdiction of Bishop Morris for the Australian Mission.

"I therefore proceeded to London, where I received . . . the affectionate co-operation [and] the prolonged hospitality of my *confrère*, the Rev. Dr Heptonstall, who was the Procurator of the English Benedictines in London, and had a small mission at Acton. At that time I had no prospect of aid from the Colonial Government, but was going out at my own expense. . . . My first work was to form a library, for I knew that the books I should require could not be found in Australia. I therefore spent some months in the

old book shops and among their catalogues, and gathered together about a thousand volumes of Theology, Fathers, Canon Law, and sacred literature, in every language of which I knew something. . . .

"Meanwhile a despatch had come from the Governor of New South Wales to the Secretary for the Colonies, which changed my position altogether. His Excellency represented to the Secretary of State that there was no authorised head of the Catholic clergy in that Colony, that difficulties had consequently arisen between the Government and the senior priest respecting grants of land, and that it was desirable to obtain the appointment of a Catholic ecclesiastic invested with due authority. Bishop Morris was in consequence invited to an interview at the Colonial Office, and he informed the Secretary of State that he had an ecclesiastic in view, whom he could appoint as his Vicar-General for Australia, with residence in Sydney, who would have all the authority required. This was agreed to, and a stipend was assigned by the Government of £200 a year, an allowance of £1 a day when travelling on duty, and for voyage and outfit, £150. The title assigned to me by Government, in documents, beyond that of Vicar-General, was that of His Majesty's Catholic Chaplain in New South Wales. I also received a letter from the Colonial Secretary, recommending me to the Governor of the Australian Colonies."

With these credentials Dr Ullathorne proceeded to his destination. Till then, the work that had been done by the small band of devoted missionaries, while invaluable and beyond all praise, was sporadic and individual. From the day of Dr Ullathorne's landing, these labours were co-ordinated and controlled: and by the centralisation of authority, guiding and directing those subordinate to it, the foundation of the CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA was laid.

Extracts may here suitably be given from the pamphlet of 1834 previously alluded to, printed almost *in extenso* by Cardinal Moran.¹

After giving slight biographical details up to the point when Father Conolly went to Van Diemen's Land, the pamphlet proceeds:—

¹ *History*, pp. 110-114.

"Mr Therry, being now left alone, and being his own master, set his active mind to work, and was enabled shortly after to commence that noble building in Hyde Park, St Mary's Church The motives which Mr Therry had, in laying out this building on the grand scale in which he did, have often been canvassed, but those to whom he is best known are quite certain that his motives were the noblest and the very best. He wished to erect a monument to the Almighty Sovereign worthy of His glory, and suited to the solemn rites of His holy religion, and time and itself shall end together. It ought not to be matter of surprise to any person that one, who has ever proved by his acts and deeds that he is a most firm believer in all the prophecies and promises of his Divine Master, should commence a Church which would only be of sufficient magnitude to contain the people of the present generation That chivalrous soldier and humane Governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, was the distinguished friend of the Rev. Mr Therry, and a generous benefactor to St Mary's Church The Presbyterians of the Colony, seeing that the Colonial Government had been so liberal to the Catholics, were not backward in applying to Sir Thomas Brisbane for similar assistance for themselves; but the famous answer of the gallant Governor raised the spirits of the Catholics, whilst it was cause of confusion to the Presbyterians. 'When you,' (writes the Governor to the Presbyterian Committee), 'in the choice of your teachers, shall have discovered a judgment equal to that which presided at the selection of the Roman Catholic clergymen to instruct the people to fear God and honour the King, then only will they get countenance and support from the Colonial Government.'"

There follows a short account of the origin of the dispute between Father Therry and the Government, and the pamphlet then proceeds:—

"Another Catholic Clergyman, the Rev. Daniel Power, arrived in the Colony soon after. General Darling [then Governor] and other enemies of the Catholic religion, urged that poor man to do things which, in other circumstances, he never would have thought of doing. Their object was to endeavour to weaken the influence which they well knew Mr Therry possessed, not only with the Catholics, but with the liberal portion of the Protestant community. Mr



Power's career here was of short duration; he died in the month of March 1830 Mr Ullathorne arrived here in March 1833. One of his first acts was to take the superintendence of St Mary's Church out of the hands of the pastor, who had been present at the foundation being laid, and who had not ceased to watch over this structure in its progress with more than vestal care. But Mr Therry's zeal and skill in building churches did not cease with St Mary's; he directed his attention to the chapel at Campbelltown, which had been commenced some time before, and this building also (thanks to his untiring exertions) was soon in a great state of forwardness, and is now fit to receive the congregation in that neighbourhood. He it is, too, who had laid the foundation of a Church in the rising town of Maitland, in the district of the Hunter River. Yet, this is the man who has done so much for religion and who has been treated so unworthily."

As Father Conolly's departure for Van Diemen's Land had taken place in 1820, Father Therry had been left to work Sydney and the surrounding district single handed till 1826, when Father Daniel Power came to his aid, but soon died. He was followed in 1829 by the Rev. C. V. Dowling, an Irish Dominican, at a Government salary of £150 a year; and in 1832 another venerable name was added to the list of Australia's pioneer priests in the person of Father John McEncroe, mentioned by Dr Ullathorne to Propaganda in 1837 as "a most zealous priest."

In that same Report, dated 13th May 1837, Dr Ullathorne gives further details about this period.

He says that in the June of 1820, a public meeting of the Catholics in Sydney was convened by FF. Conolly and Therry to devise means to build a church there, designed, as has been stated, on noble lines, and to be erected on land granted by the Government. This is proof that the Government intended to act fairly by the Catholics.

"Father Conolly who was the delegate of the V. A. of the Mauritius,¹ on account of disputes with Rev. Mr Therry, (as I have been told) left N. S. Wales and went to Van

¹ As senior priest, to whom therefore Dr Slater had advised Father Therry to defer with proper submission.

Diemen's Land. Rev. Mr Therry, a priest more zealous than discreet, went all about the country tirelessly administering the Sacraments in cases of necessity, and collecting great sums of money in every part of the Colony, much of which was given by Protestants: enough to have completed the building of the church begun in Sydney: but by want of prudence he was able to build only the walls, and thus it remained many years. On my arrival, I got the Governor to help, completed the interior (without arches or windows) sufficiently to be able to celebrate Mass, etc."

"On account of dissensions between Father Therry and Father Dowling, and also between the former and the Governor, (and this extended to the laity), the Governor determined to apply for a priest with recognised superior authority, and, in consequence of this, Dr Morris, just about to leave England for the Mauritius, obtained leave of my religious Superiors to send me as his Vicar General to New Holland, with a salary of £200 a year from the Government, and the condition of things I found"—will be detailed in a report he sent to his bishop.¹

Dr Ullathorne refers to the unfinished state of the church commenced by Father Therry in Sydney. Even before his advent, the Catholics of Sydney, deploring the waste of energy and funds, had early in 1830 petitioned the Governor for help. Dean Kenny records the details of this meeting.

In his *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*² he says that

"The arrival of Sir R. Bourke filled the Roman Catholics with great hope; they expected he would prove himself to be what report made him, an able, just, and liberal Governor,"—a contrast, indeed, to his predecessors!—"and, as the sequel showed, they were not disappointed."

"Not long after the arrival of the Governor, the Catholics determined to hold a meeting, and agree upon a memorial, representing their wants and grievances, and present it to the Governor. One particular object of the meeting, was to induce the Government to redeem its promise of assistance towards

¹ *D. A.*, J 401. Italian, 33 ff. pages of print: here merely summarised in translation.

² Ch. VI. pp. 56 seqq.

the building of St Mary's Church. At that time the work done, when valued by a competent architect, amounted to £5900, and when all deductions were made, there remained due to the church by the Government, £3000—a just and legitimate claim."

This meeting was held in Sydney on 30th March 1832, and Mr Roger Therry, then Commissioner of the Court of Requests moved the adoption of the memorial. In doing so, he made a powerful speech, whose substance may be seen in Dean Kenny's pages, and he claimed complete equality for Catholics with other denominations; the granting of proper facilities for the observance of their religion; and besought the restoration to official favour of the ostracised missionary Father Therry. The text of the memorial is as follows:—

" 22nd April 1831.

To His Excellency Lieutenant-General Darling, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Territory of New South Wales in Council.

The respectful Memorial of the undersigned Magistrates, Merchants, Land and Householders, *sheweth*,

" That in respectfully inviting your Excellency's attention to this address respecting the Roman Catholic Chapel in Hyde Park, we deem it our first duty to convey to your Excellency, as the representative of our Gracious Sovereign, the expression of our congratulation and joy, that our beloved Royal Master, guided by the light of his own generous mind and that of the best and ablest of his councillors, has knit together the hearts and affections of all his subjects; and has consolidated the strength of the Empire, by combining them under the comprehensive appellation of an equal and united People.

" That this recent act of policy and of justice, we sincerely feel to be one of the most auspicious, wise and useful measures, that have been passed under the sanction of a Gracious King; within the short space of whose illustrious reign, glorious and brilliant events have been concentrated, which are usually scattered over a century of time.

“That impressed with a due sense of the beneficent designs intended to be promoted by the great measure of political equalisation to which we have adverted, we beg leave to express our respectful hope and confidence, that under your Excellency’s auspices, this rising and important Colony may be made a participator in the act of Royal favour and legislative concession, which all just and liberal men regard with approbation; and which has filled the hearts of all his Majesty’s Roman Catholic subjects with sentiments of affectionate gratitude and devoted fidelity.

“We beg leave respectfully to suggest to your Excellency, that any encouragement which your Excellency may be pleased to extend towards the completion of the Roman Catholic Chapel in Hyde Park, would be most acceptable to the numerous body of that religious persuasion in this Colony; —and we further respectfully represent to your Excellency, that besides being grateful to the feelings of that community, an additional inducement to that encouragement may be found in their increasing number and increasing want of an edifice worthy the glory of God’s worship, and suitable to the pious purposes of religious rites and Christian instruction.

“In conclusion, we deem it right to state to your Excellency, that the Roman Catholic Chapel has arrived at its present state of forwardness through the zealous exertions of the Reverend John Joseph Therry; and by means of the subscriptions which the members of his own flock, and other liberal and opulent persons, were induced to contribute, from a confidence in his moral worth, a respect for his talents, and for the purity with which he devoted those talents to the spiritual welfare of the community of which he is a pastor. From the authorised assurance which we have received of that Reverend gentleman’s regret, that any document published by him should have given offence to the late Venerable Archdeacon of this Colony, and from the respect and confidence which we know he continues to enjoy among the members of his own religious persuasion, we respectfully confide, that circumstances of bygone difference, and topics of unpleasant discussion, may be forgotten, and that such circumstances, and such topics, may be no bar to such assistance as your Excellency either may have power to influence, or disposition to extend, towards the completion of the Roman Catholic Chapel; without which assistance, we apprehend, that instead of being as it might be, a Temple of piety, and an

edifice combining ornament and utility in an eminent degree, *it will become a ruin.*" [Ends].

[Added in writing]. "Twelve months have elapsed since this was got up: the memorial has been in the hands of Chief-Justice Forbes since that period in order to present it to the Legislative Council; the Governor has thought proper, however, to dispense with the Council's assembling; and, at the time I write this, there is no likelihood of their meeting.

J. O'SULLIVAN.

22nd April 1831."¹

As a matter of fact, the memorial though adopted on 30th March, was not presented to the Governor till 17th August 1832, four and a half months later, and in the interim Mr J. H. Plunkett, a Catholic, had arrived to take up the duties of his appointment as Solicitor-General. With him had also arrived Father John M^cEncroe. These two, together with Father Therry and two Protestants, Major Mitchell, Surveyor-General, and Mr S. Moore, Senior Magistrate, formed the deputation that waited on the Governor to present the memorial which had appended to it the signatures of two thousand free colonists. His Excellency accorded them a favourable hearing and expressed his anxiety to meet all their wishes; moreover, reading to them extracts from despatches from Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State, authorising a grant in aid of the church for its completion.

At this point, just as Father Ullathorne was about to leave England, he wrote a letter from which we learn still more of the causes at work in Australia resulting in his appointment as Vicar-General, and asking for permission to accept the offer made to him, at the same time detailing all he knew about the situation, after enquiry, and after the receipt of information from New South Wales.

"London, 31st August 1832.

VERY REV. FR. PRESIDENT,—As Dr Morris obtained from

¹ *D. A.*, H 240. Printed 1830.

you, V. R. Father, some time since, your permission for me to accompany his Lordship as a missionary to New South Wales, I did not then think it necessary I should write to you on the subject. An arrangement has since been made and proposed to me, to which I think it is proper I should ask and obtain your concurrence. The Colonial Government long expressed their disinclination to do anything towards assisting me in my undertaking.

Last week, however, documents arrived from the Government at Sydney of a very liberal character, urging further religious assistance and support for the education of the Catholics of the Colony. We perceive, likewise, by the *Sydney Gazette*, that the Legislative Council of N. S. Wales had voted in the supplies for 1832, £350 for the education of Catholics and the support of the C[atholic] chaplain of Sydney. In consequence of this information Dr M. again applied to Secretary Hay; who answered that the Government was prepared to do everything for the C[atholic] religion, but they must have some person there in a superior capacity to put a stop to the dissensions reigning among the clergy there.¹ In consequence of this, Dr Morris has proposed me as his Vicar General in N. S. Wales, and Government has offered me my passage free, and a salary of £200 per annum, and the fullest countenance of Government, with a promise, moreover, that on my arrival something more shall be done in the way of monies; and they will give me more land in consequence of the disputes and dissatisfaction which have arisen on that head, they prefer rather giving money to purchase it, and for education and building. Having advised with Mr Polding and my other Downside friends, and received their affirmative as to my accepting this offer, or rather as to the giving of my own consent, it remains for me to ask that of my principal superior. If it please you, V. R. F., to sanction my acceptance of this appointment, will you be kind enough to give testimonials of your sanction, and a form of dimissorial sufficient to enable me to justify my absence from the immediate superintendence of my Religious Superiors, and from the English mission. In which case I shall sail from England direct for Sydney

¹ *The American Quarterly Review*, 1893, vol. 18, p. 336, recalling Dr Ullathorne's early struggles in Australia, quotes a letter of his to Father Amherst, S.J., in 1886, in which he says that in 1833 he had "to do everything with three priests; one of whom I suspended, and with another I had immense difficulties."

on the sixth of September. With all submission, respect, and obedience, I remain, your humble obedient subject,

B. ULLATHORNE.¹

Please to address me at
Messrs. Ullathorne & Co.,
12 Gate Street, Lincolns Inn Fields."²

On the very eve of departure, however, difficulties seem to have been raised by Dr Birdsall, and from the following letter, it would appear that he had been advised by others to withhold his consent to the departure of Father Ullathorne for the Antipodes. Certain it is that then and for very many years subsequently, the responsible superiors of the English Benedictines, because of the paucity of their numbers, viewed with alarm the constant drain made on the *personnel* of their Body for foreign work, and they were only half assured by the encouragement given them by their fast and life-long friend, Cardinal Weld, to show generosity in the service of the Church, even to the extent of crippling themselves, in the firm conviction that the sacrifices they were then making for the general good would be blessed by God later, in a way they could not then dream of. How abundantly his foresight and their faith have been justified, later years have shown. A letter written by Dr Birdsall, drew the following urgent and alarmed answer from Father Ullathorne.

" London, Sept. 5th '32.

VERY REV. FR PRESIDENT,—Your letter has placed me in a most critical situation, and has thrown my mind into a feverous state of anxiety. Both Dr Morris and myself have been acting upon the supposition that we had *implicitly at least*, your permission to my going out under Dr M. to the mission of N. S. Wales. Our belief that this was the case rests upon a letter, addressed by you, V. R. Father, to Dr M. previously to his first writing to me on the subject; in which letter there is the following passage:—

'If the Superior of Mr Ullathorne, and that is Rev. Mr Turner of Downside where Mr Ullathorne resides, be willing to spare him to your Lordship, I certainly shall not put any hindrance

¹ *D. A.*, H 468.

² This firm still flourishes at the same address.

to the proposal you make of taking him out with you to the other hemisphere, provided always that to such a step he himself accede. In a day or two I will acquaint Mr Turner with your Lordship's wishes, and between yourself, him, and Mr Ullathorne, I will leave the matter to be determined.'

"From this letter, dated April 27th, 1832, I concluded your permission to be already in fact granted. Mr Turner, I knew had received your letter, and his consent I had obtained. On the faith of this, Dr M. made the arrangement stated in my former letter to you, Fr President; Dr Morris was then himself fully expecting to leave England in the course of a few days. No time could be lost. The offer of Government was therefore accepted; a cabin of a vessel engaged for my passage; the despatch is already sent off from the Colonial Office with an order for me, to the agent of the Sydney Government—Mr Barnard. My fitting out of books, clothes, etc. etc. provided; all was in readiness, all engagements entered into on the faith of your consent to my accompanying Dr Morris; no condition whatever as to my situation having been stated or provided in your letter to Dr Morris. Yet, as your concurrence to my accompanying Dr M. had been addressed to a third person, as I had nothing myself from your hand, I thought it would be right, prudent, and my duty, to ask you for something; and by the advice of Mr Polding, I put my whole letter in the form of petition, that I might for a greater satisfaction, possess from your own hand *explicitly expressed*, that permission, which I felt confident, I already enjoyed *implicitly*.

"Permit me V. R. Father, humbly to state further, that I could not well have communicated with you earlier, as I had some feeling that Mr Polding might possibly accede to the situation himself. That as soon as I had his advice I wrote to you; that Dr Morris is very anxious lest, should your consent be withheld, his own credit and the future good of religion, as far as depends on Government, will be seriously involved. He requested me to state, should I write, that should you wish any information on the subject with him, he will be most willing to give it. I have been down to the vessel in which I have engaged a cabin, she will positively leave on Saturday next. I am expecting a duplicate of the Government despatch daily. These, Rev. Father, are the causes of my present distressed state of mind, to which I humbly beseech your paternal attention and consideration. I beg leave to state most humbly, most sincerely, and with all the simplicity and energy of my soul that I have not pro-

ceeded one step in this affair without the belief that I had already implicitly your authority for my sure footing. I am not, it is true, the best qualified person for such a situation, but I had the recommendation of and the affirmative advice of Mr Polding and those I requested him to consult at Downside. No one else offered: zeal I have for that mission, my heart yearns for the religious happiness of the colony of N. S. Wales. I do not think the situation one of honour, but of labour, of trial, of never ceasing toil. I relied not on myself, I trust, but on the strength of God's grace, which abandons not those who have given up all for God and the good of their fellow-creatures. If in all this I have done wrong or imprudently, it has been entirely without my will or wish; but what shall I now do? am I to consider, Rev. F., your last letter as a suspension of your former permission? Waiting with great anxiety the favour of an answer,

I remain,

V. R. Father President,

Your obedient subject,

B. ULLATHORNE."¹

The result was favourable, as the event proved, for Father Ullathorne started on his long journey, and finally reached his destination. And here he may be allowed to speak for himself. He says that before arriving at Sydney he "touched at Van Diemen's Land, on his voyage out." He there found religion to be "in a very low state." The reason for this will be explained later. "One solitary priest [Father P. Conolly] had lived there alone for many years, without even the opportunity of meeting a brother priest. Not a single school. A wretched wooden shed on the outskirts of Hobart Town, placed high up the sides of a lofty hill, not finished, no seat, not even a flooring board arranged and fastened, incapable of containing one half of the people—this was the only Catholic erection in Van Diemen's Land. Such a scene of religious desolation, of absolute destitution, has been rarely witnessed amongst a numerous Catholic population. The Governor was a man

¹ *D. A.*, H 469.

of a pious turn of mind, who thought religion and education of the utmost value to every one but a Catholic."¹

Thence after a short stay, during which he endeavoured to bring the chaos he found reigning there into some slight degree of order, he proceeded to New South Wales. He reports to Propaganda in 1837: "I reached Sydney early in 1833, and the condition of things I found may be seen in the letter I sent to Dr Morris, then my superior, thinking what I communicated to him would be forwarded to the Holy See."²

This letter has fortunately been preserved amongst the Morris papers, and may here be given in its entirety, for it is invaluable as clearing up obscurities in the narrative of those early days as commonly received hitherto. It demonstrates that all the blame was certainly not to be laid to the account of the Government; that Father Therry with his many good qualities was after all very human, and had many defects which marred his usefulness, and stood in the way of the progress which the Catholics had a right to expect, and would have secured but for him. It further exemplifies the danger and unjustifiableness of some of his practices, as the baptism of aboriginals.

"Chapel House, Hyde Park, Sydney,
17th April, 1833.

To the Right Rev. Dr Morris, Lord Bishop
of Troy, V.A., Mauritius.

My LORD,—I write to your Lordship from the midst of many perplexing affairs, which, however, I thank God, are now in a course for being speedily and satisfactorily unravelled. I reached Sydney on the 18th of February, two days before the commencement of Lent. Having seen the Rev. R. Conolly at Hobart Town to whom I delivered your Lordship's letter, he gave me a most disheartening account of the state of things in N. S. Wales and of our affairs in Sydney. It seems as if a particular providence had brought me to Sydney entrusted with powers from your

¹ *The Catholic Mission in Australasia* pp 10-11.

² *D. A.*, J 401.



RIGHT REV. WILLIAM PLACID MORRIS, D.D., O.S.B.,
Bishop of Troy, i.p.i.,
Second Vicar-Apostolic of the Mauritius and of New Holland.

TO VALL
ABRORUAC

Lordship at this particular moment. I arrived at the very period when, in the judgment of all persons, Catholic and Protestant (for our affairs was a common topic), things had come to a crisis. A few days more must have brought the Catholics, long divided in sentiment, into angry collision with each other and with the Government. The immediate cause of division was the appointment of trustees for our church in Sydney, and the extent of ground attached to be granted by Government. This affair of appointing trustees has been in agitation for some years. Several nominations have been made by various persons, but none that met the approbation of all parties. The Rev. J. M^cEncroe had, a few weeks previous to my arrival, received a letter from the Government, complaining of this unprecedented delay; and requesting that he would call a meeting for the purpose of finally electing trustees, in whose name they might convey and secure the grant. Mr Therry disagreed with Mr M^cEncroe as to the meeting, refused to co-operate with him, and Mr M^cEncroe dreading that nothing but scandal would ensue from the meeting, had remained in the greatest anxiety of mind, without rest night or day, 'til my arrival.

"The Government was equally relieved by my arrival, they being on the very point of proceeding to law with Mr Therry for his encroachments on Crown property. Mr Therry laid claim to about two acres of land in Hyde Park where our church is situated, more than was defined in the charts of the Surveyor-General. It was very clear to almost all intelligent persons that he must have been flung in law, as by a late decision no grant is held legal except it be held by prescription of twenty years or by a sealed document, neither of which Mr Therry is in possession of. There is every probability that, had Mr Therry persevered, he would not only have lost his cause, but would have irritated the authorities to the serious detriment of the Catholic cause in this Colony.

"The Governor received me with great kindness, and although very unwell at the time, gave me an audience in his bedroom. On the Sunday after my arrival, I announced my powers from the Altar, took the whole of affairs into my own hands, and promised as soon as I should have had time thoroughly to sift matters to bring them to an arrangement. On the third Sunday after my arrival, having satisfied myself on the real state of things and ascertained the sentiments and feelings of all parties concerned; after offering the Holy Sacrifice, and giving a strong and somewhat vehement

exhortation to unity and submission to authority, I held the meeting in the chapel, took the chair, with Mr Commissioner Therry as Secretary, and proposed my arrangement. I had two dangers to guard against: Cabal and intrigue in the election of trustees; and the ripping up old feuds and stories, which I was anxious should not be brought publicly before my notice, as the best means of their being buried for ever. I therefore impressed upon them that they were not met to discuss, but to elect; and proposed that there should be appointed six trustees—three clerical and three laymen. The clergymen to be appointed by myself, the laymen to be freely elected from the congregation by themselves. That to prevent dissension and angry feeling they should not be nominated or proposed, but be chosen, at once, by ballot. I had now gained my point, they forgot their prepared speeches and long stories, and proceeded in silence and order to write the names of the individuals they would vote for on slips of paper, consigned them to the box, and the three most respectable and intelligent men of the congregation were thus elected: viz.—Mr Therry, Commissioner for Court of Requests, Mr Solicitor-General Plunkett and Mr Murphy. The announcement spread universal satisfaction. Being now assured that no intrigue had been employed, I nominated, with myself, the Rev. J. J. Therry and the Rev. J. M^cEncroe as the clerical trustees. I now opened their mouths and we had a display of the warmest cordiality and unanimity.

“We, the trustees, are now in treaty with Government for the extent of land to be granted us. I send your Lordship a copy of the memorial which I drew up for the Governor on the subject, to which nothing definite has, as yet, been answered. I think we shall probably obtain about four acres attached to the church, and a further grant somewhere near the town for a seminary. The laws here will not allow of burial near the church, we have a burial ground of about four acres a mile from Sydney.

“Since the affair of appointing trustees, it gives me great happiness to inform your Lordship that all party and division has ceased in the Church. Clergymen and laymen, we are all cordially united. Nor do I again fear division. The people are tired of it, they have in general been reluctant spectators of the scandals it has caused. And, the authority I hold from your Lordship, the attention I receive from Government and from all persons, and the popularity which my efforts have procured me for the good of religion, were

any one so disposed, would make any attempt at division abortive.

"The Rev. J. J. Therry required some management at first, my ideas and plans were 'absurd,' or 'folly,' or I 'had joined the party opposed to him.' These expressions were very speedily dropped. He next tried insinuation. Thank God who enabled me to see through it. He had assumed an appearance and expression of cordiality from the commencement. I am convinced he is now sincerely with me as the other two clergymen have been from the first. Our emulation is 'for the better works.' The Rev. Mr Therry is after all a very meritorious clergyman. He is indefatigable and rests neither day or night. I am convinced he has always been disposed to submit to ecclesiastical authority; he has always expressed this sentiment to me. It has been his misfortune that his warm temperament has hitherto been under no control of authority. He possesses no great learning or eloquence, but has experience, good sense, and is much attached to pious observances. I do not wonder at his popularity among the poor Irish; he has done much for them, and is the arbitrator of their differences and their constant friend and adviser in difficulties. With regard to the unfortunate difference between Mr Therry and Mr Dowling, it is my duty to inform your Lordship that there was fault on both sides. A difference arose between them with regard to temporalities; no authority was at hand to decide it; Mr Dowling in a sermon on fraternal charity made strong allusions to Mr Therry, who in the heat of momentary excitement dragged Mr Dowling from the Altar, but immediately afterwards went down on his knees and begged his pardon. I do not think that any actual blow was struck. Mr Dowling is now stationed at Windsor.

"Mr M^eEncroe is a person of learning, experience, piety, and zeal. He was for six years the Vicar-General of Dr England in S. Carolina, and bears very flattering testimonials both from Dr England and the Bishop of Cork.

"I likewise send your Lordship a copy of my answer to the Colonial Secretary in reply to a requisition of the Governor for the purpose of compiling a general return to the Home Government; which will give your Lordship an idea of the present state of our Establishment in N. S. Wales. Mr Dowling and Mr M^eEncroe enjoy each a salary of £150 per annum. £500 was voted last year for roofing and flooring our Church in Sydney, and £300 also for Catholic Education. The Governor has promised me, in accordance with his

instructions from home, that he will finish our Church in Sydney, not indeed completely, but so as to be decent for service. It is really a solid, noble building, the finest in the Colony, and more like the body of a Cathedral or Abbey Church than of a Chapel.

"His Excellency has likewise consented to my establishing poor schools in all the remaining principal towns, as soon as I can meet with proper individuals for schoolmasters. This will be very difficult. The Governor is apparently as anxious as I am for the progress of Catholic Education. His Excellency has very readily consented to second my endeavours with the Home Government to procure half-a-dozen Brothers of Christian Doctrine out from England for teaching in our schools. He understands the Catholic Religion well. I believe him to be sincere in his professions of friendship. I cannot have a stronger proof of this than the facility with which in cases of urgency I can obtain audience at the most unseasonable hours, and when few other persons can. Our difficulties are with the underlings in office who are great evangelicals and who, I have strong proofs, have formed amongst them a little anti-popery conspiracy.

"His Excellency has likewise consented to grant me a piece of ground, and to build a schoolroom upon it, on the Rocks—a remote but thickly populated part of Sydney, a sort of St Giles', which I propose to use as a chapel for that part of the Town on Sunday mornings. I received a few days since a grant of three acres and a half of land at Windsor for a Church and burying ground. I shall hold a meeting in that Town in the temporary Chapel next Sunday, for the purpose of nominating six trustees, myself and Mr Dowling included, in whose name the grant may be secured; and for taking means for commencing an erection. We are likewise making arrangements for finishing our churches at Campbell Town and Parramatta. The Governor is well-disposed to second my endeavour to obtain a greater supply of clergymen. Another thing in which His Excellency has expressed his perfect readiness to assist me, is to obtain from the Home Government a supply of school, prayer, and pious books for the children, the prisoners, and the poor. I shall shortly send in formal applications for all these matters: which His Excellency will transmit to England with his recommendation.

"The old people here who remember when fifty lashes was the price of refusing to go to Church, or of speaking one word in Irish, see all these changes with astonishment and

gratitude. Thank God, we are bringing many poor wandering people to their duty. We have a number of fervent penitents who are giving great edification. Mr Therry, I really believe, did all that one individual could do. But he was alone. We had, I am told, more communicants on Easter Sunday than there has hitherto been in the course of a whole year. This consoles us much in the midst of our very severe labours. We are now holding stations in the Interior. Mr Therry has set off on a tour of stations previously arranged and announced in one direction; and Mr M^cEncroe in another. I say two Masses every Sunday in Sydney, the other gentlemen going into the Interior, and preach sometimes twice and even three times, the same day. My door is crowded with penitents on the Saturday nights 'til a late hour. Had we more clergymen we might do much more. A great deal of good is left undone, and many souls are perishing for want of them. There ought to be at least three constantly in Sydney, and twelve, at the very least, in the Colony. In Sydney there are a number of public institutions which require constant attendance. A load of official correspondence takes up a considerable portion of my time. The prison population obtain scarcely any indulgence or favour individually but through the intervention of their clergy. So many temporal matters are a great addition to our burden of spiritual duties.

"If your Lordship could, in the course of a little time, pay a visit to this Colony, it would be a great blessing. A general Confirmation would produce a great impression. There are a great many persons here far advanced in life, who have never received this Sacrament. In case circumstances should be such as to deprive us of the blessing of your Lordship's presence in this Colony for some time to come, I have been urged by my Rev. Brethren in the Colony to apply to your Lordship to obtain me that power. Mr Flynn when here possessed it, and sensible as I am what a power for good it would give me, I feel no difficulty, should we be so unfortunate as to be deprived of your Lordship's presence, in urging to your Lordship the expedience of my possessing such a power.

"It likewise appears to me, and Mr Conolly and my Rev. Brethren are of the same opinion, that much good might be done, much difficulty removed and much formal violation of the Law of the Church prevented, by procuring the dispensation from Abstinence on the Saturday, to be extended to these Colonies. The powers entrusted to me by your

Lordship in this respect, are limited "*Tempore jejuniorum et Quadragesimae.*" Persons arriving from Ireland imagine themselves already dispensed from it. Fish, etc., is much more expensive here than meat. The prison population are confined to their rations of meat. Even those who are assigned out to service, except in Catholic families, can procure nothing else. The soldiers likewise have besides their rations of meat and bread, but a penny a day, to procure any other food with. We feel convinced that all these reasons united will satisfy your Lordship of the propriety and expediency of obtaining such a dispensation to be extended to these Colonies. I should have added that what supply of fish there is, is confined to the sea-coast.

"I am anxious to have your Lordship's direction with respect to the baptism of the children of the Aborigines. Mr Therry has been in the habit of baptising these children when presented by their infidel parents who are utterly dead to all religious impression, and these children are not afterwards instructed in religion or heard of any more; on the plea of their being always in danger of death from the negligence of their parents. It is very true, I believe, that many also are brought up, yet ignorant of all religion, and with our European vices grafted on their own. I have prohibited these children to be baptised except in dangerous sickness.

"I am frequently called upon to decide in very difficult cases regarding marriages. Many of these cases will not allow of delay. The state of society here is dreadful in this respect. Vast numbers of people live in a state of concubinage. Several of these persons are married either in this or in their native country already. To add to our difficulties, Mr Conolly had obtained from Dr Slater an order to publish the Council of Trent "*De clandestinis*" in these Colonies. The Decree was published once from the Altar in all the principal Towns of the Colony. The Law is known to some and unknown to other persons to exist in this Colony. Persons have married in the Protestant Church: some of these believed their marriage to be null at the time, departed from the party at will, and these apply to be married again with other persons. Others are married in the same way, know nothing of the Decree, and think their marriage legitimate. In the Interior, many persons never have an opportunity of seeing a priest: these are compelled to marry before the Protestant clergyman. It is, of course, very difficult in many cases to know whether the parties applying are already married, where and

how they were married, and what was their opinion or intention at the time. I do not think it would be proper, that generally speaking, the people should think that marriages in the Protestant Church are valid. But I have some doubts as to the sufficiency of the promulgation of the Decree "*De clandestinis*," and certainly think that if the Law here could be revised, and something definitive obtained from the Propaganda on the subject, it would relieve us from much doubt and perplexity. That Decree can certainly not be acted upon in the Interior, until we have clergymen to celebrate the marriages; and even where there are, it will constantly involve us in difficulties. There are a great many marriages between Catholics and Protestants: the Protestant will not always be disposed to consent to a rehabilitation. Will your Lordship be kind enough to inform me, whether I am to consider a marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant as coming under the cognisance of this Decree. In most Protestant countries I believe this is not considered to be the case.

"I have a very perplexing case now before me, which will give your Lordship a specimen of the state of things here. A Catholic female is married to a Presbyterian at the Scottish Church. He represented himself to her as a freeman, she held a ticket-of-leave. A ticket-of-leave is a privilege to a convict, enabling him to labour on his own account, and is always granted as a reward to good conduct, after a few years of servitude. After the marriage it was discovered that the man was a prisoner for life, and in the enjoyment of no privilege. No person in this situation is allowed by the Law to marry. He was, in punishment of the offence, sent to an ironed gang and his ticket-of-leave will in consequence be deferred for a year or two longer than the usual time, if his future conduct should at all merit this favour. In the meantime he is separated from the woman, and cannot earn her subsistence. The woman has applied to us to be married to another man; she considers her former marriage null, in consequence of the deception put upon her; the banns have been published in our Church. I am in great doubt whether there really existed the *Impedimentum conditionis servilis*, or not; and whether these Crown prisoners who generally obtain in course of a few years a privilege to labour for themselves equivalent to actual freedom are to be considered as '*Servi*' in that sense of the word contemplated by the Church. There is great danger in these cases, that when marriage is refused to the parties, they

will either run to the Protestant Church, or live all their lives in a state of concubinage.

"The Rev. Mr Therry has referred to me a case of impediment, which, not coming within my power of dispensation, it is my duty to submit to your Lordship. The case has been thus stated to me:—

"Johannes carnaliter cognovit Elizabetham, quam postea nupsit, sciens eam jam esse uxorem, sed a viro relictam; virum peregrè profectum, et de ejus morte nihil. Soror Elizabethae e Fonte suscepit duos liberos Johannis et Elizabethae. Nupsit posthaec dictam sororem Johannis, mortua Elizabetha, unus liberorum tunc inter vivos.

"I am assured that the case is strictly occult, at least in this country, and that the parties have lived separately for the last six or eight months. They have been for some time anxiously expecting a dispensation, which we pray your Lordship, if it meet your approbation, to grant or procure for them.

"I have nothing specified in my powers '*De Impedimentis occultis.*' And having nothing specified, I believe that I cannot according to the Canons, dispense with them till such times as, if your Lordship deem it expedient, I receive such a specification of power from your Lordship. This country is so peculiarly situated, and the state of society such, the difficulty of referring cases, and often the danger of deferring them so great, that the good of religion on the whole requires, I am convinced your Lordship will agree with me, all the ecclesiastical power that your Lordship can provide me with, to be ready at hand. I had some anxiety when I first arrived as to my power of using the censures of the Church, as this was given me from your Lordship in a general manner only, whereas the Canons require them to be specified to a Vicar-General. I trust in God that I shall have no occasion for them; but were such a case to occur, I should feel more secure with something more specific from your Lordship.

"With regard to Mrs Dwyer and her daughters who reside in the Presbytery, it is my duty to inform your Lordship, as you requested me. They are pious people and very useful. Mrs Dwyer is housekeeper, and the eldest daughter teaching the female school. They do not sit at the same table with the clergy; yet it struck me, on my first entrance, and strikes everybody else, that these respectable looking young females in the Presbytery, constantly about, especially in a country like this, where there is no belief in female virtue, and where, in fact, scarcely any exists, is very improper and uncanonical.

Mr Therry does not deny it, and has consented to their being gradually removed. A sudden removal at my arrival, might have given rise to false judgments. The young women are pious, go weekly to communion, and teach the Catechism on Sunday. I do not know that they have themselves any means of support.

"I am requested by Mr Commissioner Therry to present to your Lordship, with his respectful regards, a pamphlet, published just after my arrival in answer to a very virulent pamphlet of Archdeacon Broughton. The Archdeacon is our arch-enemy in this Colony. His pamphlet, however, has done much good to our cause; its excessive illiberality produced a reaction in the minds of the people. The Archdeacon has been since seconded by a Rev. Mr Fulton in a pamphlet attempting to prove us Idolaters. These productions have been but little read, there is no disposition to illiberality in the people; and I have therefore thought it advisable to leave these pamphlets to work for us without any interference on my part. Mr Therry's pamphlet is chiefly valuable as it will expose to our Governors at home the wants and necessities of the Catholics of this Colony. It has been better received here than either of the Protestant pamphlets.

"Your Lordship was kind enough to write to Rome for some books for me, which books I am much in want of for consultation. Will your Lordship be kind enough to procure as soon as they arrive, their being sent off for me. A *Caeremoniale* accompanying them would be very useful as we are without one.

"Begging the favour of an answer from your Lordship as soon as possibly convenient, and anxiously recommending myself, and this part of your Lordship's District to your Lordship's pastoral care, charity and prayers, I am, my Lord, your Lordship's humble obedient servant,

W. B. ULLATHORNE."

The discord that existed at the period of Father Ullathorne's providential arrival was, as has been already shown, undoubtedly due to Father Therry's tactless behaviour. It is also clear that the Government was, on the whole, desirous of acting fairly by the Catholics of the Colony, and only needed to be approached in the proper way, to do what should be deemed necessary and fair for that section of the community. Father Ullathorne's account of the simple yet strong line he

took is most refreshing in its naiveté: but it was the action of a strong man, knowing his own powers, determined to be master, and seeing through and to the end of things, for, as he says, unanimity was at once restored, "all party and division has ceased in the church. Clergymen and laymen, we are all cordially united." And with that self-reliance which was his characteristic, he was justified in feeling an assurance that there would be no recrudescence of the evil in his time. Events justified his forecast, and Father Therry when he found he had met his match, and his master, instead of embarking on fruitless opposition, became a loyal co-operator, after a few exhibitions of very human weakness, the assumption of superior knowledge born of long residence, and long exercise of uncontrolled supremacy. Father Ullathorne, indeed, bears handsome testimony to his zeal and solid worth, notwithstanding 'regrettable incidents' repented of as soon as committed in the heat of momentary passion.

Here, Father Ullathorne's own account may be given, being indeed thoroughly characteristic, and useful as illustrating the resolute spirit with which he approached his delicate and novel task.

"I made it a point of policy," he writes in his *Autobiography*,¹ "not to send any previous notice of my coming to Sydney, where I arrived in the month of February, 1833. I walked up straight to the priest's residence, and there I found a grave and experienced priest in Father M^cEncroe. . . . From him I learned a good deal of how things stood. Father Therry had gone to Parramatta, but quickly hearing of the arrival of another priest, returned that evening. . . . I looked so youthful that the first language of Father Therry, and even of his housekeeper, was naturally patronising: but after dinner I produced the document appointing me Vicar-General, with jurisdiction over the whole of New South Wales, as well as the rest of New Holland, after reading which Father Therry immediately went on his knees. This act of obedience and submission gave me great relief. I felt that he was a truly religious man, and that half the difficulty was over. At his invitation I went with him that evening

¹ pp. 65, seqq.

to the house of a gentleman, where I found myself in company with precisely the three persons with whom it was represented to me in England that I should find my difficulty. But, in fact, they were all very good men, and we became great friends. Still I was internally amused, for they evidently took me for a raw college youth; and I humoured the notion, and was told at a later time that after I had left they had talked of sending me to Bathurst, then the remotest part of the Colony.

"The next morning as I came from Mass in the little chapel, Father Therry met me and said: 'Sir, there are two parties among us, and I wish to put you in possession of my ideas on the subject.' I replied: 'No, Father Therry, if you will pardon me, there are not two parties.' He warmed up, as his quick sensitive nature prompted, and replied, with his face in a glow: 'What can you know about it? You have only just arrived, and have had no experience.' 'Father Therry,' I said, with gravity, 'listen to me. There *were* two parties yesterday; there are *none* to-day. They arose from the unfortunate want of some person endowed with ecclesiastical authority, which is now at an end. For the present, in New South Wales, I represent the Church, and those who gather not with me, scatter. So now there is an end of parties.'"

This anecdote shows the regard in which Father Ullathorne held this zealous and devoted priest, of whom he writes in his *Autobiography*,¹ in words of warm eulogy.

"Father Therry was quite an exceptional character," he says. "He was truly religious, never omitting to say Mass daily even in difficult circumstances; and up the country, when he could find no appropriate roof for the purpose he would have a tent erected in some field or on some mountain side. He also said the Rosary in public almost every evening, gathering as many people as he could. He was of a highly sensitive temperament, and readily took offence, but was ready soon after to make reparation. He was full of zeal, but wanting in tact, so that he repeatedly got into trouble with the Government, and sometimes with the successive ecclesiastical authorities. Hence the long difficulties which arose after he was superseded as Vicar-General in Tasmania by its first Bishop. Having passed from trade to

¹ p. 67.

his studies, he had sufficient knowledge of his duties, but was too actively employed to be a reader. Having been the sole priest in the Colony for some eleven years, he was very popular, not only with the poor Catholics, for whose sake he did not spare himself, but with all classes of the population. Being the one representative of the Church in those times, landed property was bequeathed to him in various places by Catholics who had no relatives in the Colony. This he always treated as his private property, though he never took much trouble about it. But in his will he bequeathed it all to religious purposes."

CHAPTER VI

NORFOLK ISLAND

WHILE Norfolk Island may truly be said to be one of the physical glories of the world, it was, in 1833, regarded as a penal settlement, both a spiritual plague spot and a jewel in the crown of Dr Ullathorne. The description of it given by Dr Ullathorne in his *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, and repeated in his *Autobiography*, and reproduced in its entirety by Cardinal Moran in his *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia* must find a place here.

“Norfolk Island is about a thousand miles from Sydney. It is small, only about twenty-one miles in circumference; of volcanic origin, and one of the most beautiful spots in the universe. Rising abruptly on all sides but one from the sea, clustering columns of basalt spring out of the water, securing at intervals its endurance with the strong architecture of God. That one side presents a low sandy level on which is placed that penal settlement which is the horror of men. It is approachable only by boats through a narrow bar in the reef of coral, which visible here, invisibly encircles the island. Except the military guard and the various officers and servants of Government, none but the prisoners are permitted to reside on the island, nor, unless in case of great emergency, can any ships but those of Government showing the secret signals, be permitted to approach. The land consists of a series of hills and valleys curiously interfolded, the green ridges rising above one another, until they reach the shaggy sides and crowning summit of Mount Pitt, at the height of 3000 feet above the level of the sea.

“The establishment consists of a spacious quadrangle of buildings for the prisoners, the military barracks, and a series of offices in two ranges. A little further beyond, on a green mound of Nature’s beautiful making, rises the mansion of the Commandant, with its barred windows,

defensive cannon, and pacing sentry. Straying some distance along a footpath we come upon the cemetery closed in on three sides by close thick melancholy groves of the tear-dropping manchineel, whilst the fourth is open to the restless sea. The graves are numerous and recent—most of the tenants having reached by an untimely end the abode to which they now contribute their hapless remains and hapless story. I have myself witnessed fifteen descents into those houses of mortality, and in every one lies a hand of blood. Their lives were brief, and as agitated and restless as the waves which now break at their feet, and whose dying sound is their only requiem.

“Passing on by a ledge cut in the cliff that hangs over the resounding shore, we suddenly turn into an amphitheatre of hills, which rise all round until they close in a circle of the blue heavens above—their sides being thickly clothed with curious wild shrubs, wild flowers, and wild graperly. Passing the hasty brook and long and slowly ascending, we again reach the open varied ground. Here a tree-crested mound, there a plantation of pines; and yonder below a ravine descending into the very bowels of the earth, and covered with an intricacy of dark foliage interluminated with chequers of sunlight until it opens a receding vista to the blue sea. And now the path closes, so that the sun is almost shut out; whilst giant creepers shoot, twist, and contort themselves upon your path; beautiful pigeons, lories, parrots, parroquets, and other birds, rich and varied in plumage, spring up at your approach. We now reach a valley of exquisite beauty, in the middle of which, where the winding, gurgling stream is jagged in its course, spring up—the type of loveliness—a cluster of some eight fern trees, the finest of their kind, which, with different inclinations rise up to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, a clear black mossy stem from the crown of which is shot out on every side one long arching fern leaf, the whole suggesting the idea of a clump of Chinese umbrellas. Ascending again through the dark forest, we find rising on every side, amongst other strange forest trees, the gigantic pine of Norfolk Island, which ascending a clean stem of vast circumference to some twelve feet, shoots out a coronal of dark boughs each in shape like the feathers of the ostrich, indefinitely prolonged until rising, with clear intervals, horizontal stage above stage, the great pyramid cuts with its point the clear ether at the height of two hundred feet. Through these we at length reach the crown of Mount Pitt, whence the *tout ensemble* in so small a space is indescribable,

of rock, forest, valley, cornfield, islets, sea birds, land birds, sunshine and sea. Descending, we take a new path to find new varieties. Emerging after a while from the deep gloom of the forest, glades and openings lie on each side, where among many plants and trees the guava and lemon prevail. The fern tree springs gracefully out, and is outstripped by the beautiful palmetto raising 'its lifted shaft of orient mould' from above the verdant level, and at the height of twenty-five feet spreading abroad in the clear air a cluster of bright green fans. In other places the parasite creepers and climbers rise up in columns, shoot over arch after arch, and again descend in every variety of Gothic fantasy. Now they form a long high wall, which is dense and impenetrable, and next comes tumbling down a cascade of green leaves, frothed over with the white convolvulus. Our way at last becomes an interminable closed-in vista of lemon trees, forming overhead a varied arcade of green, gold and sunlight. The orange trees once crowded the island as thickly, but were cut down by the wanton tyranny of a former commandant, as being too ready and too great a luxury for the convict. Stray over the farms, the yellow hulm bends with the fat of corn. Enter the gardens, especially that delicious retreat, 'Orange Vale'; there by the broad breasted English oak grows the delicate cinnamon tree—the tea, the coffee, the sugar-plant, the nutritious arrowroot, the banana with its long weeping streamers and creamy fruit, the fig, all tropical fruits in perfection, and English vegetables in gigantic growth. The air is most pure, the sky most brilliant. In the morning the whole is drenched with dew. As the sun comes out of his bed of amber, and shoots over a bar of crimson rays, it is one embroidery of the pearl, the ruby, and the emerald; as the same sun at eventide slants his yellow rays between the pines and the mountain, they show like the bronzed spires of some vast cathedral flooded in golden light."

"This earthly paradise was the spot selected for the entombment of the worst criminals from amongst the transported felons of New South Wales, and the scenes that should have served to enoble men's thoughts, witnessed the deepest moral degradation. Earth's most magnificent verdure waved over a putrid sink of vice and wickedness and misery such as can hardly have had a parallel in the history of the human race."

Dr Ullathorne wrote: "It has been argued, even in the present case, that beautiful nature is powerful to correct the

human heart. And here is beauty like the shadow of the countenance of the Creator. Yet man alone, made in His image, remains untouched by His Spirit, and wanders the demoniac of the scene. No. The devout man, like David, will muse on these, His works, until he kindle like a fire; but perverse hearts never see fine days or beautiful prospects. How, indeed, can they? Their thoughts are with society; there they find their sensual joys, and there they willingly dwell. As if for ever to refute such a notion, we find the foulest crimes always staining the fairest lands. Those five criminal cities, on whom the Lord rained down His fire and His fury, were placed in a very beautiful country; and Norfolk Island is the modern representative of those guilty cities. No; not nature, but Almighty grace [alone] is powerful to convert and purify the heart."

Norfolk Island with all the attractions of its outward beauty is elsewhere styled by Dr Ullathorne "that last region on earth of crime and despair"; and as Father M'Encroe testifies, was considered by the convicts sent there as "a second death" to which they were condemned, and preferred the scaffold to receiving that terrible sentence.

"Such is the horror the convict of New South Wales entertains for this settlement," continues Dr Ullathorne, "that we frequently hear the condemned, even from the gallows, thank God they are going to die, rather than to live at Norfolk Island.¹ The number of criminals at the settlement, in 1835, was 1,200, of whom 450 were Catholic. Of late, this number has been augmented by nearly 200 annually. They are worked in heavy irons, and fed on

¹ Sir W. W. Burton [*The State of Religion in New South Wales*, 1840, p. 254] says: "The beauty of its hills and glens, and of its foliage, is remarkable, and the casual visitor is always charmed and delighted by the scenery of what, apart from the contemplation of the object to which it is assigned, might be deemed an Earthly Paradise. Nature has been profuse in her bountiful decorations, and thus the contrast is more striking between it and the use to which it is applied—between those beautiful works of the Creator which praise Him, and of men who praise Him not! But even in that use to which it is applied it might be expected that the soft beauty of the place should have its effect upon hearts not wholly hardened by the searing effects of vice. But so it is,

salt meat and maize bread. Until lately, religion was utterly excluded from these miserable men. Their deep depravity had become a proverb even in New South Wales. So corrupt was their most ordinary language, as incessantly to present the imagination with the absent objects of the passions as though present—so perverse, that, in their dialect, *evil* was literally called *good*, and *good*, evil—the well-disposed man was branded *wicked*, whilst the leader in monstrous vice was styled *virtuous*. The human heart seemed inverted, and the very conscience reversed. So indifferent had even life become, that murders were committed in cold blood; the murderer afterwards declaring he had no ill-feeling against his victim, but that his sole object was to obtain his own release. Lots were even cast; the man on whom it fell committed the deed—his comrades being witnesses, with the sole view of being taken, for a time, from the scenes of their daily miseries to appear in the court at Sydney, although, after the execution of their comrade, they knew they should be remanded to their former haunts of wretchedness. So notorious is this fact, that it was made the ground of a legislative enactment, by whose power criminals are now tried by a special commission upon the island. This arrangement has, in a great measure, suspended such atrocities, though it has not altogether put an end to them. The life of these men was one of despair; their passions, severed from their usual objects, centred in one intense thirst for liberty, to be gained at whatever cost. Their faces were like those of demons. If a comrade was suspected of betraying their practices, he could no longer with safety sleep amongst them, but was separated to secure life.”

During all the years Father Therry had been in New South

that the wretched mortals who are doomed, some for a term and some for life, to labour during that period upon its soil, under strict surveillance and control, and the hours of whose repose are passed in the solitary cell, or in the guarded ward, associated with one another, evil men with men more evil—appear to gather no softening effect from the beauties of the Creation around them, but to make a Hell of that which else might be a Heaven.”

‘Rolf Boldrewood’ also, in *A Modern Buccaneer* [p. 232] says “An officer writing of it in 1847, says: ‘It is by nature a paradise adorned with all the choicest gifts of nature—climate, scenery, and vegetable productions; by art and man’s policy turned into an earthly hell, disfigured by crime, misery, and despair.’”

Wales, the stress of work immediately to hand had made it impossible that he should ever have an opportunity of visiting the settlement in Norfolk Island, and the Catholic felons there had gone to their last dread account, unassisted, and possibly unrepentant. At last, however, a priest appeared in their midst, but under tragic circumstances that fill the mind with horror. Dr Ullathorne was that priest, and he devotes a chapter of his *Autobiography*¹ to the experiences that he there underwent. The cause of his visit was as follows:—

“In the year 1834, a conspiracy was formed among the convicts in the penal settlement of Norfolk Island, to overmaster the troops and take possession of the island.² A larger number than usual pretended sickness, and were placed in hospital for examination. Those employed at the farm armed themselves with instruments of husbandry, and the gang proceeding to their work were to turn upon the guard. The guard was assailed by the working gang, those who had feigned sickness broke their chains and rushed to join their comrades, but the men from the farm arrived too late. In the skirmish which ensued, one or two men were shot and a dozen were dangerously wounded, of whom six or seven died. A great number of men were implicated in the conspiracy. A Commission was sent from Sydney to try them, and thirty-one men were condemned to death. After the return of the Commission, the Governor sent for me, told me that a new Commission was about to proceed to Norfolk Island, that there were several men to be executed from the last Commission, that he had engaged an Anglican clergyman [Rev. H. Stiles] to go for the occasion, that I should oblige him if I also would consent to go, and that we should receive hospitality at the mansion of the Commandant.

“As the Government brig which conveyed us was limited in its accommodation, the captain, a Catholic, kindly gave me his cabin. Our voyage lasted a fortnight, during which time I had several private conversations with my

¹ Ch. x. pp. 95 seqq.

² cf. also Sir W. W. Burton, *State of Religion in New South Wales*, pp. 255, seqq. For an account of a similar attempt, only seven years previously, cf. R. Flanagan's *History of New South Wales*, vol. i. pp. 286-7.

Anglican companion. . . . I cannot but think that one of our conversations had a material influence on his conduct on the island. My remarks in substance were to this effect: 'I cannot understand how you gentlemen profess to be healers of souls, when you know nothing about your patients. You seem to me like a medical man who goes into the wards of a hospital, takes a look round, directs that all shall be clean and well-aired, and then prescribes one and the same medicine to all the patients. Now, we examine the condition of our patients one by one, and give the remedy required by each.' I think the result of this conversation will be seen later on."

"All who have seen Norfolk Island agree in saying that it is the most beautiful place in the creation, but it is very difficult of access. There is no harbour, and the only approach to the settlement is by boats over a bar in the coral reef that girdles the island, and which can only be crossed in calm weather. If the weather is unfavourable for landing at the settlement, the vessel must proceed to the opposite side of the island, and there put off a boat, which lands the passengers on a ridge of rock that is slippery with wet seaweed. We had to adopt this last course on the present occasion.

"Reflecting in my own mind that this was the first time a clergyman had ever visited the island, I resolved to be the first to land, for which I had grave reasons, which will appear directly. We were told to be ready to jump one by one, as the boat approached the rocks, as the oars would be at once reversed to prevent the boat being staved by the rock. I got into the stern sheets and sprang the first, when back went the boat. Major Anderson¹ was there with his tall figure, at the head of a company of soldiers,

¹ Lieut.-Col. Joseph Anderson, C.B., K.H., was an old and distinguished Peninsular officer. He was born in 1789, and entered the army in 1805 as ensign in the 78th, and served in Calabria and Egypt in the two years following; after that in the Peninsular War until 1811. Promoted to a lieutenancy in 24th Regiment, October 1808; served with that corps in Spain and Portugal until 1812; was present at the battle of Talavera (where he was wounded), and at Busaco on the retreat on the lines of Torres Vedras, and shared the glory of the British army from 10th October 1810 to 7th March 1811. For these services he was promoted to a company in the York Chasseurs. He was present at the capture of Guadaloupe. He afterwards joined the

drawn up in honour of the Commission. Before any one else had landed, I walked straight up to the Commandant, and after paying my respects, asked leave to go at once to the prison where the condemned men were confined. I requested to be furnished with a list of those who were to be reprieved and of those who were to be executed. These were kindly furnished me, as they had just reached his hand from the vessel. I then asked how many days would be allowed for preparation of the poor men who were to die; and after kindly asking me my thoughts on the subject, five days were allowed. A soldier was then appointed to guide me to the prison. We had to cross the island, which was about seven miles long by four in breadth. The rest of the passengers, when landed, proceeded to Government House.

"And now I have to record the most heartrending scene that I ever witnessed. The prison was in the form of a square, on one side of which stood a row of low cells, covered with a roof of shingles. The turnkey unlocked the first door and said: 'Stand aside, Sir.' Then came forth a yellow exhalation, the produce of the bodies of the men confined therein. The exhalation cleared off, and I entered and found five men chained to a traversing bar. I spoke to them from my heart, and after preparing them and obtaining their names I announced to them who were reprieved from death, and which of them were to die after five days had passed. I thus went from cell to cell until I had seen them all. It is a literal fact that each man who heard his reprieve wept bitterly, and that each man who heard of his condemnation to death went down on his knees, with dry eyes, and thanked God."

The description of this painful scene may be supplemented by the account Dr Ullathorne gave in his examination before

50th and was wounded in the Gwalior campaign. In 1848, he retired from the service. He held for some time the position of Military Commander and Civil Superintendent of Convicts at Norfolk Island. He came to Port Phillip soon after the foundation of the Colony, and engaged in squatting pursuits on the Goulburn. In 1852 he was appointed to the Legislative Council. He died at his residence, Fairlie House, South Yarra, 18th July, 1877. He published a *Manual of military usages* in 1877. [*cf. Heaton's Australian Dict. of Dates.*]

the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1838, on Transportation.¹

“On my arrival at Norfolk Island (he said) I immediately proceeded, although it was late at night, to the gaol; the Commandant having intimated to me that only five days could be allowed for preparation, and he furnished me with a list of the thirteen who were to die, the rest [of the 31] having been reprieved; I proceeded therefore to the gaol, and upon entering the gaol I witnessed a scene such as I never witnessed in my life before. The men were originally confined in three cells; they were subsequently assembled together; they were not aware that any of them were reprieved. I found so little had they expected the assistance of a clergyman, that when they saw me they at once gave up a plot for escape, which they had very ingeniously planned; and which might, I think, have succeeded, so far as their getting into the bush. I said a few words to induce them to resignation; and I then stated the names of those who were to die; and it is a remarkable fact, that as I mentioned the names of those men who were to die, they one after the other, as their names were pronounced, dropped on their knees and thanked God that they were to be delivered from that horrible place, whilst the others remained standing mute and weeping: it was the most horrible scene I ever witnessed. Those who were condemned to death appeared to be rejoiced. It had been a very common thing with us to find prisoners on their way to the scaffold thanking God that they were not going to Norfolk Island.”

Judge Burton, also, bears testimony to the horror experienced by Australian felons at the prospect of being sent to Norfolk Island.² He himself says that “the picture presented of that place to his mind . . . was of a cage full of unclean birds, full of crimes against God and man, murders and blasphemies, and all uncleanness.” He says that one man there, “who displayed singular ability, and uncommon calmness and self-possession under circumstances so appalling to ordinary minds, represented it to be a

¹ *Report*, by Sir William Molesworth, Bart., chairman of the Committee; p. 17.

² *Present State*, etc. p. 259.

'Hell upon Earth,' and such assuredly it was, as far as the torment of that region is made up of the company of Evil Spirits, glorying in evil deeds: 'let a man's heart' he said, 'be what it will, when he comes here, his man's heart is taken from him, and there is given to him the heart of a beast'"—which is unjust to the beast.

He also bears testimony to the want of spiritual help, showing that even amongst these desperately wicked men, in some all sense of self-accusation and of desire to repent was not wholly crushed out. Of one man sentenced to death—one of those helped on this very occasion by Dr Ullathorne—the Judge says that "he broke out in the most moving and passionate exclamations and entreaties, that he might not die without the benefit of Confession. 'Oh, your Honour,' he said, 'as you hope to be saved yourself, do not let me die without seeing my priest. I have been a very wicked man indeed, I have committed many other crimes for which I ought to die, but do not send me out of the world without seeing my priest.' Poor soul! he was a Roman Catholic; and after this, he was taken away to his cell, and in miserable agony, employed his time embracing and beating himself upon a rudely constructed figure of the Cross, which a fellow prisoner of the same persuasion made for him of wood, and incoherently and madly pronounced incessantly, those brief exclamations for mercy, which such an one could teach him."

We can now return to Dr Ullathorne's *Autobiography*.

"Among the thirteen who were condemned to execution three only were Catholics, but four of the others put themselves under my care. I arranged to begin my duties with them at six o'clock the next morning, and got an intelligent Catholic overseer appointed, to read at certain times under my direction for those who could not read, whilst I was engaged with the others. Night had now fallen, and I proceeded to Government House, where I found a brilliant assembly, in strange contrast with the human miseries in which my soul had just been steeped. It may seem strange to the inexperienced that so many men should prefer death to life in that dreadful penal settlement. Let me, then, say

the criminals who were executed in New South were imbued with a like feeling. I have heard it several in their last moments, and Father M^eEncroe, ever to me, which I quoted in Sir William Molesworth's letter on Transportation, affirmed that he had attended four executions in the course of four years, and that a larger number of criminals had, on their way to the gallows, thanked God that they were not going to Norfolk

...
 spent the first week in preparing the men for death, bringing into the condition of the convicts generally. "I look me daily from six in the morning to six at night." In an account in *The Catholic Mission in Australasia* Dr. Dineen says that "during the five days permitted for preparation, they manifested extraordinary fervour of religion." "Then came the executions," proceeds the *grapher*. "The Commandant had received orders that the convicts, to the number of two thousand, should be kept in the stocks. As he had only three companies of infantry, a great contrivance was required to prevent a rush of the convicts on the troops, as well as to conceal their number. The stocks were small, but strong stockades were erected and lined with soldiers, between the scaffold and the standing ground of the convicts, whilst the rest of the force was kept in the stocks close by, but out of sight. The executions took place on the first day and half the next. One thousand convicts were brought into two bodies were brought on the ground the first day and the other thousand on the second day. Thus all went off in tranquillity. I had six of my men put together

his evidence before the parliamentary Commission, Dr. Dineen called attention to a special circumstance, with regard to the large numbers: for it redounds to the credit of the missionaries for their holy faith. "When I mention the number of executions, it is my duty to explain the circumstance," he said: "it would be thought that a great many Catholics were executed; of those 74 executed by Mr M^eEncroe, 22 were not Catholics until after their execution; they sent for the Catholic clergyman after the sentence. A considerable proportion of those that were executed sent for the Catholic clergyman after their sentence. I mention that to explain a circumstance which would otherwise appear remarkable. . . . I would wish to explain, that though seven were Catholics of those who were executed; three only were Catholics when I went down the other four applied for my assistance."

ness of these excellent people. They saw their other guests in the course of the day, but I could only see them in the evening. The hospitable dinners and social converse at the large evening parties, however agreeable, completed my exhaustion; so that one night, towards the end of my visit, I arose in a state of extreme sickness, with my spine as cold as an icicle. However, I rallied the next day and completed the work before me. But when I got on board the vessel I was in that state of exhaustion that the powers of my mind were completely suspended, and I felt little beyond the sense of existence. If I took a book up I could see the letters, but not the sense, and moved as in a dream. By the time, however, that we reached Sydney, in the course of some fourteen days, my powers had gradually returned. It was not merely the mind, but the feelings, that had been greatly drawn upon.

"Before the executions the Commandant asked me privately, if I had any reason to believe that there was a conspiracy to escape from the prison. To which I replied: 'My dear Major, of what I know of those men, I know less than of that of which I know nothing.' He replied: 'I beg your pardon, I did not think of it.' I was not surprised at the question, for my Anglican friend [Rev. H. Stiles] had repeated at table the histories that he had got from his men; to the surprise of his auditors, who did not conceal the displeasure it gave them. But after the executions were over, I drew the Major aside and told him that the men had authorised me to let him know that there had been a plan for escape. That they had got the piece of a watch-spring concealed in the heel of one of them, had passed it by an agency from cell to cell, and had sawn all the fetters ready for snapping; and that their plan was to mount one on the back of another, to tear off the shingles from the roof, and to escape in the night to the thick bush, hoping in time to get a boat into their power. But on the arrival of the clergy they gave it up. 'And now,' I said, 'if you will go and examine the fetters you will find them sawn and filled up with rust and breadcrumbs.' On going to examine, the turnkeys were confident that the fetters were sound, and tinkled them with their keys. But the Commandant said, 'I am sure of my information'; and on closer examination it was found that they were all cut.

"My last act before leaving the island is worth recording, as an example that the most desperate men ought not to be despaired of. The Major at breakfast told me of a case

that gave him a great deal of solicitude. Among the convicts was one who was always in a round of crime or punishment. He was one of those who had been reprieved, and yet was already again under punishment. I asked if he were a Catholic. He thought so. 'But how can I see him: we are just about to sail?' 'If you will see that man,' he said, 'I will send a message on board that they are not to sail until I have been on board: and I will send you notice at the last moment.' I found the man chained in a cell with three others, and I asked him to come out awhile, as I wanted to speak with him. He was a tall, strong-built man, and I saw he was one of those proud spirits that would not seem to cave in before his comrades. I told him the turnkey would take off his fetters if he would only come out. He replied: 'Sir, you are a kind gentleman, and have been good to them that suffered, but I'd rather not.' I turned to the others and said, 'Now, men, isn't he a big fool? You would give anything to get out of this hot place; but because I am a priest, he thinks you will take him for a softy, and chaff him if he talks to me. I have got something to tell him, and then he can do as he likes. He knows I can't eat him. What do you say?' 'Why, sir, you are such a kind gentleman, he ought to go out when you ask him.' 'And you won't jeer him as a softy because he talks with me?' 'Oh, no, sir.' 'Well, take off his irons.' I wanted to get him into a private room, but he would not go out of eyeshot of the other men, and nothing could induce him. I did not like to shut the door on them, lest it might be taken for a trick. I said: 'Let's go into the turnkey's room.' No, he would not. So we walked up and down the yard, with a sentry on each side a short distance off. I found he was a Catholic, made an earnest appeal to his soul; but he held himself still, and I seemed to make no way. A sailor came up: 'Anchor short hove, sir. Governor waiting in the boat.' I felt bitter: it was the first time I had found a soul inaccessible. I threw up my arms, looked him full in the face, and poured out the most terrible denunciations upon him for neglecting the one opportunity of saving his soul; for I never expected that he would have a chance of seeing a priest there again. But though I did not know it until fifteen months afterwards, his heart was changed. As soon as I left he asked to be put in a cell by himself, got a turnkey, who was a Catholic, to lend him books, and became a new man. In going on board I said to the Commandant: 'You must not mistake

that man. There is nothing mean about him. He would not tell a lie. Under other circumstances he would be a hero. But if he says he will thrash an overseer, he will do it. And if the man resists, he will kill him.' The hint was taken. After a time one chain was taken off him, then the other. And on my return, after fifteen months, I met him smiling as he worked among the flowers in the Government garden; and he proved most useful among his fellow-convicts. He ultimately got his liberty, and became a respectable man."

The editor of Dr Ullathorne's *Autobiography*, adds a telling note to the above incident. As Dr Ullathorne was in the act of penning the above lines a letter reached him written by the very person referred to therein, and relating his subsequent history. After alluding to the last occasion on which they had met, the writer went on to say that after recovering his liberty he had settled in another colony, where he had gradually risen to a position of some eminence, and was bringing up his family in various professions. He had remained faithful in the practice of his religion, and acknowledged all the happiness of his changed life as due to the impressions he had received from Dr Ullathorne.

To these personal recollections, so vivid and so engrossing, may be added a few words of detail as to the results attained, from *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*.¹ Dr Ullathorne, writing so soon after the events he describes, there says: "During the week still allowed before the departure of the ship, twenty conversions followed, and one hundred and fifty general confessions. I left books behind me before departure, arranged a form of prayer for their use on Sunday, and obtained the appointment of one as reader, whose duty also it should be to teach those to read who were unable, in the intervals between labour and food."

Dr Ullathorne, in closing his remarks about Norfolk Island, says with that true humility of which he was master: "I might have paused ere giving recitals which would seem to record my own acts; but I have a higher object in view,

¹ p. 42.

and my reader will allow me to remind him of St Paul's doctrine, that the most unworthy instruments are selected for the work of grace, that the power of God may be manifest."

The solid and lasting nature of the good effected by this energetic, single-hearted apostle, may be summed up in his own words:¹

"At the close of 1836, my good Bishop permitted me again to visit Norfolk Island, a duty I had much at heart. I was received with great joy by my poor penitents, who, through all sorts of ridicule and persecution from their comrades, had persevered in their resolutions. I admitted them to the Holy Communion. Nearly sixty had learnt to read their prayer books. The Commandant assured me that crime had considerably diminished, and that the Catholics were remarkably attentive to their duties of religion. Let me not forget how much of this was owing to the prudence and solicitude of the Commandant himself. I record the name of Major Anderson with unmingled satisfaction. His minute personal knowledge of the desperate men under his charge, and the discrimination with which he encourages the well-disposed, whilst he strikes terror into the obstinate, has been attended with most salutary consequences. What was my delight to find that, for the fifteen months elapsed since my last visit, there was not one Catholic to be brought before the judge. During the fifteen days allowed me before our return, three hundred confessions, and twelve conversions, rewarded my labours. I saw these dreaded characters come to the arms of religion like children. What may she not do with men when every hope from this world is departed, and nothing appears on their path but sufferings. The penitents, now become the greater number of Catholics, begged to be locked up in separate wards from the rest, that they might say their morning and night prayers together. Except these two visits, no priest has been at Norfolk Island."

In his *Autobiography*² Dr Ullathorne returns to this consoling memory. He says:

"At the close of 1836 I again visited Norfolk Island in company with a special Commission, consisting of judge,

¹ *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, p. 42.

² p. 156-7.

lawyers, and a military jury. I was received with joy by my former penitents, most of whom had persevered in their resolutions, and had stood to their religious practices despite of the ridicule of their companions. Nearly sixty of them had learnt to read their prayers. The Commandant whose hospitality I again enjoyed, assured me that crime had considerably diminished, and to my delight I found that for the fifteen months that had passed since my first visit, there was not a single Catholic brought before the judge.

"I admitted the former penitents to Holy Communion; and during the fifteen days that we remained on the Island three hundred confessions and twelve conversions were the reward of my labours. The penitents now become the majority of the Catholics, petitioned to be placed in separate wards, that they might say their prayers together. The one with whom I had formerly had the greatest difficulty was now free from chains and working in the garden of the Commandant, and every official commended him."

"Since my arrival in England, I have received a letter from one of these poor prisoners, who consoles me in these terms:—

"REV. SIR,—You will pardon the liberty I, who am degraded to the lowest stage of life, have taken in employing my pen to address you; but aware as I am of your feelings towards unfortunate creatures who are stationed in this vale of sin, and aware also that your insignia is *non ignarus mali, miseris succurrere disco*, therefore I feel no hesitation in writing to you, although but a short period has elapsed since your departure from this island. I rejoice to have to inform you that of the many who received your instructions, there are none, that I am aware of, returned to their former wickedness; but notwithstanding the many enemies they have to encounter, the many instruments employed by Satan to debar them from discharging those duties which are due to their Creator, and to expel that seed which you have implanted in their hearts, they have withstood all. I have also to inform you that, in addition to the number which seemed to be zealous heretofore, there are three times that number at present. I know not what I should choose for a comparison more applicable than the grain of mustard seed, which we read of in the sacred writings; they are all desirous to learn, to be instructed, and earnestly look for books: even those persons who have not attended you during that happy time you have been with us, want books;

those persons who are wicked are constantly endeavouring to bring back to their former vice those in whom they perceive any conversion. The book which I applied to you for you left to my friend Shea, but I expect you will, if possible, send me one by the next vessel, and as the population of the island is very much increasing, and prayers being read at both places, a missal, if convenient, would be very much required, together with one or two sermon-books; you know what other books are necessary. The Commandant has given every encouragement, and has a good many well-disposed persons in one room. I need not tell you that our prayers are constantly offered up in your behalf. Oh! may you go on from one degree of grace to another. Oh! may you ever be endowed with goodness and holiness, with Heavenly knowledge and wisdom, with sincere zeal and sanctity of life, and finally conduct thy people in the ways of salvation, are the constant prayers of your most obedient, most humble, but unfortunate servant,

ROBERT HEPBURN.

The reader who chooses to consult either Cardinal Moran's pages, or Dr Ullathorne's *Autobiography*, or his pamphlet so often quoted, will see a version of this remarkable letter much shorter than that here published. If he will compare them, he will observe that Dr Ullathorne 'edited' that letter for the public by leaving out, in his humility, expressions indicative of veneration for himself, and of ascription to him of the good effected. This full version has been taken from the original handed in to the parliamentary Committee.

In his report to Propaganda in 1837,¹ Dr Ullathorne gave much the same account as that published in *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*; but on one point he was more explicit. He said: "Such is the horror convicts have of being deported there,² that, if condemned to death, they thank God for that, as being the lesser punishment. Till lately there had been no religious influences whatever on the Island. The awful iniquities perpetrated there had become a by-word. Sins against nature were of daily habit. Their language was awful blasphemy, etc.; and

¹ *D. A.*, J 401.

² Norfolk Island.

murders were committed solely to secure being sent to Sydney for trial, thus, for a time, to escape from the spot. But when a Court was established on the Island, these murders lessened in number, as having no further object." Speaking of the results of his visit in 1835, he gives the same consoling account of the remarkable change effected, as in his *Autobiography*, and adds: "All these men looked to have a priest permanently in their midst," and says he is arranging for one at a salary of £150 per annum from Government. He stated before the Commission that "there is now a Catholic clergyman on his way there, the expense of his voyage out being partly defrayed by Government, and partly by funds which I have raised by my own exertions; and it is the intention to send a second clergyman as his companion, as I could not expect that the Government would support two there; and as I conceive it absolutely necessary that the clergyman in such a place as that should have a companion and a counsellor. I have resolved to send another, and we will endeavour ourselves, the Catholic clergy in the Colony, to support him." The chairman further asked if the convict's letter read was from a well-educated man, and Dr Ullathorne replied that he had been told that he had originally been in a seminary in Ireland.

Even Judge Burton speaks with a qualified approval of the results of the visit of Dr Ullathorne and the Rev. Mr Stiles, saying "nor were the effects of this transitory visit of a transitory nature, for . . . in the following year . . . they found the religious instruction they had imparted had not been altogether lost, but in many instances improved."¹ With pleasure we quote the judge's eulogistic notice of Major Anderson, whom he thought "admirably qualified . . . for such a charge—just, prudent, fearless, and merciful, setting an example of propriety in religious and moral observances in his own person and family, and exacting it from others." He expressed his concern at the Major being ordered to rejoin his regiment in Sydney in March 1839, for he said he

¹ *Religion in New South Wales*, p. 261.

was "persuaded that no better Governor could be found for a penal settlement than Major Anderson." He had gone to Norfolk Island in April 1834, shortly before the first visit of Dr Ullathorne; Judge Burton says¹ that "his first efforts were directed to the due observance of the Sabbath; and being directed by [Sir R. Bourke] to endeavour to select two of the most competent prisoners on the Island to act as Catechists until regular ministers could be procured, he selected a Protestant who had been in early life a Chaplain on board a man-of-war, transported for forgery, and a Roman Catholic who had been educated for a priest." Writing in 1839 or 1840, he says "There are also now two clergymen of the Church of Rome, appointed in October, 1838. (The Rev. John McEncroe and the Rev. H. G. Gregory [O.S.B.]);" and, in a note, correctly explains the presence of *two*—"The cause, it is understood, of this arrangement is, that if a Roman Catholic clergyman were stationed at Norfolk Island alone, he would be deprived of the benefit of one of the ordinances of his Church, Confession."²

More than two years before this, however, efforts had been made to secure the appointment of priests to the unfortunate island. Dr Ullathorne had seen the necessity on his first visit, and had doubtless talked over the matter very seriously with Dr Polding after the arrival of that prelate in the Colony; but the paucity of priests and the vastness of the work allotted to each in New South Wales itself, made it impossible, just then, to spare anyone for Norfolk Island.

Dr Ullathorne in his evidence before the Committee said that so far from there being any disinclination on the part of any of the priests to be stationed there, he believed "every clergyman in the Colony would have considered it a distinguished favour to be allowed to go to Norfolk Island," and that he himself had even petitioned to be sent there: the only obstacle was that the services of every one were required in New South Wales.

It is clear, however, from the subjoined letter from Father

¹ *Ibid*, p. 264.

² *Ibid*, p. 265.

Collier (afterwards Bishop of Mauritius, then Procurator in Curia Romana for the English Benedictines) to Dr Birdsall, that Dr Polding must have written a strong appeal for help to Rome itself, with the result stated below. This letter, moreover, is of interest, inasmuch as it mentions the donation of a very handsome sum in furtherance of this good work. The indefiniteness of the information here conveyed, was, naturally, cleared up by Dr Ullathorne during his sojourn in Europe.

"Rome, 10th December 1836.

" . . . I have been applied to this week by Propaganda to know if it were possible to find two Benedictines to be sent to Norfolk Island where there are 600 poor Irish convicts without a priest, and I have answered that I did not think it possible to find two; the Jesuits cannot supply two; the Irish Franciscans tell me they cannot either. I have obtained of Propaganda (which seems not to have been the original idea) that these two, if they can be found, shall be sent directly to Dr Polding who will either forward them to Norfolk Island, or keep them and send two of his own subjects. The distance from Sydney appears about 1,000 miles. A pious German traveller who lately landed on Norfolk Island, has given upwards of £1,000 for the spiritual relief of these people. If two priests, or even one and a young man in minor Orders could be found to be sent to Dr Polding, the Propaganda would be extremely satisfied. I said I should be writing to you soon and would mention the subject, though I had little hope that two Benedictines could be found. Monsignor Mai said they were much pleased at having confided the Colony of N. S. Wales to the Benedictines. I assured him that if we felt any satisfaction in being entrusted with it, it was only from our desire of proving to Propaganda how anxious we were to merit their approbation."¹

Dr Ullathorne's services on behalf of the poor convicts by no means came to an end with his visits to Norfolk Island. On his return to England in 1837, he wrote his pamphlet on *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, (which speedily ran into six editions), partly to awaken the public

¹ *D. A.*, J 302.

conscience on the inherent evils of the system of transportation, partly to raise funds for Dr Polding; and early in 1838 he was summoned to give evidence before Sir William Molesworth's Select Committee on Transportation. This summons was the result of a suggestion made to a Member of Parliament by Dr Lingard the historian. We learn further particulars in the subjoined letter written by Dr Ullathorne to Dr Brown.

" 42 Ranelagh Street, Liverpool.

10th January 1838.

" . . . I have received a letter from Sir W. Molesworth, Chairman of the Committee of Enquiry into the efficiency, etc., of transportation, putting a series of questions, and asking whether I should object to be summoned to give evidence. Now I have read the Report already published—about 1,000 pages folio—the horrors brought forward by the parties examined, with all of whom I am acquainted, completely throw my statements into the shade; yet as to their general accuracy I can attest. I see clearly that they have not yet got hold of the right thread of ideas, viz., the effect of the system upon the mind and feelings of the prisoner and the specific result in his moral habit; nor have they got anything satisfactory about Norfolk Island. I believe my being examined would be of very great advantage as well to our cause as to the giving correcter views of the workings of transportation—but a thought strikes me. My knowledge on the subject consists of generalisations from my experience, and that experience is as much, if not more, derived through the confessional than through any other source. It is true I know nothing of all this as connected with individuals. Particular facts and persons drop out of my memory forthwith; yet I shall be of course pushed up to the sources of my knowledge when examined. It is utterly impossible for me to separate in my own mind the results and sources of my experience, and to use that only, derived from common observation. Will you oblige me with your views on that subject, and your advice for my guidance, as soon as possible. I shall wait for them before I give my answer. Have you received my pamphlet? A second edition of 1,500 copies is in great part gone, and Keating has in preparation a third. I believe

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it has been of service. Pray give my love to all, and believe me your most attached confrere,

WM. ULLATHORNE.

"I think of slipping over to Dublin for a week previous to visiting London, if possible."¹

Dr Ullathorne thus relates the circumstances in his *Autobiography*.²

"On my arrival in London, Sir W. Molesworth invited me by note to a private interview. I went to his house. . . . He had my pamphlet before him, and tried to coach me up as to the best way of giving evidence. When we came to one embarrassing point I told him it was doubtful whether I ought to speak on it. He pulled up his head, gave me a menacing look, and said: 'Do you know how grave would be the consequences of your refusing?' I looked into his eyes whilst replying: 'You have read that book and ought to know that I am not a man to be talked to in that way.' He tried to laugh it off, and I said to him gravely, 'At present I have conscientious doubts whether I ought to speak on that subject. I will consult some of the best theologians and act on their advice.' The printed evidence will show in what manner both the chairman and myself approached that subject, and how I contrived to throw the weight of the testimony on other shoulders. Before the Committee, being in a new position, full of matter, and like a young soldier for the first time under fire, somewhat excited, I spoke with such rapidity that I had to be repeatedly stopped by the members, that the reporter might be able to record the words. The Report of that Committee forms a large volume, and in the appendix will be found a good deal of my correspondence with the Secretary for the Colonies, concerning the clergy whom I sent out from time to time."

Dr Ullathorne appeared before the Committee on two separate days, Thursday 8th February, and Monday 12th February, 1838. He states that he had traversed every part of the Colony repeatedly, except the district of Argyle, had visited Norfolk Island twice, and Hobart Town three times. His evidence tended to show the causes of gross immorality amongst the convicts and the means suitable to counteract

¹ *D. A.*, K 2.

² pp. 138 seqq.

them: the shortcomings of the masters employing convicts as servants, tending to drive them to infraction of the laws; the bad effect of convict servants on children who lose the spirit of reverence for their elders, and learn crime at a very early age. So much was this the case that he informed the Committee that Dr Polding "the Catholic Bishop, in his pastoral address in 1836, thought it proper to allude to the subject." His evidence as to the existence of unnatural crime, and the causes leading to its commission was given, of course, with reserve; but the facts disclosed were horrible; a Protestant under sentence of death in Norfolk Island, declared that two-thirds of the prisoners there were therein implicated. He gave very emphatic commendation to the system adopted by Major Anderson, whereby many indulgences were granted to well-behaved convicts, thus giving them grounds for hope, and holding out inducements to foster good conduct. He registered his firm conviction that coercion would never reform men: it can only restrain them from a sense of fear: that the system of transportation had utterly failed as a means of reformation.

From the prosaic pages of a parliamentary blue book we learn of another phase of Dr Ullathorne's activities. For several months during the latter part of 1837, he had been preaching in the North of England for a twofold purpose: First, to collect money; Second, to warn Catholics of the horrors of transportation.

Speaking before the parliamentary Commission, Dr Ullathorne said:—

"One of the duties which I have imposed upon myself in this country has been to expose to the poor the corporeal and moral horrors of transportation; for that purpose, for the last three months I have been employed in preaching in the manufacturing districts in the North of England. I have found, generally, that there was a great deal of delusion existing amongst the population; and I have been informed by the clergy that that delusion exists to a considerable extent; and when I explained the real facts of transportation, a very great sensation of horror prevailed amongst the people. I had much communication with the relations of

persons transported; they came to me frequently after my sermons, for the purpose of obtaining information with regard to the lot of their friends, or requesting me to take letters to them; and I found that, generally speaking, they had no idea of the fate of the convicts, or the immoralities and the punishment to which they were liable. And in this country even, clergymen have informed me that they have actually in some cases been consulted by persons in a state of starvation as to whether they might do something or other for the purpose of being transported, or not; and I have found that this delusion has been kept up a good deal by letters from the Colony. I have seen letters written by prisoners soon after arrival to their wives, in which they represent themselves as very comfortable, and give extravagant accounts of their condition, the sole object appearing, from their letters, to be to induce the wife to go out; and I believe the object of the prisoner was that if the wife did come out he would contrive to be assigned to her. I have visited Ireland lately: I was there but a fortnight, but during that time I preached once in Dublin, and I found that the same delusion existed there. I have been told by the clergy, that were I to explain those things generally to the people it would be of the greatest benefit; and I was particularly struck by the observations of one clergyman, a parish priest: he has the largest parish in Dublin, he told me: and he told me with tears in his eyes at the time, that in his parish which was within the liberties of Dublin, he had not less than 36,000 souls; that the number of sick calls in a day which he had to attend by his curates was not less than 45; and in case of severe weather for a few days, there were 6,000 of his parishioners who did not know where to get anything whatsoever, and who, generally speaking, had nothing between their bones and the floor on which they lay but the rags that scarcely covered them in the street; and he said to me, 'If you will explain the horrors of transportation to my people, you will do more good in one day than I can do in a year.' The object of this was to restrain them in time, and to acquaint them with the real result; but, generally speaking, they have an idea that to be transported is to better their circumstances very much. I was much struck with a remark made by a person when I was preaching in Wigan. This person was a respectable innkeeper; it was stated to him that I was going to preach upon this subject, and he said: 'What is the use of it? People had far better be transported than remain here; for there they will have

abundance to eat and drink and plenty of clothing, and here they are in a state of starvation'; and such is the general idea, and I believe it has led many to desire transportation."

While in Dublin, "Mr Drummond, secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and a most popular man in Ireland," says Dr Ullathorne, sent him a request to call on him. "He represented to me how completely the Irish people were in the dark respecting the sufferings and trials that attended transportation to the penal Colonies. They had heard of the final success of a few men who had been banished to Australia, and were completely deceived as to the painful lot of the great multitude. He then asked me to write something that might open their eyes. I told him that as I had heard similar sentiments expressed by many priests, I would write a popular tract on the subject. I then wrote the tract entitled *The Horrors of Transportation*, got Mr Coyne to put it in type, and sent a copy to Mr Drummond, with the information that it stood in type at Mr Coyne's, and was entirely at his disposal. He sent it to London for the Lord Lieutenant's approval, which having obtained, he ordered a very large number of copies which were sent in packets to the parish priests and to the prisoners."¹

As we have already learnt from Dr Ullathorne's evidence before the parliamentary Committee, he had made it one part of his business while home in England to interest the Government and the Colonial Office in the necessity of providing Norfolk Island with a resident priest. It may be well to place on record here the correspondence referring to the first appointment, showing as it does that the Government was anxious to consider any reasonable proposal, and to act fairly by all classes and creeds amongst the subjects of the British monarch. The first part of the correspondence belongs to the reign of William IV, the latter part to that of her late Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.²

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 141. I have not succeeded in procuring or seeing a copy of this tract.

² Appendix A to the *Report from the Select Committee on Transportation*.

Lord Glenelg to Sir Ric. Bourke, K.C.B.

"Downing Street, 2nd October 1837.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you, that the Roman Catholic clergymen, the Rev. John Brady, and the Rev. James Goold, having been selected by the Rev. W. Ullathorne to proceed to New South Wales, an allowance has been made to each of them for their outfit and passage.

"As Mr Brady is intended to officiate at Norfolk Island, his salary of £150 per annum will be paid out of the convict fund.

"His allowance of £100, which has been advanced by the agent-general, must also be repaid from the same funds.

"I transmit to you enclosed the copy of a correspondence with Mr Ullathorne on this subject.

I am, etc.,

GLENELG."

Enclosure I. Rev. W. Ullathorne to Lord Glenelg.

"Acton, 8th February 1837.

MY LORD,—I do myself the honour, as directed by the Right Rev. Dr Polding, respectfully to submit to your Lordship the expediency of providing a clergyman of the Catholic religion for the penal settlement of Norfolk Island.

"I would respectfully observe that when I last visited that Island in January 1836, the prisoners on the settlement were in number 1175, of whom 450 professed themselves to be Catholics, and that the annual addition to this number is very considerable.

"That it is proved by the very marked results of two clerical visits made to the settlement of short periods each, that the presence and influence of a Catholic clergyman there may have the most beneficial effects amongst his own people in preventing and removing those enormous crimes, that condition of mental despair, and that indifference to human life, which have heretofore distinguished the prisoners of that settlement.

"That the officer at present Commandant of the settlement, as well as the Governor of New South Wales, have strongly expressed to me their agreement in this opinion, and their anxious desire of seeing the Catholic prisoners on the island provided with a clergyman of their communion.

"That in addition to the prisoners, a great proportion of the military and other free persons employed on the establishment are Catholics generally, and require the aids of their religion.

"I therefore respectfully solicit that your Lordship would be pleased to sanction the appointment of a Catholic Chaplain to the penal settlement of Norfolk Island.

"I would propose that the Chaplain so appointed should be provided with the annual stipend of £150, and with the usual allowance of £150 to defray his expenses out from the mother country.

I have, etc.,

W. ULLATHORNE."

Enclosure No. 2.—Sir George Grey to Rev. W. Ullathorne.

"Downing Street, 10th March 1837.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Glenelg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th ult., in which you suggest the appointment of a Roman Catholic Chaplain to the penal settlement in Norfolk Island; and to acquaint you, in answer, that his Majesty's Government have decided on applying a portion of the funds voted by Parliament for convict services towards the maintenance at Norfolk Island of a minister of the Church of Rome. His Majesty's Government will therefore be prepared to issue to the clergyman who may be selected for that station a stipend of £150 per annum, together with an allowance of £100 on account of his passage to the settlement.

"I am, however, directed to inform you, that the appointment cannot be considered as permanent, it being at present uncertain whether the settlement at Norfolk Island will be kept up.

I am, etc.,

GEO. GREY."

The Report from which these letters are taken naturally considered the effect of transportation as a punishment for crime and a deterrent influence on others. Amongst other items of evidence, was a despatch from Sir Richard Bourke to Lord Glenelg, enclosing amongst other papers, some important observations by Dr Polding, here subjoined :

APPENDIX E.—*State of the Penal Settlement of Norfolk Island and Moreton Bay.*

No. 45. Despatch from Sir R. Bourke to Lord Glenelg.

Sydney, 5th November 1837.

Enclosing inter alia.—Enclosure A.—Observations of the State of Norfolk Island by the Right Rev. Dr Polding:—

- 1st. The moral effect produced by banishment to Norfolk Island on the individuals confined there.
- 2nd. The effect of the punishment as a preventive of crime in this Colony.

“The opinion I have of the moral effect produced by banishment to Norfolk Island is, in substance, the same that I have formed on the effect produced on the mind of every criminal banished for life.

“When sentenced to Norfolk Island for life, in its present state, I can conceive nothing more to be required to fix in the criminal a hardened and reckless disposition. He feels that the law has done its worst; he carries with him to the place of banishment the causes of his past misdeeds in the ignorance of his understanding, the undisciplined depravity of his will, the determination to gratify sensual or malicious desire. Circumstances may prevent the actual indulgence of such gratification; the disposition, the *animus* of moral guilt is in full vigour, and holds dominion in every consideration. The punishment endured presses on one in whom, too generally, the hopes and fears respecting a future life are well nigh, if not entirely, extinguished; on one, to whom death in consequence offers slight terrors as regards an hereafter. The chief moral restraint being decayed or destroyed, the criminal is prepared for the commission of any deed which affords the chance of escape from the pressure and annoyance of present evil. Death is the only change he can expect; a change, which a keen sense of misery deludes him to believe cannot be followed by a more painful state of existence than that monotonous desolation of despondency to which he has been condemned.

“I have observed on the present state of things, that is, whilst the unhappy criminals are deprived of the consolations of religion. If zealous, prudent, kind-hearted pastors administered to their spiritual wants, the state of Norfolk Island will become materially altered. The circumstances of being banished thither for life, now an obstacle in the way of improvement, will be an advantage. The criminal

is dissevered for life from the association of former guilt; he is free from the power of many moral and physical incentives to vice; the discipline of the island may be so ordered as to render the moral reformation of the convicts the principal object. Great helps these to prepare the soul, after having been enlightened by the truths of religion, to receive and cherish the influence of Christian consolation. The affections once gained from vice, the work of reformation will not be difficult.

“His Excellency will perceive that I have a deep impression on my mind that there can be no reformation in the criminal without hope, and if the laws of society require the forfeiture even of hope, as regards this life, religion must exercise more than an ordinary power to bring about the moral change. Enduring punishment which only terminates in death, the guilty man is in himself entirely indisposed to moral improvement. Under the influence of religion, having his hope for the future life made the basis of his consolations in the present, he may be convinced that such an infliction however severe, is the means devised by an all-wise Providence, through the affliction of the body, to save the immortal soul. In this answer to the question proposed, I am guided by my own experience and by the observation made by the Rev. Mr Ullathorne, at Norfolk Island, and communicated to me. Excepting the case of the individual who is deluded or terrified into guilt, I have found in the course of duty that a life of outrage has been commenced and continued in this country under the impression that there was no hope; that this impression has been the cause of much crime in the colony, I am persuaded. To desperation Mr Ullathorne attributed the wickedness prevalent at Norfolk Island. The chance of escape alone occupied their thoughts as an object of interest; the means of escape, however atrocious, were continually in plan. His indefatigable exertions, under the Divine blessing, were successful in opening to a large proportion of the Catholic convicts the sources of Christian consolation; a total reform has been the consequence. My conviction is, that unless Norfolk Island be duly supplied with the means of religious support and consolation, administered by zealous, prudent, and properly qualified pastors, the individuals confined there must be to the last degree depraved. With such means, so administered, I consider myself justified in asserting that very many will be reclaimed under the peculiar circumstances and discipline

of this penal settlement, who otherwise would live and die in a state of impenitence.

"2. In reply to the second question, I can state there does exist amongst the convict population a great dread of being sentenced to Norfolk Island for life; and consequently this punishment, I apprehend, produces the effect of preventing crime in the Colony.

✠ J. B. POLDING.

Sydney, 24th November 1836."¹

Dr Polding in order to do all in his power for the unfortunate prisoners of Norfolk Island, sent them two apostles in the persons of Father John M'Encroe and Father H. G. Gregory, O.S.B., recently ordained, as soon as he was able to spare them from the heavy work in New South Wales, by the arrival from England of the first priests secured and sent out by Dr Ullathorne from England. The confined space and the nature of the congregation made the work much easier than that of a missionary on the mainland with the immense distances he was impelled to travel in visiting all the members of his flock.

Father M'Encroe, who, as a young man had shown marked ability, and in 1822 had published a Catechism of the Christian Doctrine in English and Irish, together with an Irish Grammar, now used some of his enforced leisure ("Having some leisure hours to devote to study and reflection, after fulfilling many daily pastoral duties," he writes in the preface) to prepare *The Wanderings of the Human Mind in 'Searching the Scriptures.'* *Being a concise History of the origin, progress, and condemnation of the principal heresies that have arisen in the several ages of Christianity, from the private interpretation of the Holy Bible. In a series of letters to a Candid Inquirer after Truth. By the Rev. John M'Encroe, Catholic Chaplain at Norfolk Island. Sydney: W. A. Duncan: George Street, 1841. Sm. 8vo. pp. 98, xii.*

This little brochure is replete with quotations from a very

¹ *Appendix to Report from the Select Committee on Transportation*, pp. 266-267.

extensive range of sources, showing that the good Father was an extremely well-read man. The booklet was dedicated to the students of Maynooth, which college, as he says, he quitted in 1819. He then proceeds :

"I have since traversed several of the interesting States of America, and wandered through the maiden and picturesque regions of Australasia, in search of the scattered and straying sheep of the Catholic fold. I have conversed with persons of almost every creed and clime, and mixed with the men of the most diversified ideas and pursuits ; with men of learning, experience, and virtue ; and with men of the most abandoned and desperate character ; till, at last, I find myself located at Norfolk Island, one of the most beautiful of the countless isles of the great Pacific Ocean, and now converted into the great prison house of the British Empire."¹

¹ Dated, Norfolk Island, 19th July 1840, Feast of St Vincent of Paul.

CHAPTER VII

FATHER ULLATHORNE'S WORK IN AUSTRALIA

GENERAL SIR RICHARD BOURKE, K.C.B., a fine old Peninsular veteran, had succeeded Sir Ralph Darling as Governor of New South Wales in 1831, landing at Sydney in December. His advent filled the Catholics with hope, and on 30th March 1832, they had held a meeting to agree upon a memorial to be presented to the Governor praying for Government assistance towards the completion of St Mary's Church. Mr Commissioner Therry, in moving the adoption of the memorial, spoke very highly of the services rendered to his co-religionists by Father Therry. It was signed by 2000 free inhabitants of the Colony. At the same time the Governor was besought to restore Father Therry to his official position as a salaried Catholic Chaplain. This memorial was, somehow, not presented till 17th August, 1832, when Sir Richard Bourke gave the deputation a very gracious reception, promising to do all he could, and expressing his anxiety to secure for the Catholics suitable provision for education and religious instruction.

At this point, Father Ullathorne arrived (early in 1833); and in his *Autobiography*¹ he says :

“The chief difficulty on my arrival regarded the Church in Sydney, which Father Therry had begun soon after his arrival, but which was not yet completed. It was on a very large scale, with transepts raised to a great height, with walls of massive solidity, and with large crypts beneath. The Government had granted the site for the Church, and an ample space for whatever buildings might be required in addition; but it had never been conveyed to trustees,

¹ p. 70.

which the Government now required to be done. Moreover, Father Therry claimed an extent of land considerably larger than the Government admitted to have been granted, and there was no documentary evidence producible. The land in question formed part of Sydney Park, and the addition which he claimed would have made considerable inroad into the open space. The Government appointed its own surveyor to measure and mark out the grant, but Father Therry resisted, and the result was that the Catholic Attorney-General (Plunkett) was put into a painful position, having received directions to bring an action against the Father, which was only stayed by my arrival.

"On my second visit to the Governor, I asked his Excellency to allow me to arrange that instead of six lay trustees, as demanded, I might be allowed to have three clerical trustees of my own appointment, and three lay trustees to be selected by the congregation. This, I said, would secure three very respectable laymen, in whom everyone would confide, but if six laymen were required, it would lead to serious conflict. Sir Richard at once understood it, and consented. 'Anything reasonable,' he said, 'for the sake of peace.' I then solicited his Excellency to join with me in completing the church for service; for we had not a single church completed. In Sydney we had only the use of a Government building, used for the Court of Requests, where we had the Sunday services and a school on week-days. If the Government would complete the woodwork, including the flooring, I would put in the six large windows. His Excellency agreed to this also.

"On the Sunday appointed for the meeting, I first said the Mass and then preached an earnest sermon on unity. I then took the chair, on my own motion, and knowing that several people had come prepared to rake up stories of the past, and to load my ears with grievances, I put a stop to all this by saying that we were not met to talk, but to vote; that hitherto painful divisions had prevailed owing to the want of an authority, but as there was now a duly appointed authority, all good Catholics would adhere to it; and as to past troubles, the sooner they were forgotten, the better. . . . Let all the congregation except the servants of the Crown (the convicts) put the three names they wish for trustees into the voting box. This was done. The three names turned were those of Mr Attorney-General Plunkett, Mr Commissioner Therry, and Mr Murphy; the latter being a most respectable Emancipist, who had been

unjustly transported, was now a wealthy man, and universally respected. I then appointed Father Therry and Father M^oEncroe, with myself, as the three clerical trustees. Thus ended our troubles, for the six trustees would now have to deal with the Government as to the extent of land to be granted. As I saw that all were relieved and in good humour, I said I should be happy now to hear any remarks that anyone was disposed to offer. This brought out expressions of thankfulness and unity from the leaders, and the meeting closed. I have been thus particular in detailing the steps taken to establish peace and order, because, after this stroke of policy, it was never afterwards interrupted."

Another of the difficulties that confronted Father Ullathorne from the very outset was the extremely inadequate provision made for the education of Catholic children. Till this crying want was met, no security for the permanence and well-being of the Catholic community could be hoped for, and there was the ever-present danger of the younger generation gradually slipping away from the practice of their religion as the result of inadequate instruction. Judge Therry in his *Reminiscences*¹ sums up the situation as it then was in a few pregnant words. "The orphan and destitute children of the Roman Catholics, mostly of convicts whose wives and children followed them to the Colony, were claimed as children of the State; no provision was made for educating them in the religion of their parents." Father Therry had all along, of course, been penetrated with the significance of this evil state of things, had done what he could, single-handed, to remedy it, and had been encouraged, as we have seen, by Dr Slater, to erect schools at various stations. But of what use were schools without properly qualified teachers? And here Father Ullathorne was faced by a practical, and, at the time, insurmountable difficulty; but with his usual courage he set about remedying it by trying to get teachers from England from the Christian Brothers. The mere lapse of time required for an answer—a twelvemonth—

¹ p. 147.

meant precious loss of time, but there was no remedy. Nor was it at once that a favourable reply was received. Nevertheless, here is evidence that all was being done that human foresight could suggest.

Three months later, Father Ullathorne again reported to his Bishop on the state of affairs, showing that real headway was being made. In the previous letter he had borne generous testimony to the goodwill of the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, who though himself a Protestant, rose superior to prejudice; and if the Catholics suffered injustice, it was certainly counter to his wish, and, as Father Ullathorne stated in his first report, was due to "the underlings in office who are great evangelicals and who, I have strong proofs, have formed amongst them a little anti-popery conspiracy."

Vicar-General and Governor evidently understood one another, and Father Ullathorne had no reason to complain of the treatment he experienced. Indeed, he very handsomely pays tribute to His Excellency's desire to act fairly, and to the ready hearing which was always accorded him, even at unseasonable times. Again the ever-burning question of teachers presents itself, and Father Ullathorne shows that he was endeavouring to supply the want from Ireland, as the local supply was useless: "there are no persons to be obtained here who are at the same time capable and trustworthy." Nevertheless, the work of school and chapel building was being pushed on rapidly, for a new school had by then been commenced in Sydney, making the third in that city, while he was trying to complete a chapel at Campbell Town, and was making preparations for commencing one at Maitland. Further details are furnished as to the financial embarrassments created by Father Therry in regard to the erection of St Mary's Church in Sydney, proving that mismanagement was at the bottom of many of the difficulties. Still, though Father Therry might be morally responsible for their creation, Father Ullathorne largely exonerates him from blame, showing that his immense and extended labours had made it almost impossible for one man to cope with so much business. One of the subtle, if ancillary, causes of

the disputes which had been rife before Father Ullathorne's arrival transpires; but with his usual caution, the Vicar-General hints that he can find a way out of this subject of dissatisfaction and even scandal—needless and pharisaical though it evidently was. With these comments, the entire letter to Bishop Morris may now be allowed to tell its own tale.

“Sydney, 10th July 1833.

MY LORD,—Having had private intelligence that the ship *Enchantress* sails to-morrow for the Mauritius, I have availed myself of Capt. Roxburgh's kindness to acquaint your Lordship with the state of our affairs in N. S. Wales. It is difficult for me to obtain intelligence when vessels sail for the Mauritius, as the merchants conceal their speculations from each other.

“Since my packet of 17th April, your Lordship's answer to which I am anxiously waiting for, things have gone forward on the whole very satisfactorily. There has been no renewal of party trouble, or any manifestation of a disposition towards it. Mr Therry, after having so long had full sway, evidently feels it irksome a little, to have to account to another person; at the same time, with the exception of one instance, he has not shown it. On the contrary, he studies to show me every attention outwardly. From the other two gentlemen I enjoy the most candid and cordial co-operation. Mr Therry is thinking a good deal of paying a visit to England and Ireland; whether he has any other design than that of visiting his friends and clearing up his conduct I do not know. He is clever at a scheme, yet I have no right or cause to suspect him. It is perhaps my duty to weigh possibilities as well as probabilities. He says he will be guided by my advice whether he shall go or not. After all his long service, I could not refuse him my consent. Perhaps too, his absence for a time would enable us to put things better into permanent order.

“The Governor on opening the Sessions of the Legislative Council in the middle of last month, made the necessities of the Catholics a prominent part of his Address. In answer to my letter, of which I send your Lordship a copy, stating the necessity and expediency of providing clergy for the interior, His Excellency sent for me, and it was agreed that four new chaplains should be provided at £150 per annum each; one for Campbell Town, one for Maitland, one for Parramatta,

and one for Bathurst, and that £800 should be voted for Catholic Education for the ensuing year, for building schools and supporting teachers. I must have teachers out from Ireland as there are no persons to be obtained here who are at the same time capable and trustworthy. I have commenced a third school in Sydney, and am doing my endeavours to obtain teachers for the Interior. A sum of £200 has been voted for aid to the completion of our church in Campbell Town, and a further sum of £200 towards commencing one at Maitland; both being granted on the supposition that sums equal in amount will be contributed by the inhabitants of those towns.

"With respect to our church in Sydney, I am in some difficulty. The Governor having himself originated in Council all that has been done for us, seems afraid of committing himself further. During my last interview on the subject, His Excellency consented to finish the windows (there are not less than fifty), but said his instructions would not enable him to go further. I am now having recourse to a little *ruse*. The illiberal party in the Council is led by Mr M'Levy, the Colonial Secretary. He has been much attacked of late, is a good deal in the shade; and I think feels the want of popularity. I have spoken with him on the subject, he has talked liberally, and I have proposed to him that he should present a petition to the Governor in Council from me on behalf of the Catholics of Sydney, touching the completion of our church. This, coming through the hands of the leader of the illiberal party, may perhaps strengthen the hand of the Governor in this matter, should he be at all disposed to fulfil promises formerly held out. My principal difficulty after all is, that I can procure no regular accounts of the monies received from the people and expended, with the *how expended*, on the building. If I could do this I might at once assert a clear claim grounded on the promises of former Governors. The general opinion is that at least £6000 has been collected for this building. Mr Therry's general estimate of expenditure is that £5000 has been spent on the Church, and £1100 on the Presbytery and a small chapel annexed, dedicated to St Joseph. The origin of St Joseph's Chapel ought to be made known to your Lordship. When disputes arose between the Rev. Mr Power and the Committee for managing the building on one side, and the Rev. Mr Therry on the other, Mr Therry built this chapel capable of holding with its galleries about 300 persons, with part of the money collected for the Church and

Presbytery. I much fear that if uncontrollable circumstances had not put a stop to this division, we should have seen two rival congregations in the Church at a short distance from each other, without any other reason than personal and party difference.

"It is my decided opinion, confirmed by the common opinion, that there has been a great deal of mismanagement, somewhere, of the money collected for the Sydney Church. Mr Therry says he is £600 amerced in debt on the account of this building; and yet till Government last year gave £500 for roofing and flooring the building, nothing was done but the mere walls. These, indeed, are on a large scale, the Church being of the same area as Moorfields Chapel, lofty and well finished. A great deal of the work was done by Government servants also.

"It must be allowed that Mr Therry had all this time the whole mission of the country to attend to, that he could not himself be a long time together on the spot. The great fault, perhaps, is, that so much cost and labour should have been spent on St Joseph's Chapel and the Presbytery, instead of being employed on the Church. This Presbytery is an extensive mass of ill-arranged inconvenient patches of building in the cottage style, of which only a part is used by us, with a quantity of out-houses, etc. The last time I saw the Governor, I was asked what use we could have for all this building, to which I could only reply, I hoped it might ultimately be useful as a seminary. I was asked whether the arrangement of the buildings would allow of that: to which I could only give a very lame answer. Even now it is in very indifferent repair, and will require a great deal of alteration to make it at all convenient. Another cause of dissatisfaction, which is, I may almost say universal, arises from the family of Mrs Dwyer residing in the Presbytery. I have said something already to your Lordship regarding them, but not all. The people complain that they have to support this family as well as Mr Therry. Mr Therry is much attached to them; he took them from a state of indigence. They have great influence over him. They are uneducated, and not of very refined mind. They are as I have described them to your Lordship, moral, well-intentioned, etc., but they have been accustomed to govern everything about the house with a high hand; they take every little tattle to Mr Therry, seem to be his councillors, have been a good deal the cause from these circumstances of the disputes between Mr Therry and Mr Power, Dowling, etc., etc. Though they show me every

attention, I must confess it is very annoying to have every word and action liable to become an object for their conjectures and suspicions, etc. They are of course a good deal of expense, and seem to assume a little of the lady in their dress, etc.—all this tends to call up the people's reflections. They of course occupy room in the house likewise, and Mr M'Encroe and myself cannot feel ourselves free with them constantly about us. Again, they are a cause of constant trouble from quarrellings and misunderstanding with servants. All this will show your Lordship that permanent peace as well in the house as with Mr Therry will depend a good deal on these persons being removed. I have no difficulty in stating my opinion that had they never been in the house, half the troubles that have, never would have existed. When I last wrote to your Lordship I had not, of course, time to have made these observations and to have traced evils to their sources. I anticipate some difficulty in effecting the removal, from Mr Therry's warm attachment to the family. This is the cause why I have so long deferred what in prudence it is my duty not to defer much longer. Mr Therry seems to have some idea of establishing the young women as a sort of commencement of a Convent. As they have neither talents or education or very spiritualised minds, neither myself nor Mr M'Encroe or Mr Dowling think them fitted for *commencing any Institution*. I fear that Mr Therry's plan further contemplates the establishing them in a wing of the Presbytery. I believe I may at once presume it your Lordship's opinion that this would be improper and very inconvenient, and especially ill-suited in such a place as Sydney. I would gladly contribute myself a little towards their support were a small house provided for them elsewhere.

"The Festivals can be observed in this country by very few persons indeed. The respectable members of our congregation being engaged in official situations or in business, and the rest being servants, Crown prisoners, etc., etc., would your Lordship think it advisable that the new regulations with respect to certain Festivals in England and Ireland should be extended to these Colonies, providing such a regulation can be obtained?

"I have to apologise to your Lordship for the hurry of this letter, as I have been very limited to time. The *Enchantress* returns to Sydney, and Captain Roxburgh will kindly convey any commands from your Lordship. Please to remember me kindly to Mr Clifford and to Mr Spain. My Rev. Brethren unite in respect, duty and affection to your Lordship and in

soliciting your Lordship's prayers and attention. Your Lordship's obedient servant,

W. B. ULLATHORNE."¹

To the foregoing statement, may be added by way of fuller explanation, a passage from Father Ullathorne's Report on the Australasian Mission made to Propaganda in 1837.

"Besides the schools established at Sydney, Parramatta and Campbell Town, I found means to build two others in Sydney, each having separate divisions for boys and girls, another at Windsor, one at Liverpool, one at Appin, and one at Maitland, and the Vicar Apostolic (Dr Polding) has established another at Richmond, the Government giving £800 for their upkeep. It was agreed that four acres of land should be given us in each town for a site for chapel, school, and presbytery; and that the funds collected by us should be doubled by the Government. Soon after my letter to the Vicar Apostolic in the Mauritius, I presented a petition to the Government for an increase of clergy and we were granted salaries for four more priests. I wrote at once to England urging strongly for the appointment of a Vicar Apostolic; such a person alone could meet the difficulties properly: for instance, letters I wrote to the Mauritius remained unanswered for three years.² The Governor, Sir Richard Bourke strongly urged the home Government to maintain religion in the Colonies; but successive changes of Government in England prevented an answer for three years; this document suggested entire equality amongst religions; no predominance for Protestantism; to give salaries according to the number of parishioners; to grant

¹ *D.A.*, I 74.

² Dr Ullathorne's views on the absolute need of a bishop being placed at the head of any missionary enterprise were emphatic. In an article on him at the period of his death, in the *Dublin Review* (1889, p. 458) the following passage occurs:—"When consulted as to whether it would be advisable to send out a Prefect Apostolic or a Bishop to New Caledonia, he replied: 'My experience tells me that even if you send but two priests, one of them ought to be a bishop. For the Episcopate is the generative power of the Church. A priest does not see things with the same depth of responsibility. He can only employ those who are sent to him, while a bishop creates a clergy proportionate to his wants, and holds that clergy firmly together.'"

money for church building equal to what was collected in donations, to maintain existing schools, and to make education free. My increase of salary was a spontaneous act on the part of the Governor. The Government showed no desire to interfere with our discipline or practices, and we, on our side, kept aloof from politics. The sole attempt made against ecclesiastical liberty was that of the Protestant Archdeacon (Dr Broughton) who wanted to have charge of our baptismal and marriage registers; but this endeavour was quickly defeated."¹

It is the more necessary to give due prominence to this eloquent tribute to the fairness exhibited by the Government as hitherto it has been usual to lay all initial Catholic disabilities and difficulties to the door of Protestant officialdom.

Bishop Ullathorne has much to say about the work done in those early days, and the incidents and adventures that enlivened the long journeys made on horseback. He writes:—²

"By Christmas night the great church was completed, and we began to have the services and devotions in a more becoming manner. The congregation became large, and communicants were much increased. With the aid of the Government, I also began a school chapel on the rocks, among the rudest part of the population. Father Therry often made visits into the more populous parts of the interior. I visited various districts occasionally, and especially Maitland, on the river Hunter; St Patrick's Plains, higher up the country; Newcastle at the mouth of the Hunter; the beautiful district of Illawarra; Bathurst, beyond the Blue Mountains; and sometimes Parramatta. Our usual way of travelling was on horseback, with a servant on another horse carrying the vestments and altar-stone. We always carried the Blessed Sacrament in a pyx in the breast pocket, not knowing where or when we might come upon the sick and dying. The Holy See has since prohibited this practice; and recollecting that we often had to stay the night in taverns, and in more miserable places, I think there was wisdom in the prohibition. My oil stocks, through wearing a hole in the pocket, were lost in the desolate Blue Mountains. But, strange to say, a French-

¹ *D. A.*, J 401.

² *Autobiography*, pp. 78 seqq.

woman passed that way, found them, and concluded that they must belong to a priest, and so they were finally recovered."

"We generally used the police courts for chapels, but at Bathurst I used the ballroom of the Royal Hotel, built over the stables, and at Appin I said Mass in a room of the tavern, where I preached against drunkenness. The innkeeper, a worthy Catholic, was rallied about this sermon; but he said: 'We will take anything from his Reverence.'"

"Wherever we went the Catholic innkeepers entertained us and our horses, and would never accept payment. When we reached a township, the first day was spent in riding round the country, visiting all the settlers, Protestant as well as Catholic, to ask leave for the convict servants to come to Mass and the Sacraments next day. The whole of the next day was occupied with people coming and going, and perhaps a second day was required for Communions. The heat was often intense, and after riding round, both man and horse were exhausted."

"Wherever we got the loan of a court house up the country as a chapel, I invariably found a Bible on the bench for administering oaths, on one back of which a paper was pasted the full length in the form of a cross; most commonly consisting of two crossed pieces of coarse brown paper. When anyone had to be sworn, the clerk asked, 'Are you Protestant or Catholic?' If Protestant, the book was opened and its pages kissed; if Catholic, the brown paper cross was presented to be kissed. I wrote a letter to the Governor, pointing out both the indecency and the illegality of this practice, as well as the prejudice which it caused. By a circular to the magistrates the abuse was put an end to."

"At Sydney we did our outdoor work in gigs, as well to save time as on account of the heat. Besides the usual flock, forming a fourth of the population, we had to look after the prisoners' barracks, a huge jail to which the convict men were sent on their first landing, and to which they were returned from every part of the Colony for punishment. We had also to attend the felons' jail, where some forty executions took place yearly. We had to look after a large chain-gang upon an island in Sydney Cove. We had to visit a large convict hospital at Sydney; another at Parramatta, fifteen miles off; and another at Liverpool, at a distance of twenty miles. Again there was the Benevolent Asylum, a refuge for decayed people; for there was no Poor

Law, nor was it needed in those days. The funerals, also, which were outside the city, required to be attended to at least every other day. Parramattta had to be served regularly from Sydney, and Liverpool from time to time. Father M^cEncroe and I had to bear the brunt of this work.

“Another field of occupation was examining and signing the papers of the large convict population. No one could obtain his ticket-of-leave, or his free pardon, or leave to marry, or the privilege of having wife and children sent out at Government expense, unless the document he presented was signed by a clergyman of his communion. Then there were duties for the Vicar-General as head of the department; duties and correspondence with the Colonial Office, with the Surveyor’s Office, with the Treasury, and with the Military, as well as with the Convict Department. There were grants of land to be obtained for churches, schools, or presbyteries; payments to be arranged or certified for priests or school teachers; aid to be sought for new buildings; arrangements made for duties to the military, as well as for the convicts; favours to be solicited in exceptional cases that seemed to call for mercy; special journeys in Government services by land and sea, such as attending executions. I always found the heads of departments friendly and obliging. The official dinners at Government House tended to strengthen this good understanding; and on those occasions his Excellency was always considerate in inviting the Protestant Archdeacon and Catholic Vicar-General on different days, so that each in his turn had the place of honour, and said grace.”

From these extracts the reader may see how by tact and good management Father Ullathorne had at length created a *modus vivendi*. This was the official side of his duties: that which was seen in the Government offices, on platforms, in the drawing-room. Now let us get a glimpse at the more important side, the priestly and fatherly side of the young monk. The labour was excessive, never ending: the journeys were continuous and lengthy and fatiguing: but his energies never seemed to flag. Let Father Ullathorne tell his own tale, however.

“Meanwhile, patient until the time appointed by the Divine Providence to bring us that aid we so much needed, every effort was made to supply the place of numbers by activity. The writer has commenced his Easter Sunday at Windsor,

by celebrating Mass, preaching, and attending the sick ; then travelled twenty miles to Parramatta, again offered the Holy Sacrifice, preached, and visited the hospital ; and, after another distance of fifteen miles, has concluded the public labours of the day in Sydney, by a third sermon. The Rev. Mr Therry has said his Midnight Mass on Christmas Day, in Sydney—his second at Liverpool, twenty miles distant—his third at Campbell Town, thirteen miles further beyond. And the other clergymen were not less active. Each remote district of the interior was repeatedly visited. Calls to visit the dying came to us sometimes from a distance of 80 miles, sometimes even further. The writer has twice sailed a distance of 1,000 miles to attend executions¹—twice 800 miles in another direction, on the duties of the mission. Wherever we came, the people, full of faith—whatever I may be compelled to say of the morals of many, and how, alas ! had they been left to themselves—looking with deep reverence upon their clergy, gathered round us. A day or two's notice would collect together the Catholic population from the circumference of thirty miles. Any place covered with a roof served us as a chapel ; but our most common recourse was to a police office, a barrack or hospital room, or a store. For a considerable period the chapel at Parramatta was the guard-room, in which there was not one window ; a sermon was even preached against drunkenness in a public-house,² from want of some other place in which to assemble. Many persons applied to be instructed in the faith, and we received them, repenting, into the bosom of our unity. In the course of four years, twenty-six criminals from other creeds called in the aid of the priest, after receiv-

¹ See Chapter VI., for details.

² This celebrated sermon has since been published in England, by the Catholic Truth Society, 1897.

In the preface to a volume of sermons published in 1842, Dr Ullathorne alludes to the various places in which these sermons were delivered, contrasting their condition then with that in which they were at the above date. "They were preached," he says, "in the 'old Court House' in Sydney, where there is now a large Cathedral, a magnificent parish church, two chapels, and 10,000 Catholics ; the jail at Parramatta, where the only light except the candles on the altar came from the opening of a wooden shutter, which gave the priest a prospect of a busy tavern over the way, where now is a handsome church, flanked by a school and convent ; an old barn at Windsor, where is now a goodly church, with a congregation of 800 persons, besides free schools, a boarding-school, and an orphanage ; an assembly

ing sentence of death, and died with every sign of the most sincere repentance."¹

In his report to the Holy See, Father Ullathorne makes the same comforting report, but on the strength of later information, he says "forty-five Protestant men condemned to death have been reconciled in the space of four years, and died with every sign of penitence and resignation."

In this Report he points out another difficulty with which he had to contend: it was the first of a series of similar ebullitions of bigotry and intolerance.

"In 1835, an attempt was made," he writes, "by the ministers of the Anglican Church to stop the progress of Catholic education by introducing a system of Bible reading in the schools; but we were given no opportunity of combating this. So I published a pamphlet, entitled 'Observations on the use and abuse of the Scriptures as shown in the practice of the Catholic and Protestant Churches.' It effected its object: the plan was dropped."

The short account of the foundation of the Church in New South Wales accompanying the description of the burning of Sydney Cathedral in 1865, informs us that at the period of Father Ullathorne's arrival in the Colony in 1833, "there were over 12,000 Catholics scattered throughout the Colony." He commissioned the fourth priest to cope with the spiritual needs of these widely separated units, as one may say: hence "the duties were most arduous, and yet with all that could be done the faithful were necessarily still left in

room at Bathurst, beyond the Blue Mountains, placed over some livery stables, now is a church ample for 1,000 persons, and served by two priests; in the police court of Maitland, which now contains two churches; in a public-house in Patrick's Plains, or a room in the hospital at Liverpool, or the public inn at Appin, or the court house at Wollongong, all which places now have their churches and clergy." It is needless to say that the contrast here drawn out between 1833 and 1842 is infinitely greater at the present day, when the Church in Australia has taken developments not dreamed of when the above remarks were first written. [*Autobiography*, p. 89. *note*.]

¹ *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, pp. 11, 12.

² *D. A.*,] 401

a state of great spiritual need. More labourers were wanted in the vineyard. Father Ullathorne was just the man for this emergency: a man not only of great learning and exemplary piety but of untiring energies. Some notion of the mode in which the help of the State was extended to the different churches at that time may be formed from a glance at the estimates for 1833. Of £20,471 set apart for the support of the clergy and schools during that year, but £800 was given to the Catholics, and £600 to the Presbyterians. All the rest was devoted to the churches and schools of the Established Church. Yet at this time there were almost as many Catholics in the Colony as there were members of the Church of England.

“The Vicar-General struggled bravely for justice, and Governor Bourke did not turn a deaf ear to his remonstrances. Others who were sufferers under the existing system also benefited. The Church and School Corporation was dissolved, and the memorable Church Act was passed.”

R. Flanagan in his *History of New South Wales*¹ summarises the very important clauses of the *Church Act* already referred to, by the passing of which by the Legislative Council, religious equality was firmly and permanently established in the Colony, and the evil dominance of the Established Church not only checked but abolished. The merit of this measure is undoubtedly due to the large-mindedness of Sir Richard Bourke. The plan of the Act was set forth in the celebrated despatch from him to the Colonial Secretary, dated 30th September, 1833, and no doubt some of its measures were due to conferences with Father Ullathorne, with whom he seems to have had a complete understanding from their very first interview. Before very long, Father Ullathorne applied to him for four additional chaplains pointing out the reasons justifying the application. Sir R. Bourke in his despatch pointed out that probably a fifth of the whole population of New South Wales were Catholics. He then proceeded to state, in order to show the inequality,

¹ Vol. I., pp. 512-4.

that,—“The charge on the public Treasury next year would be: for the Church of England, £11,542; for the Scotch Presbyterians, £600; and for the Catholic chaplains and chapels, £1500. The Catholics possess one large and handsome church at Sydney, not yet completed, and to aid its completion the Government had given donations at different times amounting in all to £1200. The sum of £400, included in the £1500, had been appropriated in aid of private subscriptions for erecting Catholic chapels at Campbell Town and Maitland. A chapel was begun in Campbell Town and in Parramatta some years ago; but neither have been completed for want of funds. Such an unequal support cannot be acceptable to the colonists, who provide the funds from which the distribution is made.”

Sir Richard, therefore, proposed that whenever not less than £300 and up to £1000 was collected for the erection of a church and a clergyman's residence, an equal sum should be paid by the Treasury; that thenceforth the building should not be a charge upon the public purse; and that the Chaplain should be a Government official. That the scale of remuneration for the Chaplain should be £100 a year where there was an adult congregation of 100; if 200, then £150; if 500, then £200.

As regarded education, Sir Richard proposed the adoption of the Irish system. Some change was clearly needed; for as he pointed out, 35 schools in the Colony belonged to the Church and School Corporation, wherein, though attended by children of every denomination, only the Church of England Catechism was taught, and all the pupils were treated as belonging to the Church of England. The Governor closed his despatch with these words:

“I cannot conclude this subject without expressing a hope amounting to some degree of confidence, that in laying the foundation of the Christian religion in this young and rising Colony, by equal encouragement held out to its professors, in their several Churches, the people of these persuasions will be united together in one bond of peace, and taught to look up to the Government as their common

protector and friend; and that thus will be secured to the State good subjects, and to Society good men."

In the same despatch, as Dr Ullathorne records¹:—

"His Excellency was pleased to say a kind word of the Catholic Vicar-General, preliminary to stating that 'he thought £200 a year too low for the office, and that it might advantageously be raised to £400, to enable him to visit frequently the chapels in the interior.'

"Before this despatch was sent, the Governor kindly gave me an opportunity, through Sir Roger Therry, of seeing it. I could only express my gratitude for a scheme so well calculated to meet all requirements, whilst it left ecclesiastical authority in such perfect freedom."

One result of this equitable policy may be seen by comparing the estimates of 1833, with the returns for 1860. In 1833 the share of public grant allotted to the Church of England was £19,071, against £200 doled out to the Catholics. Judge Therry² states that "In 1860 the Church of England received from the Treasury £18,233, 8s. 7d.³ towards the maintenance of 2 Bishops, a Dean, and 116 Clergymen; the Catholic Church, £10,270, 15s. 1d., for an Archbishop, Vicar General and 60 Clergymen; the Presbyterian Church, £3188, 11s. 4d. for 25 Clergymen; the Wesleyan, £1998, os. 2d. for 40 Clergymen."

Father Ullathorne's request for an increase of clergy was not actually the first made. A layman had been at work to secure the same end, even before Father Ullathorne had left England. We learn from Judge Therry's *Reminiscences*⁴ that he had initiated negotiations.

"Before I left England in 1829," he says, "I had made the acquaintance of the late Mr Edward Blount, Secretary to the Roman Catholics of England previous to the Act of Emancipation. To this gentleman, in the course of a long correspondence, I had represented the destitute condition of the Roman Catholic Community in New South Wales. Mr Blount was then M.P. for Steyning, and deservedly

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 87.

² *Reminiscences*, p. 154.

³ Actually less than it had obtained 27 years previously!

⁴ p. 148.

enjoyed the confidence of the then Liberal Administration. His reply to my first application inspired me with confidence to persevere. . . . By correspondence and interviews with influential persons, Mr Blount persevered in the work he had undertaken, keeping perpetually before the authorities, as he wrote, 'the question: Are the Catholics of our foreign dependencies to be good or bad subjects?—loyal, orderly, and educated; or factious, ignorant, and degraded?' At length, his efforts were crowned with complete success, and Mr Blount transmitted to me a copy of the letter he received from Lord Stanley, dated February 1834, containing the following welcome announcement:—

"'I have the pleasure,' writes Lord Stanley, 'of enclosing to you a copy of a despatch from General Bourke, by which you will perceive that the object of your application has been anticipated to an extent which I trust will be satisfactory, and that provision has been made for the maintenance of four additional chaplains.'" Under the terms of this provision Fathers Dowling and M'Encroe were sent out. Lord Stanley continued: "'I entirely concur with General Bourke in opinion that this addition is not more than is required by the necessity of the case, and should the demand increase, I am satisfied the Legislative Council of New South Wales will be happy to make such further provision as may be in their power. Agreeing with General Bourke in the extreme importance of the selection of the clergymen to be appointed, I have already communicated upon the subject with Dr Bramston [Vicar Apostolic of the London District], and I hope that no long time will elapse before the newly appointed chaplains proceed to their destination.'

"No long time was permitted to elapse, for early in 1835, the Right Rev. Dr Polding, accompanied by three priests and four ecclesiastical students . . . arrived. . . . In providing so conciliatory and accomplished a prelate as Dr Polding for New South Wales, gratitude is due to the Earl of Derby, not only from the Roman Catholics but from Colonists of whatever religious denomination. Dignified and urbane in his manners, firm in the assertion of his own convictions, and tolerant towards those who may differ in opinion from him; preaching as powerfully by the example of his own life as by the eloquent enforcement of the precepts he practises—Dr Polding deservedly enjoys the affection of his own flock, and the respect and esteem of the whole Colony. For five and twenty years and upwards, this has been the uniform tenour of his life."

While this layman's testimony is of considerable interest, it must be pointed out that Judge Therry *post factum* has taken much more credit to himself and to Mr Blount than is their due. A long period elapsed between 1829 and 1835; the appointment of Dr Polding was evidently not the outcome of the representations of 1829, for in 1830 on the selection of a new Apostolic Visitor for Mauritius, New South Wales was still subjected to his jurisdiction instead of being separated from it. Because Dr Morris realised that he could seldom, if ever, visit New South Wales, he had appointed Father Ullathorne to represent him there with a superior authority as his Vicar-General, urged thereto by the request of the authorities of New South Wales to the Colonial Office and through that Office to Dr Bramston and the Holy See that some one so endowed should be sent to put an end to their disputes with Father Therry. It was only on Father Ullathorne's urgent and repeated representations to England and to Rome, that *he* secured the severance of New South Wales from the jurisdiction of the Visitor-Apostolic of the Mauritius, and the selection of Dr Polding, his old novice master, as the first Australian bishop.

Not even to Dr Ullathorne, however, is the credit due of first mooted the desirability of providing Australia with its own resident bishop. Not long after his own arrival in that continent, Father M^eEncroe wrote the following letter to Dr Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, interesting not only for that suggestion, but as giving many details regarding the Church in Sydney in those early days. The letter is printed in Cardinal Moran's *History*¹ and we do not scruple to find it a place once more in these pages.

"Sydney, New South Wales.
2nd November 1832.

MY DEAR AND REVEREND LORD,—I beg to return your Grace my most grateful thanks for your kind recommendation of me to Viscount Goderich, in consequence of which I have been appointed one of the Roman Catholic chaplains of this Colony, with a salary of £150 per annum. I have been

¹ p. 142.

stationed here, the Rev. Mr Dowling, who is in rather a bad state of health, having taken up his residence at Windsor, about forty miles up the country. I live with the Rev. Mr Therry in the Chapel House; I hope he will soon get the usual salary, of which he was deprived by Governor Darling, in consequence of his (Mr Therry's) efforts to prevent proselytism, carried to a great extent here during Governor Darling's government.

"There are 16,000 or 18,000 Catholics in this Colony, not one half of whom hardly ever see a priest. The present Governor is friendly to us. £500, in addition to £300 have been voted for Catholic chaplains and schools for the next year. Five or six zealous priests are absolutely wanted here. I intend to memorial the Secretary for the Colonies on this and other matters connected with the Catholic affairs of New South Wales. I am sure that any well recommended priest, who would apply as I did, would meet encouragement. We want very much, five or six competent schoolmasters; each would get about £50 a year. I have the appointment. What a blessing if I could procure two or three of Mr Rice's Brothers. Please speak to him. I will pay their passage money on their arrival in Sydney. We would soon have subjects for their Order, and thus be able in time to supply all the Catholic schools with proper teachers. Catholic books are very much wanted. I have been told by a surgeon, who lately came in a convict ship, that, if proper application were made to Government, Catholic Prayer Books and Testaments may be given by the Navy Board to Catholic convicts, in place of Protestant tracts that are and have been served out to them in such abundance. Knowing your Grace's zeal for the glory of God makes me give you so much trouble. I hope you will, at a convenient time, request of Mr O'Connell, and such other Members of Parliament as your Grace may think fit, to call the notice of Government to the inutility of giving Protestant books, and the necessity of supplying the Catholic convicts with proper religious books.

"The number of converts is considerable in the Colony, considering the little opportunity of instruction. There is a general dislike of the ministers of the Establishment, which is to cost the people £20,000 for the next year.

"The Holy See should provide this place with a Bishop. It is the most neglected portion of the Catholic world. The Vicar-Apostolic at the Mauritius can do but little for this place; by proper care it can become an interesting portion

of the fold of Christ. The youth are docile and enterprising and tenacious of the faith of their unfortunate fathers.

"Mr and Mrs Plunkett, who have been very kind to me, beg to present your Grace with their kindest regards. They and Mr Commissioner Therry's family are a great acquisition to our congregation. The sum of £1500 has been subscribed within the past month for the completion of our beautiful church, built chiefly through the exertions of the Rev. Mr Therry.

"I have an arduous mission in Sydney with a Catholic population of 5000 souls and am called at an average of once or twice a week to attend sick calls at the distance of from 20 to 40 miles.

"I recommend myself and the poor destitute Catholics of this Colony to your prayers, and beg a remembrance at the Holy Altar.

"I remain with the most profound respect and veneration, your Grace's most obedient and humble servant,

J. M^cENCROE.

Roman Catholic Chaplain.

The Most Rev. Dr Murray, Archbishop of Dublin.

"P.S.—When you see my good friends Drs Laffan and Crotty, please to give them my affectionate regards, and to solicit their prayers for a poor missionary, left almost alone, and surrounded with dangers and difficulties. I have one advantage: anything reasonable I ask of the Governor he immediately grants."

Here Father Ullathorne's own endorsement of *his* action in securing the appointment of a Bishop may be given. He says¹ "On making my application the year previous [*i.e.* 1833] for four additional priests, I had more than one object in view. I strongly felt that a bishop was required for Australia. I had written some time before to Bishop Morris in the Mauritius, by one of the very few ships that ever went to that island, and had explained to him the very unsatisfactory state of things in Van Diemen's Land. I had also sent to him certain cases requiring dispensations, to which my special faculties did not extend. In reply, I received a letter, stating that he was sending another priest

¹ *Autobiography*, pp. 87 seqq.

to Van Diemen's Land, and that the faculties would come by another letter. The letter never came, nor the priest either. New Zealand was but 1,000 miles distant, and though Protestant Missions had been established there for a considerable time, no priest had ever reached it. Norfolk Island was a penal settlement, quite as far off, but no priest had ever visited it. Moreton Bay (now Queensland) was another penal settlement far to the north of Sydney, which had only been once visited by Father Therry. A new colony was also beginning to be formed in the extensive region which finally took the name of Victoria.

"Under the clear conviction that so large a responsibility required the immediate superintendence of a bishop, I wrote to the Superiors at Downside, explained the case, mentioned the application I had made to the Home Government for additional priests, and urged them to move for the appointment of a Bishop of Sydney. Lord Stanley had sent a copy of Sir Richard Bourke's despatch to Mr Blount, and stated that he should consult Bishop Bramston as to the priests to be sent out; and thus the way was opened.

"In May, 1834, my old novice-master, Father Polding, was appointed first Bishop of Sydney by Gregory XVI.¹ He undertook to provide the other three priests applied for, and the four received the usual passage and outfit provided by Government. Meanwhile Lord Stanley had replied to my letter, not only approving my application, but adding that, should our wants increase, he would be happy to attend to any further recommendation supported by the Governor of the Colony. Not long after, Sir Richard Bourke received a letter from Lord Stanley, announcing the appointment of the four priests, one of whom, Dr Polding, was invested with the dignity of a bishop. He then expressed his regret at my being superseded, and proposed that I should go to Hobart Town with the same stipend. When Sir Richard read the letter to me, I laughed, and said: 'Your Excellency will understand our ways better than Lord Stanley. I should be of material use to the Bishop in the beginning. Let him

¹This is a technical error. He had not the territorial title of Sydney till 1842; he was Bishop of Hiero-Cæsarea *in partibus infidelium* and Vicar Apostolic of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land.

take the stipend of £400 a year which you recommended for the Vicar-General, and let me take the ordinary stipend of a priest.' 'Well,' he said, 'there is no other man in the Colony who would have made such an offer.' So I remained in my old position, and the Bishop received the £400 a year. My next point was to secure a proper residence for the Bishop before his arrival, a residence that would suitably represent his dignity as the head of the Catholics of Australia. I succeeded in renting a large and stately house, built for the first Protestant Archdeacon, and which at that time alone occupied the Vale of Woolloomooloo, with an extensive domain attached to it. It joined the Sydney Park, in which stood his Cathedral."

The reader will have in his recollection Bishop Ullathorne's account of how his mind was first directed towards New South Wales by the enthusiasm of his novice master Father Polding. This episode throws a gleam of light on an otherwise unintelligible phrase in a letter written by the then Prior of Downside, Father L. B. Barber to the President of the English Benedictines, Dr Birdsall. Under date 6 March 1830 he says "'The Bishop Elect' and all his future Australian subjects send their affectionate respects."¹ As it stands, this has no meaning, for at that date there was no talk of any one going to 'Botany Bay,' nor was the future Archbishop of Sydney then designated for the mitre. The explanation seems to be that a section of the Downside Community was resolved to migrate to some Colony or at least leave England, rather than place themselves under the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District. This was the avowed aim of Dr Baines, Bishop of Siga *i.p.i.* and litigation was at this very time pending in Rome, settled wholly in favour of Downside three days after the date of the above letter. The words were a joking reference to a subject of local conversation and perhaps *badinage*, but how prophetic and true they were! So little, indeed, was it the intention of any one to send Father Polding to Australia, that, in 1832, he was actually appointed Bishop of Madras in India! The

¹ *D. A.*, H 21.

offer was made to him, and in fear lest he should be opposing his private wishes to God's will, he accepted the burthen. As soon as he had done so, however, fear filled his soul, and he employed every means to be allowed to draw back. The following letter written by Father Polding to Father Brown, then 'al Collegio Inglese, Roma', will be read in Australia with interest, showing his humility, his mistrust of self, his one consuming desire to be allowed to remain within the walls of his monastery.

" Artillery Place, London, 12th Oct. 1832.

MY DEAR CONFRERE,—I ought to have written to you at an earlier period, but the various businesses in which I have been engaged have caused me to defer. After hearing and receiving advice on the most important affair which was in agitation when you left last Monday, in consequence of the very strong remonstrances of Father President I yielded a most reluctant consent to the appointment of Madras. Alas! that I ever did so! My mind has been ever since in a state of the utmost agitation worked up to phrensy almost by the dread of the dangers to be encountered: above all by a sense of my own weakness and vacillation of which I have given in this business most abundant proof. With the exception of Mr Barber, all advised,—more than that—urged me to accept. Mr B., who knew me well, I must own, gave me contrary counsel. I should have avoided the worst agony I have ever endured, had I followed it. Could I recede, how willingly would I live on bread and water if required, engaged in the most menial offices at Downside. What a wretched thing I am. Oh, my dear Confrere, I know not what will become of me, with my weaknesses and reluctance to . . . ?¹ but then, how great will be my responsibility. Did the Pope know me as you, never would he have nominated me to such a place and office. The person most fit in my opinion is Benedict Glover, who is in every respect qualified, and who has no objection whatever to the appointment. If not too late, I wish this could be done. Could it be done? At the same time I am aware how delicate a matter it is, thus to interfere, and leave it entirely to your judgment. If you could accomplish it, never ceasing would be my gratitude, and never, no never would I think of leaving Downside. You know what I am

¹ Illegible.

for college business when free from the control of my foolish [blank], and this would I be to the end of life in case you could bring it about. If his Holiness wished to give a signal mark of his favour to Downside, perhaps not one would be more acceptable. The slight, very slight hope I have of success in this is a balm to my troubled mind: its workings during this week have been dreadful, and I am sure if they continued reason will lose her seat, and I must be consigned to the Mad House. Forgive me for this pouring, without disguise, my state before you. It is just what you expected: it has realised your forebodings, and I am sure you will not abuse my confidence. The ceremony of consecration, Dr Bramston says, cannot take place before December, as the elected must be presented previously to the E. India House, that his outfit and the means of meeting the expenses may be ascertained, and when this will be I do not know—not before the meeting of the proprietors, and whether it will then come on is doubtful. The answer to Dr Bramston's letter of November he only received in May, relative to the appointment of a Vic. Ap. and on Wednesday the chairman told Dr B(ramston) that they were in the habit of doing things tardily. At Rome they are solicitous for the affair to be done immediately, but nothing can be done without the concurrence of the Company, on whose good will and sanction so much depends.

“Another reason why he wishes, and of course I unite in the wish, is the hope he has of seeing Dr Baines and Mr Birdsall on terms of reconciliation. Dr Wiseman has some sort of a commission to discharge in the business: in fact it would be extremely improper for the Bishop and those who accompany him to sail before February or March or even later, as they would have to encounter the dreadful heat on their first arrival, than which nothing can be more dangerous, and though the state of things does not require a speedy alteration, yet some regard is due to health, the more precious to the people than to the individual. Should this change take place, I am sure the House would exert itself and my desire would be to do all I could here for carrying into effect the desires of his Holiness respecting the foreign mission. My dear confrere, be prudent, say what you please about me, let all be done for religion. I conceive you can do nothing except by a personal interview with his Holiness, if Cardinal Weld would assist you! The matter is delicate. May God assist you to that which is to His honour; and oh, if that be to liberate me, to the last hour of my life will I love you as my greatest benefactor.

Doctor Baines returned to London yesterday and has set off for Bath. Dr Wiseman has gone to the north. At Downside things were, when I left, going on as usual. A boy of the name of Vaughan came about three weeks since. How my place, particularly in your absence will be filled up I know not: that was not my business to judge, but for superiors. I am afraid the change will be detrimental, yet God has designs in view far beyond our horizon. Now it is that I wish to live and die for it. Oh! that Mr Barber had remained with us: this change in my circumstances would never have taken place.

Poor Dr Slater. The melancholy circumstances of his death fill me with grief and alarm. After a life of so much trouble and anxiety to have no soothing voice to comfort him in his last hour, no rites of religion administered! He had contrived to escape from his creditors, and on the third day after he quitted the island, his spirits sunk under the trial and he ceased to live. Alas, have I not the same dispositions from family connection, have I not coveted the dignity which to him was the fatal rock of his happiness. My soul is driven to distraction at the thought. Oh! solitude, that with thee I might dwell for ever; but pray for me, pray for one unworthy to live amongst his confreres, who has abused the graces of Heaven, who reads in the negligence of his frail life a fearful foreboding of the future. Oh, my God, have mercy on me. Let me hear from you very soon. Only with the Pope can you do anything to the purpose, and in the way of favour to the House; but not with any danger to the House or Order; rather let me be sacrificed. Mr Heptonstall will write to you a few lines. Adieu. Believe me, ever my dear confrere, your truly attached friend,

J. POLDING.

"Only the fear of going against the will of his Holiness and of counteracting the designs of God as manifested through him induced me to consent. If his Holiness recalls his order, of course I shall be free from the responsibility of resisting the will of Heaven. Let it not be known that I have written on this subject."

(Father Heptonstall)

"MY DEAR CONFRERE,—Mr Polding wishes me to add a few lines to this epistle which already seems but too long. It appears that he is extremely sorry now that he did [not] give more mature attention to the objections which you and Mr

Barber raised against his accepting the important responsible dignity offered to him by the Holy See. He evidently wishes now to revoke his consent. I need not say that if you can in any way consistently with duty and religion cause his services still to be confined to England, you would certainly confer a great favour on the members of Alma Mater. Dr Bramston objects that should Mr Polding now recede, his so doing might prove very injurious to religion in those parts which he has consented to serve, in as much as it might cause the East India Company or even the Pope to give up the measure altogether. It is likely that Mr Turner and the Community at Downside might write to you soon on the subject. If you judge that it is totally useless to interfere in this affair now that it has so far proceeded you had better keep the contents of this letter or any other communication from Downside entirely to yourself."¹

Although the Bulls for his appointment to the Madras Vicariate had actually been made out, conferring on him the title of Bishop of Hiero-Cæsarea *i.p.i.*, and sent to Dr Bramston with orders to proceed at once to the consecration of the Bishop-elect, the matter being urgent, nevertheless a favourable ear was turned to his earnest remonstrances and entreaties, more especially as a doctor he had consulted told him that his health would not stand the Indian climate. But as matters turned out, it was only a respite.

When Father Ullathorne made his appeal for further priests, and urged the necessity of separating Australia from Mauritius, because the immense distance between Port Louis and the Australian Continent made intercourse between the two countries practically impossible, he applied in the first instance to his superior, Dr Birdsall, who represented to Rome how difficult it must be to superintend in any satisfactory manner the government of so large a portion of the globe. He further expressed his willingness to send out some Benedictine religious to the assistance of Father Ullathorne, but endorsed the opinion of that experienced missionary that some one of those he proposed to send should be consecrated Bishop. This proposal was adopted, and orders

¹ *D. A.*, H 484.

were immediately sent from Rome to Dr Bramston to proceed with the interrupted consecration of Father Bede Polding, under the old title, not for the Vicariate of Madras, however, but for the newly created Vicariate of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land.¹

Dr Birdsall wrote as follows to announce the appointment to Father Barber :

Vialta (Broadway, Worcs.)

4th June 1834.

"DEAR MR BARBER,—Last night's packet brought two Roman letters ; one mediate to Dr Bramston, the other immediate to me. By the former all we advised about the New Vicariate is granted by Rome, and granted gladly. As the letters were expedited from London on Saturday, you perhaps have heard from Downside that Mr Polding is to be consecrated Bishop Hiero-Cæsarensis, *vigore* the former Brief (pro Madras) and, in a few days he is to expect the

¹ The text of the Brief addressed to Dr Bramston by Cardinal Pedicini, Prefect of Propaganda, is as follows :—

1834, 17th May.

Copia.

ILLME. AC RME. DOMINE,—Maximo cum gaudio a nobis sunt exceptae litterae Amplitudinis Tuæ die 26 Aprilis datae, quibus significabas opportunam sese occasionem offerre Vicariatum Apostolicum instituendi in Novâ Hollandiâ et in Insula Diemen. Ita fiet quod jamdiu erat in votis, ut plura Catholicorum millia, qui in vasta illa regione commorantur, et quorum spiritualibus necessitatibus, ut par erat, occurrere Apostolicus in Insula Mauritii Vicarius in tam magna locorum distantia tantaque operariorum quibus ipse laborat inopia non poterat, et Pastoris praesentia recreentur, et adaucto sacerdotum numero, quas ille secum afferre poterit abundantius ac facilius adjumenta salutis inveniant. Illud etiam nobis pergratum accidit ex Te audire, R. D. Joannem Polding, Monachum e Familia Benedictina qui Madraspatanum Apostolicum Vicariatum, ad quem electus jam fuerat tantopere recusavit, multos jam annos desiderio flagrare saluti animarum in Nova Hollandia se devovendi ipsumque omnibus instructum esse quae requiruntur in Vicaria Apostolica cum Episcopali characterem in illa regione constituendo. Nulla itaque interposita mora supplicatum est SSmo. ut laudato monacho Munus Apostolici Vicarii in Nova Hollandia et in Insula vulgo dicta Terra Van Diemen demandare dignaretur.

regular faculties and provisions from Rome, constituting the New District and independent Vicariate, and him the Vic. Ap.”¹

Father Barber in his turn wrote to Father Deday, to tell him of Dr Polding's elevation to the Episcopate. It is interesting as showing how the Benedictines came to be in such request for Colonial mitres, and it also shows that owing to Dr Polding's former refusal, his nearest and most intimate friends felt he had forfeited confidence, and fears are expressed that even at the last moment he might draw back.

“Salford Convent.

6th June, 1834.

“ Polding has received his appointment as Vic. Ap. of New South Wales, and is to be consecrated Bishop of Hiero-Cæsarea *in partibus*. It is not unlikely that you will be receiving an application from Duck to go out with him. Do me the favour to agree with me and put a decided veto upon it. We are weakening ourselves at home to serve

Sanctitas sua re omni probe perspecta Sacrae Congregationis Tuisque votis benigne annuit et Apostolicas Litteras expediri jussit. Breve quo laudatus Presbyter ad Sedem Hiero-Cæsaream tunc electus cum Vicarius Apostolicus Madraspatani designatus fuit in manibus tuis est ; vigore itaque istius Apostolici Brevis illum poteris interim in Episcopum Hiero-Cæsarensem consecrare, eaque disponere, quae ad Praesulis ejusque co-operatorum in Novam Hollandiam Navigationem sunt necessaria. Litteras Apostolicas pro Vicariatu praedicto una cum opportunis facultatibus Novo Vicario Apostolico concedendis brevi me Tibi transmissurum spero, ac precor Deum ut Amplitudinem Tuam diu Sospitem ac felicem servet.
Romae, ex Aedibus Propaganda Fide.

Die 17 Maii 1834.

Amplitudinis Tuae Uti Frater Studiosissimus.

C. M. Cardli^s Pedicini, Prefectus.

A. Maius Sec^{rius}.

R.R. D.D. Bramston,

Episcopo Ursulensi.

Vicario Apostolico Londinensi.

Londinium. [D. A., I 227.]

¹ D. A., I 239.

missions abroad. And this to oblige Dr Bramston who wants to rid himself of the solicitude which these foreign missions bring to him,—a Bishop, too, who would disdainfully refuse to give one of our subjects an appointment to a chapel in London! Downside is in great trouble about this appointment. Mr Brown is much hurt and justly, for he never knew of the negotiation until it was brought to a termination. It was no secret here, but I troubled my head very little about it, as I never conceived that Rome would have offered a Bishopric again to such a vacillating mind. There will be, or I am much mistaken, something to do in his mind, before he gets on board a vessel. When he begins to think that perchance he may meet with a watery grave before he gets among the Bushmen, he will wish his head from under his mitre.”¹

At this point a necessary digression must be made in order to put the reader in possession of the life-story of Father Polding up to the date of his selection as Vicar Apostolic of New Holland.

John Polding was born at Liverpool on the 18th of October, 1794. His father was of German extraction, the original name of the family being “Polten.” His mother was a sister of the Very Rev. Father Bede Brewer, President General of the English Benedictine Congregation from 1799 to 1822. Both were excellent Catholics, and, till their death, which took place when their son was still very young, they spared no pains to instil into the child’s mind a love and reverence for holy things. The death of both his parents consigned the boy to the care of Dr Brewer.

The French Revolution had driven the English exile communities back to their own land. Amongst others were the Benedictine Dames of the Convent of Our Lady of Consolation of Cambrai. Before they finally settled at Stanbrook, near Worcester, they were located for a time at Woolton Much, near Liverpool, where Dr Brewer dwelt. When little John Polding was left an orphan at the early age of eight and consigned to his uncle’s care, Dr Brewer sent his nephew every day to the nuns to be taught his lessons. To Dame Juliana

¹ *D. A.*, I 241.

Horseman was entrusted the task of teaching this lively boy, full of pranks, and she prepared him for college life at Acton Burnell, Shropshire, where, at the age of eleven, in the year 1805, the President sent his nephew to study under the Benedictines of St Gregory's, formerly situated at Douay in Flanders, but then sheltered by the Smythe family at their seat near Shrewsbury. Dame Juliana lived to extreme old age and had the joy of seeing her former pupil not only a Bishop but even an Archbishop. Thus, the community from which the foundation of Subiaco, Parramatta, New South Wales, is an off-shoot, had the privilege of guiding the first steps of the future Apostle of Australia.

Father Jerome Sharrock was Prior at the time when John Polding entered the school at Acton Burnell, and Father Kendal, who succeeded him in that office in 1808, was the prefect and missionary. Father Kendal had some remarkable traits of character, above all things he was a catechist, and possessed a wonderful power of winning the affections of children; it is probable that young Polding derived much of his great love of missionary work from his first master. When but a boy he seems to have had some foreknowledge of the high position to which he would in after years be raised. Even before he was clothed with the religious habit, it is a tradition that he was playfully styled 'Archbishop of Sydney' by his companions, from the confidence with which he foretold that some day or other that would be his title.

After spending five years in the school at Acton Burnell, he petitioned to be admitted into the community, and received the religious habit from Prior Kendal on 15th of July, 1811. Three others received the habit at the same time, one of whom was Brother Placid, afterwards Bishop Morris, and Visitor Apostolic of Mauritius with jurisdiction over Australasia. John Polding chose for himself the name of Bede, no doubt in imitation of the choice of his uncle and guardian, Dr Bede Brewer. Having been tested and tried, and accepted, Brother Bede Polding was professed on 18th July, 1812. The succeeding period of 'juniorate' was chiefly devoted to the study of philosophy and theology, in both of

which sciences the young religious made rapid progress, and for philosophical speculation he developed a capacity above the average. Theology was well taught at that period, at Acton Burnell, by Dr Elloi, an exiled professor of the Sorbonne. The year 1814 saw the migration of St Gregory's community and school from the hospitable walls of Sir Edward Smythe's mansion to their final resting-place at Downside, which now became for twenty years the scene of Dr Polding's life. There he prepared himself to receive the holy priesthood by a fervent and exemplary life. There, too, he taught and laboured as missionary, as prefect of the school, as novice-master, as sub-prior. The minor Orders and, perhaps, the subdiaconate, he received from the hands of the venerable Bishop Milner. He was ordained priest at Old Hall College, on 4th March 1819, by Bishop Poynter. He returned, however, to Downside for his first Mass, which he sang on the feast of St Benedict, 21st of March. Very shortly afterwards he was appointed prefect of the school, in which office he endeared himself to all the boys who were fortunate enough to be under him. A boy who was trained by him, long afterwards wrote:—

"Among his many engaging characteristics, he was an ardent patriot, and though a thorough Lancashire man, he always identified himself with Irish boys in their interest for their country and her wrongs, and presided himself, as well as I recollect, at the festive supper on St Patrick's Day, at which none but the Irish members of St Gregory's were present.

"Another remarkable characteristic of Downside's greatest prefect was his charming power as a dramatic teacher at the Christmas plays. He delighted in these entertainments, and was so happy as to be supported in their success by several of St Gregory's most gifted sons, among whom, one, after passing his noviciate at Downside, followed him to Australia, as Bishop of Maitland."¹

Dr Polding, whilst prefect, was the means of getting an ancient Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, which had fallen into

¹ *cf. Downside Review*, Vol. I., pp. 91 seqq.

abeyance on the break-up of the school at the French Revolution, reconstituted. This he accomplished in 1827, when he drew up the "Libellus Precum" and designed the "Sodality Cross"—both still in use by the members of the Sodality.

As parish priest of the Downside Mission, Father Polding showed himself most zealous, and succeeded in bringing many into the Church.

The office of novice-master was imposed upon Father Polding in 1824, and that post he continued to hold as long as he remained at Downside. In the General Chapter of the Congregation held in 1826, Father Polding assisted as deputy for an old and infirm Father; at that meeting he was chosen Secretary to the President General, which office, also, he held till he left England for Australia.

At this period of his life his thoughts frequently turned to Australia, and to the dream of his boyhood, that he was destined to labour in that great field for missionary enterprise. On his appointment as novice-master in 1824, the same yearning to give himself to the work of that distant Mission still appears to have possessed his soul. He pointed out the far-off land of New South Wales as spiritually the most destitute in the British Dominions, and as loudly calling for zealous and single-minded Missioners. His appeal was not in vain, for some of those who were brought within the circle of his influence as prefect or novice-master, devoted themselves in after years to this work.

During this time he made the best use of his talents to store his mind with the learning necessary for the station to which he was to be raised. It was then that "he acquired that profound and extensive knowledge of philosophy and theology for which he was distinguished through life. His superiors, with full confidence in the soundness of his judgment, made use of him in preparing those admirable and instructive notes which render Husenbeth's edition of the Holy Bible so useful to Catholics."¹

Such was the monk who was now called upon to assume

¹ *Australian Catholic Times*, April 26th 1877.

the weighty responsibility of shaping the destiny of the infant Church of Australia. To a sound judgment he united an ardent zeal and a tenderness of heart that broke down the obduracy of years of crime in the convicts and felons with whom he was to deal so successfully. What he effected by the combination of these qualities with a still higher one—that of a close union with God in true humility and constant converse in prayer, is written large across the page of Australian history, and will now form the subject of our earnest attention.

Dr Polding, a fortnight before his consecration informed his former superior, Dr Birdsall, of the date and place of that eventful ceremony as follows:—

“15th June 1834.

DEAR REV. FATHER PRESIDENT. . . . After a good deal of change, as embracing the least share of inconveniences, my consecration is to take place in Dr Bramston's private chapel in Golden Square on 29th inst. Could I hope to have the pleasure of seeing my dear Father President there? Yet I will not ask him unless he can conveniently procure a supply, and is called to London on other business. As Mr Brindle has signified that he will give permission to any V.A. who may be at Downside to give Confirmation at Downside, I hope to have the honour of conferring that Sacrament in our Chapel on the Sunday following. Including boys, there are about fifty. This in the supposition that Dr Baines has not returned before the 6th of July.”¹

Thus, on that momentous 29th June, Dr Polding received the unction of Episcopal consecration in Bishop Bramston's private chapel in London, and Australia received its first Bishop. Immediately after the ceremony, Dr Polding in the fulness of his emotions, and in the exceeding tenderness of his warm heart, penned the following letter to his quondam Superior, and therein he foreshadowed his resolve to work out the conversion of Australia on the lines laid down by the Apostle of England, St Augustine. That is, he hoped to put the beauty of religion before the gaze of the Colonists in the exemplary Christian lives of a religious community, thus

¹ *D. A.*, I 246.

setting an example of what an ideal Christian-like life should be, adaptable to all states.

“ 35 Golden Square, [London],
[29th June 1834.]

To you, ever dear Father President, I feel impelled both by a sense of dutiful subjection which dignity cannot extinguish, and by affection which present and approaching events render more intense, to address the first announcement that I am now numbered amongst the successors of the Apostles! numbered amongst them to do the work of the Apostles, and may that divine Spirit which proved His power in the weakness and innate worthlessness of those first selected to receive it, even now manifest that Power in one far more weak and worthless. Thanks be given to God, my fears are dissipated; and armed with the strength which comes from above, I hope to press forward to do the work of God. Oh! continue your fervent prayers for me—co-operate by all means in the sacred cause; let me be considered only as a deputy of our Congregation, extending the wings of its [care] over a land far distant and very wicked. I do hope I shall leave my native shore in the consolation of realising in my own regard the words of the Prophet, *Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii*; and that in a few years the Benedictine Province of N. S. Wales shall be deemed no inconsiderable or uninteresting part of our Holy Institute.

“Dr Bramston was assisted by his coadjutor Dr Griffiths, and by a French Bishop, Monsgr. Roucheaux, who accidentally happens to be in London, the lately consecrated Bishop of Nilopolis, and V.A. of Oceania Orientalis, comprising the Sandwich and Friendly Isles, and the others including New Zealand, scattered over the part which gives name to his Vicariate. Mr Barber and Mr Scott were my chaplains. The solemn rite was performed in the private chapel—much too small for the proper display of the ceremonies, yet on the whole I infinitely preferred this comparative absence of pomp and bustle to the convenience of a public chapel accompanied as it would have been with pomp and bustle. Only Mr Robert Selby and his son, Philip Jones and his brother were permitted to be present. Philip is quite interested in my Vicariate. He has promised me £25, and all the fruit of his best exertions amongst his friends. I must write a line to Downside by this post; and as Dr Bramston wishes me to accompany him, I must conclude with the renewed expression of my sincere and affectionate attachment, and believe me to

be ever, ever dear Father President, your dutiful son in J. C.

✠ JOHN BEDE POLDING.

"I reside at Pagliano's, Leicester Square. I shall remain in London till Thursday or Friday."¹

It took three months at least for news to reach the Mauritius from England; sometimes, if the winds were contrary, as many as 117 days; hence Dr Morris learnt of the severance of "New Holland and Van Diemen's Land" from his jurisdiction only some considerable time after it had taken place. His comments on the fitness of Dr Polding for the position he was to occupy only corroborate the view held by all who had been watching his career from close at hand. Writing to a friend, Miss Catherine Wheble, he says:—

"Mauritius, 16th November 1834.

". . . So my friend Polding has got his mitre. He was inclined to play the coquette; for after he had refused the first to go to Madras, he then turned round, was mighty sorry, and wished he had not been so hasty: for he wrote me last year a long letter upon the subject. However, I am glad he has been raised; he deserves it for all he has done; and I am satisfied he will do much good—must—wherever he goes. He has a good head, a better heart, and an overflowing of zeal. Thirty years have gone over our respective heads since we first became the friend the one of the other. We were novices together, made our vows at the same Altar and the same hour, and went hand in hand together, till I was sent into the wide world to commence my missionary career, he remaining at home to prepare others for the same task. Neither he, nor I, certainly had any reason to indulge, even in our most soaring moments, the idea of being placed among the Princes of the Church: but so it has pleased God to ordain: may we be ever worthy of the high honour."²

Amongst Dr Morris's papers was found a letter of complaint from an inhabitant of Parramatta, with which he of course could no longer deal, even if it had been necessary to do so. It is interesting, showing as it does, how unreasonable

¹ *D. A.*, I 257.

² *Ibid.*, I 322.

colonists could be, if they did not get all the attention they thought themselves entitled to. Father Ullathorne's account of the labours of the clergy will abundantly explain why Parramatta could have only an occasional service: but the anonymous grumbler, according to his kind, could make no allowances.

(Litteratim)

“Parramatta, N.S.W.,
20th October 1834.

The Right Rev. the R. Catholic Bishop, etc., etc.
Isle of France.

“RIGHT REV. SIR,—The inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood have to complain of the non-attendance to them and their families of the clergymen of their persuasion, and being in expectation that you Rt. Rev. Sir, were coming to the country they expect that you will see them rightified this town is the second in the Colony and there are four priests of the R. Catholic persuasion in this Colony and its inhabitants have had neither Mass prayers or sermon in the last or the present month. Parramatta is fifteen miles from Sydney where there are three resident clergymen there is another (the fourth in Windsor which is about (or something more) the same distance from this that Sydney is the Windsor gentleman is allowed £50 or £60 yearly for visiting us, and I submit to you Rt. Rev. Sir that we are much neglected.

“During the Rev. father Powers lifetime either he or the Rev. father Therry used to say Mass preach and so forth here almost every Sunday, and if they missed one they were sure to visit this town during the Week and now that there is double that number of Priests in the country they will not shew their faces to us the people intended to petition the Governor on the business but were loath to do anything till you Rt. Rev. Sir came.

“It would be only a pleasant ride from Sydney to here every Sunday morning our Catechism says we are to hear Mass on Sundays and Holidays how can we hear it when our pastors are afraid of a little dust on the road or too fond of themselves stuck up in the Chapel house in Sydney to give us Mass. We often wonder if they think of the day of Judgement pretty thing indeed that Government pay them for attending to the Sydney people only father Therry

we cannot blame as he gets no pay and he has told us that he would not neglect us only that he cannot administer to us while there is another gentleman appointed to do the business the Vicar said Mass here twice or thrice since he has been in the Country.

"Part of the walls of a Chapel is built in this town and if we had a good priest up here there is no doubt it would be finished before long as the Governor is good and a friend to our religion and there are a good number of R. Catholics in this part of the world. Expecting that if you dont come here Rt. Rev. Sir yourself soon, you will order that one of the priests will be stationed in this convenient place.

"I have the honour to subscribe myself Rt. Rev. Sir your obedient and very humble servant one of the Inhabitants of Parramatta.

"*N.B.*—I forgot to mention that father Therry spends a good deal of his time in Airds and Appin where there are a great number of the flock and that road is not convenient to this town."¹

Dr Polding's Consecration was Australia's gain : it was Downside's loss, deeply felt there. Not only had he by the force of his character endeared himself both to monks and boys, but he had for many years held most of the responsible offices of the establishment under the Prior. On him, as a counsellor and friend and guide, many, especially among the younger members of the community and the elder boys, relied. Evidence of this may be seen in the following letter written by Br C. H. Davis, a newly professed religious, to his brother Edwin Davis, at Douay.

"St Gregory's College [Downside].

24th July 1834.

[Informs him of his profession as an O.S.B. and of other domestic matters.] ". . . I suppose you have heard of the Right Rev. Dr Polding's consecration. His loss will be felt greatly by our community, but perhaps no individual member of the college will feel it more than myself. He has ever been my spiritual Director and my best of friends : I have always looked up to him as to a tender and affectionate parent, and as such he has ever proved

¹ *D. A.*, I 311.

himself to me. I assure you that were it the will of my superiors, I would with pleasure accompany him to New Holland. One of my fellow novices,¹ formerly a student at Douay, is going with him. I almost envy him.”²

A special interest attaches to this letter, for the writer who then expressed a wish to accompany Dr Polding to New South Wales, was the future Bishop of Maitland, Dr Charles Henry Davis, and his correspondent, Edwin Davis was later a monk, well known to future generations of Gregorian students as a remarkable and able prefect. One of the most distinguished students to come under the formative influence of his virile and sterling character was Roger Vaughan, one day to succeed Dr Polding as second Archbishop of Sydney.

The Community at Downside did not allow Dr Polding to be taken from them without making an effort to retain his services. The Prior forwarded a petition to the Pope, Gregory XVI, asking that the appointment might be reconsidered, and that he should be left to carry on the great good he was effecting at St Gregory's. In this petition it was pointed out how Downside had, within a very few years sent four of her sons to Colonial missions, that is, Dr Morris, and FF. L. C. Spain and B. de Colyar, and Father Ullathorne; and with a strength so reduced it was well-nigh impossible to meet this new call. It added that Dr Polding was “the column and the mainstay of the establishment,” and concluded with an earnest appeal to the Holy Father to “leave him on whom the entire studies of the College depend, and who fills so admirably so many of the offices of the house.”³

This petition did not receive any direct answer from the Holy Father; but Cardinal Weld, who ever showed himself the sincere friend of St Gregory's and of the Benedictines in England, and through whom the petition had been presented, wrote in reply that it was too late for the Holy See to

¹ Dom Gregory Gregory.

² *D. A.*, I 268.

³ *cf. Downside Review*, April 1881, pp. 166-7.

reconsider the matter. His letter concluded by reminding the Community that the truth of the Gospel saying, "*Date et dabitur vobis*, is never better exemplified than in the case of those religious Orders who generously send their members to the Foreign Missions."¹

Immediately after his consecration, Dr Polding began to busy himself with furthering the various objects which would be of use or benefit to his Vicariate. The following letter to Dr Birdsall conveys an idea of the schemes, activities, interviews which occupied his time. Again he adumbrates his purpose of establishing religious life in Australia, and, of course, of following in the footsteps of St Augustine of Canterbury. "My own impression is," he says, "that I am best consulting and providing for the interests of the District by promoting the means of establishing our monastery, without which I am very certain we can do no good." The Circular he mentions follows the letter. The printed copy in the Downside Archives bears the Bishop's autograph signature.

"8 Upper John Street, Golden Square,
14th August, 1834.

"DEAR REV. FATHER PRESIDENT,—I have been in London nearly a fortnight and have effected very little. My object in coming was to ascertain clearly what the Government intended or was disposed to advance to enable me to provide instruction present and future for the Catholics of New S. Wales, and also to obtain what I could in the way of assistance from individuals; and thirdly, to make some preparations for my voyage. Thrown as it were into this sea of difficulties, I am left to exert myself, for though Dr Bramston is all kindness to me personally, yet he will not interfere at the Colonial Office in my favour. I must rely entirely upon my own exertions. I prepared a Memorial . . . detailing the state of the Catholics in New S. W. and suggesting the means of relief. This I presented on the 6th; and after three days spoiled by one circumstance or another, I had an interview yesterday, 13th, with the Sec. for the Colonies, Mr Spring Rice, accompanied by Mr More O'Ferrall. We were received very courteously, and in reference to my Memorial he pledged

¹ *D. A.*, I 266, 22nd July 1834. Cardinal Weld to Father T. J. Brown, O.S.B.

himself to promote all recommendations of Genl. Bourke, the Governor of N. S. W., favourable to any objects proposed by me, and in general, to protect the Catholics against any interference on the part of officials, of which I find there have been instances. He approved highly of the plan of educating the clergy in the Colony itself, and in the view of promoting this plan will consider favourably the application I have made for a sum of £400 to take out two catechists in addition to the four priests. I find I was under a mistake that Government was willing to pay the passage out of six catechists—this they have never offered to do. I made also an application for pecuniary means to pay the expenses incidental to my situation: this will also be favourably considered, and an answer given in writing to each point of my Memorial, in the course of three or four days. *Bona Verba* these; I must wait to see the event, and as soon as this has taken place, I shall proceed to Ireland, where I shall remain about a fortnight. . . . The vessel I first intended to take, the *Augusta Jessie* has been hired for convicts, and I have not selected another as yet: indeed I cannot advance in my arrangements till I know what Government will do for me. My subscription is going on pretty well, considering the numerous demands made on the public. I waited on the Marchioness Wellesley yesterday. She gave me £10, and of her own accord, that is, without any suggestion on my part, told me she would interest herself with Ministers to obtain a grant for the purposes mentioned in my circular.

"My cousin, Henry Brewer, wishes me strongly to go into Lancashire; he says that he is very certain I shall collect some hundreds there if I will only stay long enough. No doubt; on the other hand Dr Bramston wishes me to be off forthwith. I scarcely know what to do for the best. My own impression is that I am best consulting and providing for the interests of the District by promoting the means of establishing our monastery, without which I am very certain we can do no good. Books and many other things must necessarily be procured from this country, and even if we could in New South Wales raise the money to purchase them, there must be a loss of time in sending over to England. . . ."¹

DR POLDING'S APPEAL FOR HELP. 1834

"Aware of the many appeals, annually made to the generous and charitable feelings of the public, we have long hesitated whether we ought to add another to the number.

¹ *D.A.*, I 272.

"The pressing wants, however, of the Catholic population of New Holland, and of the Island of Van Diemen, committed to our care, who are as little ones crying for bread, even the bread of eternal life, whilst there is no one to break unto them, compel us to cast aside every consideration, except that of exerting ourselves to relieve their spiritual distress.

"Over an immense tract of country, upwards of 700 miles in length, 200 in breadth, are spread nearly 25,000 Catholics—of these the far greater part consists of convicts, in a state of miserable servitude, or emancipated convicts. Whatever may have been their past misdeeds, or depraved habits, they must be, in their present degradation, objects of compassion to all the disciples of Him *who came to call sinners to repentance*. These are indeed our sick brethren *who stand in greater need of the Physician*. Of books and other means of instruction there is the greatest scarcity. In New South Wales, four priests exert themselves in the most exemplary manner to discharge their apostolical duties; it must, however be apparent that the number is quite inadequate to the exigencies of the people.

"Four chapels are in course of erection: three schools for boys, and one for girls. In Van Diemen Land, an island nearly as large as Ireland, there are 4000 Catholics—only one priest. The chapel is a mere temporary shed: no school, no means of religious instruction.

"It is evident that the spiritual wants of a population so great, increasing so rapidly, and distributed over an expanse of country so extensive, cannot be adequately supplied by the small number of clergymen who can be spared from England and Ireland. A Seminary for the express purpose of educating clergy for this mission seems absolutely necessary, and this appeal is made in the hope that the statement given above, of the necessitous condition of our unfortunate countrymen in New Holland, will move the charitably disposed to contribute to an object so laudable. Donations for this purpose will most gratefully be received by the undersigned.

"In the great and general dearth of the means of instruction and also of celebrating the sacred mysteries of Religion, books for the use of schools, and of the seminary—Chalices, vestments, whatever may be serviceable in the Sanctuary, will be most acceptable. Thousands of wretched creatures will, through the charity now solicited, have reason to bless the heart that compassionates, and the hand that assists them. There will be joy in Heaven over their conversion; and we are assured that they who cause that joy by co-

operating in the conversion of the sinner, *shall rescue their own souls from destruction, for charity covereth a multitude of sins.* The cup of cold water given for the sake of Christ, is not unrewarded. What will be the recompense bestowed on those who restore to spiritual life, the precious souls for whom the blessed Jesus died? *They who instruct others unto justice shall shine like stars for all eternity.*

“Contributions for the spiritual relief of the Catholics of New Holland, and Van Diemen Land, may be transmitted through Messrs. Wrights, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London.

“Books, vestments, and other articles for the church or seminary may be addressed to the Rt. Rev. Dr Polding, 63 Paternoster Row, London.

✠ John Bede Polding, Bishop of Hiero-Cæsarea,
and V. A. New Holland and V. D. Land.

Downside College, Bath.”¹

The next letter written by Dr Polding to Dr Birdsall conveys the intelligence that Cardinal Weld evinced the interest he took in the new Vicariate by presenting to its Bishop any of his episcopal ornaments then in England. This would in the circumstances be a valuable gift, apart from the added interest accruing from the personality of the donor. The Father Brewer mentioned in the letter was Dr Polding's cousin, a Benedictine of Ampleforth, at that time a Missioner at Brownedge, Lancashire.

“28th Aug., 1834.

“... Cardinal Weld has kindly presented me with all his episcopal ornaments left in London, and has directed me to come here [76 Upper Berkeley Street] in search of them. . . . I have still no satisfaction from the Colonial Office. I saw Mr S. Le Fevre yesterday. He could do nothing; but promised to speak to Mr Rice and to request him to hasten an answer to my Memorial. Shaw Le Fevre is about to leave the Colonial Office, being appointed Commissioner of the Poor Laws. For this I am extremely sorry, succeeded as he is by a *Saint*, Sir Geo. Gray, to whom he will introduce me next Tuesday. This, you observe, dear Father President, may be of some advantage to me and of course I shall return

¹ *D. A.*, I 338 (signature, etc., autograph).

from Norwich through town. . . . I asked Shaw Le Fevre what he advised me to do. He told me to remain quiet; not to think of engaging ships or of leaving the country till my Memorial was answered. [Father] Henry Brewer wants me to give my services to his people on the 7th September, by officiating and charity sermon. Oh! what it is to be a great man!"¹

At this point may suitably be inserted the following extract from the *Edinburgh Catholic Magazine* for 1837,² showing the rancour aroused by the effort of the Government to do justice to its Catholic subjects in New South Wales, tending to show the difficulties that were awaiting the Vicar Apostolic in his new sphere of labour. It shows the bitter disappointment betrayed by those who saw the evil days of their dominance slipping from them, never to return.

"The following extract from an official despatch published in a parliamentary paper, dated the 11th March 1837, and entitled a Copy of Despatch from ——— to Governor Sir Richard Bourke, K.C.B., has lately appeared in the *Aberdeen Herald*. The caustic remarks which accompany it, are from the pen of the Editor of that journal, who rates the Orange Tory Parsons of Aberdeenshire in right good style.

'Downing Street,
20th February, 18—.

'SIR,—With reference to my despatch of the 22nd December, 18—, apprising you of the intention of the Government to appoint four additional chaplains to the establishment of the Roman Catholic clergy at New South Wales, I have the honour to acquaint you that the following priests have been selected, and will shortly take their departure for the Colony, viz:—Very Rev. Dr Polding, Rev. Mr Cotham, Rev. Mr Corcoran, and Rev. Mr Sumner.

'To each of the above persons, an allowance of £150 has been issued by the Colonial agent in aid of the expenses of their passage to the Colony; and you will understand that they will be entitled to receive, from the date of their arrival, a stipend of £150 per annum.'

¹ *D. A.*, I 276.

² pp. 575 seqq.

"Dr Polding will be accompanied by *three students*, Messrs Gregory, Spencer and Kenny, who are in the course of preparation for Holy Orders, *but who are only to act for the present as catechists*. The Colonial agent has issued to each of them £100 in aid of the expenses of their passage to the Colony; but no expectation has been held out to any of them by this department that they will receive any salary or allowance whatever from the Government.

"There is Popery with a vengeance! No fewer than four priests and three catechists sent out by one vessel to extend the Church of Rome in New South Wales; to bring within the pale of the ancient faith, by means of Government patronage and Government support, a large portion of the subjects of our most gracious Protestant Queen! What do our good friends and supporters, the Orange parsons of the city and county say to this? Are they not holding up their hands in horror, and preparing to call a *pro re nata* meeting of the Synod to denounce so heinous a national sin? Will not their pulpits resound for the next twelve months with the honest indignation of pious men shocked at the wickedness of an age that permits so barefaced an attempt to bolster up the Kingdom of Antichrist to pass unrebuked? Is not the Rev. David Simpson, whose holy wrath was so much roused by the fact that a Catholic Chapel had been described by a Presbyterian book, ready to bring the case before the General Assembly? What in the name of all that is zealous, are the saints about? Why has not Scotland been agitated from one end to the other, and the conduct of our graceless rulers thoroughly exposed? Is it come to this? Is the ardour of the righteous so much cooled that they can look on such things unmoved? Will they carp and cavil—will they bawl and bluster—when a proposal is made to educate Catholics, at the public expense, without trying to produce a forced conversion, and yet sit mute when individuals in high places give their countenance and support, their patronage and pecuniary aid to the Man of Sin?

"Yes, so it is! At this moment the Roman Catholic religion is established by law in New South Wales and other British Colonies; its priests are paid by the State; its churches are built at the public expense; and the despatch from which we have quoted is but one of the many to be found among the parliamentary records.

"But who is the author of this despatch—whose name should be inserted in the space which we have purposely left blank? They will tell their hearers that it could only emanate

from the O'Connell-rid ministry—that the facts we have stated are merely proofs of the Popish tendencies of the Melbourne Cabinet, and that we must look among its infidel or Popish supporters for the man who would so barefacedly extend the Church of Rome at a time when it was found next to impossible to get a paltry grant for the Kirk of Scotland. And then they will stop to improve the subject; they will speak of the impropriety of giving votes to Liberal candidates and of reading newspapers that advocate the cause of reform! They will produce texts from the Prophets and the Apocalypse condemnatory of the mother of harlots, and they will prove, to their own satisfaction, that all who did not persecute the “Irish Papists” are participators in the guilt of the scarlet whore. All this they would do but for our kindness in letting them into a secret which otherwise they would not know; all this they would do on the supposition that the despatch emanated from the Whig Government. But what will they think when they know that it is dated 1835, and that it bears the signature ‘Aberdeen’? Ay, there’s the rub! What will the parsons who, during the election contests, have been frightening their hearers with the bugbear cry of ‘No Popery’—who opposed Sir Thomas Barnett because he favoured the first claims of the Catholics, say, when they know that the extension of the Church of Rome, in a British Colony, was the act of the Protestant Earl of Aberdeen, the brother of the Orange Captain Gordon? Will their denunciation be as fierce and their fury as unbounded as they would undoubtedly have been on the supposition of a Whig authorship? We cannot tell! but we have such candid men as Mr Robertson, of Ellon, and Dr Morrison, of Banchory, to answer the question.

“It will be asked now whether we condemn his Lordship’s conduct in exerting his influence as Colonial Secretary to place the adherents of the various creeds on an equal footing; and we answer readily that we do no such thing. We adduce the fact for the double purpose of showing (1) that whatever factious opposition the Tories may make to the views of Church policy advocated by the present Ministry, they find it necessary invariably to act on them while in office; and (2) that the outcry raised against the measures of Church reform for Ireland is only of a piece with the usual hypocrisy and cant of the Tory faction and Tory saints. Let any reasonable reader ask himself why—when in New South Wales, where only one-third of the population is Catholic, the priests are paid by the State—in Ireland,

where four-fifths of the population are Catholics, the priests receive not a farthing? If it be love of souls that prompts the Tories to insist that all the Church revenues should remain in the hands of a sinecure Protestant priesthood in Ireland, why does not the same motive lead them to recommend similar policy in New South Wales."

At last, after much negotiation of one kind or another, with Ministers of the Crown, and with applicants to accompany him, Dr Polding found himself in the latter half of March, 1835, in Liverpool, on the eve of starting on his long journey to take up active work in his distant Vicariate. From Liverpool he despatched his last letters before embarking. The first to be quoted was written to Father Heptonstall, of a business nature; still, of interest.

" 22nd March 1835.

"MY DEAR CONFRERE,—I am now writing the last letter you will receive from me in England. In the first place I give you full authority to transact business in my name and on my behalf and shall never hold you responsible for errors of judgment in the exercise of the discretionary powers with which I now entrust you.

"As regards Mr Rawe's fund now managed by Mr Christophers, Shirley Cottage, near Southampton. I have written to him to request that he will take measures to have that fund invested in my name, that of Mr Scott and of yourself. I have told him that you are my agent and that you will pay the expense of the transfer. Should he not write in a month or so to you, please to write to him on the subject.

"Presuming that fund to be so transferred, I hereby give my consent to the manner in which you may place it out.

"The half of the Interest of it, whatever it may be, I desire to be transmitted half yearly to Mr Robinson, Liverpool, to be made up to £25 if less than that sum (for my sisters).

"The remaining part of the Interest to answer any debts I may have to pay.

"Miss de Lacy is at Stanhope Street in probation to become a Sister of Charity for my District. The pension is £35: towards this, Mrs Neve of Cheltenham pays £10. Mrs Gandolfi £2. Mrs Loughnan £4. The rest will be made up from the Association fund,—if sufficient, or remitted from New S. Wales.

"When all my debts shall have been paid, I desire to make a memorandum as to the amount of *my* acct. and that of *self and others* at Messrs Wrights: then to invest the whole or nearly the whole amount in some security: in this, act for me as for yourself. This money will not be required for 8 months at the earliest. Please to ask Messrs Wright—for a letter of credit in my favour to be despatched to Sydney, or Hobart Town if sent within the fortnight next.

"You have a list of papers I should like to be sent, especially the *Annales de la Prop. Foi*, and *Le Conservatif Belge*.

"See about [tear] despatched per *Persian*, that accurate Bills of Lading are sent to me at Sydney, and when the vessel is prepared for sailing, please to write just two lines to the Hon. John Plunkett, Solr. Gen., Sydney, advising him of their being sent, the number of Boxes, and requesting him to take charge of them till my arrival.

"Please to procure a copy of the *Doctrine Spirituelle*, nicely bound, and present it in my name to the Miss Loughnans.

"Mon. I have not(hing) to add except to thank you as I do most heartily for your affectionate solicitude about me. We are all in good spirits. I do not expect we shall be out of the river before Friday, so that I may hear from you once more. God bless you, my ever dear friend,

✠ J. B. POLDING."¹

It was but natural that the tender heart of Bishop Polding should tear itself away from all the old ties and associations of his life, only with a struggle. That that struggle was intense is shown by the letters he wrote when on the point of embarking. The first was addressed to Dr Birdsall. With all the natural grief underlying its phrases, there still rings true the note of high resolve and of perfect self-sacrifice.

"18 Seel St., Liverpool.
26th March 1835.

"DEAR REV. F. PRESIDENT,—The truly paternal kindness of your last letter would have been sooner acknowledged had I not been kept in a state of uncertainty about the period of sailing and I deemed it almost impossible to have a satisfactory answer in time. We shall certainly be in the river to-morrow and probably set out for our destination. Your good wishes attend us, your prayers ensure our safety. All that is of the

¹ *D. A.*, I 388 (*bis*).

period before Profession in our breasts, feels sore and aggrieved; we are unworthy of the name we bear if in our sorrows we do not rejoice.

"With respect to the young men. I will trust to their good dispositions that all will be as it ought to be. However it appears to me that a most heavy conscientious obligation rests upon their immediate superiors, to take such arrangements that they shall be enabled to practise their religious engagements. I shall write by this day's post to Dr Brown and I will indulge the hope that soon after I reach Sydney I shall be provided with such document as will be deemed sufficient for all useful purposes.

"Adieu, dear Rev. Father President. The last day of my sojourn in England for many years has commenced. I consecrate its first moments to the expression of the earnest wish I shall ever entertain that our Congregation may continue in the hand of Providence to distribute largely the mercies of Heaven to the ignorant and depraved. I beg my kindest regards to all under your roof, to Mr Barber and all my friends, and believe me ever to be with the greatest respect and veneration, your truly attached affectionate son in J. C.

✠ J. B. POLDING."¹

The next letter was written to Dr Brown, now become the Prior of Downside. Downside had been to Bishop Polding everything in the world, and nothing short of a belief that he was destined for the Apostolic work of planting God's Church in Australia, and the distinct call of obedience could have nerved him for the painful ordeal of bidding good-bye to all he loved most on earth. The following words welled up from a well-nigh broken affectionate heart.

"18 Seel St., Liverpool.
26th March 1835.

"MY DEAR CONFRERE,—This, the last letter I shall write in England, conveys to you and my dear confreres the deepest wishes of my heart. It is almost exhausted by these painful partings, yet whole and sound to its purpose. May God bless you, and may my dear Alma Mater ever rejoice in the holiness of her children. Gentle, good and kind, may the

¹ *D. A.*, I 393.

spirit of our Holy Father rest in joyfulness within her walls. Accept my blessing and dearest love. Adieu. Most affectionately your confrere,

✠ J. B. POLDING."¹

On the same day he also wrote to Bishop Morris. This we learn from a letter addressed by the latter to Dr Birdsall, dated 8th August, 1835, wherein we learn that Dr Polding gave the Vicar Apostolic he was succeeding in the Antipodes details, as repeated below.

"Mauritius, Port Louis.

8th August 1835.

" How enviable is the lot of Dr Polding, from whom I received on the 3rd inst a letter dated Liverpool, 26th March; he has with him three priests, two subdeacons, two not in Orders, and a little boy. May he be as happy and as successful, as his merits and his past labours deserve"²

The party, then, was made up as follows :—

Bishop—Right Rev. Dr Polding, O.S.B.

Priests—Rev. J. V. Corcoran, Rev. Clement Fisher, Rev. J. Ambrose Cotham, O.S.B.

Subdeacons—Brother Bede Sumner, O.S.B., Brother J. B. Spencer, O.S.B., Brother Gregory Gregory, O.S.B.

Catechists—Mr John Kenny, Mr Harding.

Boy—John Gorman.

Mr Harding was a nephew of Sir H. Trelawney, and we gather a few interesting details out of a mass of trivialities which make up the entries in a diary he kept of the voyage.

The ship *Oriental*, Captain Allen, left the Mersey, Liverpool, on 27th March 1835. Dean Kenny (the former catechist, Mr John Kenny), who was one of the party, records in his *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*³ that their vessel "was towed to Birkenhead by a steamer, on which were a great many of the Bishop's friends and admirers, wishing him God speed and praying for the success of his glorious mission.

¹ *D. A.*, I 394.

² *Ibid.*, I 470.

³ p. 67.

When the *Oriental* was leaving Liverpool and moving down the Mersey, the poor Irish labourers at the docks gave three hearty cheers for a prosperous voyage. Alas! some of them had friends in that far distant land to whom they hoped the Bishop and clergy would give consolation."

In those days the journey to Australia was not accomplished with the rapidity or punctuality we have learnt to expect from the modern ocean liners, and it was not till many months had been spent on this long, but as Dr Polding describes it, "very pleasant voyage," that he set foot on the shores of a land which henceforth was to be the country of his adoption. During the protracted period he and his party spent on the ocean, the Bishop says in a letter he wrote home to Father Barber :

"*Oriental*. 3rd May, 1835.

21 deg. W. Long., 5 deg. N. Lat.

". . . . We live in some sense conventualiter. We meet three times each day for Office; have our meditation and spiritual lecture together. I have commenced a course of Moral Theology with the young men; and the priests and myself hold a conference on the Sacraments three times each week. Tuesday and Thursday are half recreation days. Such is our present course of life, which we commenced as soon as we recovered from sea sickness, and have never interrupted one day. We received the Holy Communion for the first time on Maundy Thursday, and again on Easter Sunday. I proposed saying Mass on that great festival, but the water was so rough we could not meet except for Office. To my shame I must say, I am as much inclined to laugh when I ought to be serious, by sea as by land: indeed, more so. Such queer things do sometimes happen. For instance, I was giving the blessing at Prime on Easter Sunday, and just as I said the word *disponat* the ship gave a lurch and seated me on the floor of my cabin. Bede [Sumner] was thrown to the side opposite to that on which he was sitting, and no sooner there than another lurch sent him back to his first position."¹

¹ *D. A.*, I 416.

We get the following additional details from Mr Harding's Diary :

"On Sundays, prayers in the Bishop's cabin, read out of *Garden of the Soul*, the *Venite Exultemus* sung and played on the piano, terminating with a meditation and an instruction by the Bishop, always 'veramente bella e propria alla nostra situazione.' In the evening the Compline and Litany of B. V. M. were sung with accompaniment. Also the Blessed Sacrament was kept in Mr Fisher's cabin as long as he lived (about two months), where we met for night prayers, and afterwards in the Oratory which was made up."¹

A sad event is foreshadowed in the above passage: the death of one of the priests, thus casting a gloom over the party, and inflicting a severe loss on the Bishop in the diminution of his too small band of helpers. The Rev. Clement Fisher evidently started on the voyage in extremely delicate health, probably expecting to benefit from the sea air. Under date 20th April we read "Rev. Fisher gaining strength. Mr Gregory has undertaken to be his infirmarian; and I could almost resign myself to be in Mr Fisher's place to have such a one." The next day's entry reminds us of old-time fears and of Marryat's novels. "Stations and duties assigned in case of attack by pirates. Dr Polding's in cockpit with surgeon to attend the wounded." On 26th April we learn that they had "Mass for 2nd time"; and on 5th May a suggestion of a small relaxation in the routine. "Mr Gregory invited us all to a reunion to celebrate his sister's profession day, which took place yesterday at Cheltenham." Five days later he jotted down: "La messe à l'ordinaire. Mr Fisher had a severe crisis and was not expected to live." Mass was again celebrated on 17th May. Rev. C. Fisher lingered on till Ascension Thursday, 28th May, when the end came at 9.50 a.m. "and very shortly after Mass had been offered up for him the body was covered and laid in the Bishop's room until evening when prayers for the dead were said, after which he was silently

¹ *D. A.*, I 506.

lowered in the deep. Every passenger acknowledged owing him a debt of gratitude for the many examples of meekness and patience and evenness of mind with which he bore long and tedious sufferings. . . . In the Bishop's cabin were as many persons as it could well contain and the body being sewn up in canvas in which were placed two cannon balls, and the prayers being terminated, recited by Dr Polding in his pontificals, the captain made a signal at about 6.30 upon which the body was lowered. The stillness of the evening, the tranquillity of the waters, and the silence which prevailed at the time of the interment tended to make the scene of the most reflective nature. All were much edified. By the captain's log our bearings would be 23° 37 W. long. and 22° 54 lat. south, [that is about the tropic of Capricorn, and far to the S.W. of St Helena.]

Dean Kenny¹ speaking of the same events, says :

"By the directions of the Bishop we were engaged in study—some studying theology; and there were frequent religious conferences, over which Dr Polding always presided; and others employed in preparatory studies, under the direction of a priest—so that the ship became like a small ecclesiastical seminary. When the vessel was steady we had Mass every morning, and the Bishop gave us a discourse every Sunday. We were becalmed at the line, and had only crossed it about a fortnight when a great affliction befel us in the loss of one of the priests, the Rev. C. Fisher. He was sickly when he came on board, but it was hoped that the sea voyage would restore to him his health. He died calmly and resigned to the will of God, having received the last rites of the Church at the hands of the good Bishop. Most serene was the afternoon when, wrapped in a canvas shroud, his remains were lowered from the Archbishop's cabin into a watery grave; both sea and sky in their solemn silence seemed to condole with us. The sacred mysteries had been celebrated that morning by every priest for the repose of his soul, and Matins and Lauds were said around his remains before he was committed to the deep. *Requiescat in pace.*"

In Mr Harding's diary we read further that Dr Polding

¹ *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, p. 68.

"went on deck to look at his plants, all, nearly, in flower and doing well; there were about 200 different kinds." On June 11th, "Mr Cotham says Mass for the first time on board," which event, no doubt, was duly celebrated, as also other anniversaries mentioned: Mr Gregory's profession day on 24th June; Mr Sumner's profession day on 25th June; Dr Polding's first anniversary of consecration on 29th June. The last entries that concern this history are: "Left Hobart Town for Sydney on 6th Sept.," and on 12th, "Reached Botany Bay. Anchored at 1.20 p.m. Mr Plunkett sent his carriage for Dr Polding. At 3 p.m. all went ashore. Dr Polding was cheered by the sailors who were ordered an extra glass."¹

While imagining this period of inactivity represented by nearly six months' voyage, we can glean a few more details about Dr Polding's labours before starting, about the money he collected, and the gifts that were made to him for the use of his distant mission. Strange to say, the first information comes to us from the Cape of Good Hope, *via* the Mauritius. Our old friend Col. Christopher Bird, writing to Bishop Morris, says:—

"Liesbeck Cottage, near Cape Town.
21st May 1835.

" . . . The accounts I have of Dr Polding give me but small hopes of his touching here. I don't believe he was to leave England before April; he takes out 7 gentlemen besides himself, 4 of whom are priests, the others are in Orders, but go out under the name of Catechists. Government allows these gentlemen £150 a year each, but not more to the Bishop than to the others; besides this, £50 a head is allowed in aid of their passage; but Dr Polding has been very successful in a quest which he has made in aid of his mission, and he has preached several sermons with the same view; at one of these at Bath, he collected £138. He is to establish a seminary at Sydney, and he has invited me to send my youngest son thither for the next 3 or 4 years, which I shall seriously consider of, when I hear of the success of his undertaking."²

His information is, notwithstanding the distance he was from England, safe; for it would have been derived from his

¹ *D. A.*, I 506.

² *Ibid.*, I 427.

sister, a nun at the Franciscan Convent, Taunton, with which Dr Polding had been in constant touch while at Downside. The next letter is of more than passing interest, for it indicates a very valuable gift, with certain conditions attached. And this raises the question whether those conditions continue to be fulfilled. If in the lapse of time they have been forgotten or overlooked, the publication of this letter may ensure their careful fulfilment now; for those books, the nucleus of the present Archbishopal Library should be treated as precious heirlooms, whatever their intrinsic value.

Mrs Sarah Neve to Dr Polding.

“Cheltenham,

23rd May 1835.

“RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I cannot let an opportunity pass without saying, How do you do?—where will this find you? Why, in the bustle of unpacking your little incongruous store, for so I presume it to be—things in some abundance of what you do not want, a paucity of what you do, and many articles of no use as you have not their concomitants. Wherever you are I wish you well, whatever you have, I wish you more! It may be as proper now as at any other time to say that I mean after my death to bequeath [to] your own Library (*i.e.*, the Library of the Bishop of New South Wales) some books which may be very serviceable thereto, it being an Infant Library. I have some which may be essential, as stock books or books to print others from. Now I shall put on most if not all I leave you, this signature, or rather, these Initials ‘N. S. W.’ This letter you must therefore keep, as it will serve for a legal document in case of my death, and that I should not otherwise have properly mentioned it in my Will. They are therefore for the Bishop’s library *ad perpetuum*, and never to be lent out, but read in the house, unless you or your successors see very proper cause for the same. This latter cause will indemnify you from any ill will in the refusal, for when asked merely because the person wishes to read a work, it often ends in what Mr Cooper so much laments, *viz.*—a set of Butler’s *Saints’ Lives*—3 vols. missing! and so of many others; therefore, they are never to be lent out but to careful persons, and that for missionary purposes: this is expressly to be complied with. I have already marked many books; and when time will allow it, I will

make out a catalogue, which, when I am gone may be delivered to your Agent, and he may claim them when he has your authority for so doing, which you had better give before the event takes place, as there will be such a time elapse ere you can send the required document. Now there will be other gifts, viz. those which are not for the mission, but to sell. The profit is either to go in establishing another mission (*i.e.* towards it), or to the assistance for the establishment of the Soeurs de la Charité or for books for missionary purposes. I will therefore put upon the missionary books for your Library, the addition of 'M,' after the initials as above, viz. 'N. S. W. M.' I should think you would have a very ready sale for many trinkets, books, ornaments, etc., understanding as I do, and I hope rightly, that there are rich convicts, who have plenty of money, and deny themselves no one luxury. Now further, I may have some furniture when I die or leave this house. Would any of it be worth the carriage to send you? for I could not conveniently pay that: the packing would cost me no small sum—that I would pay. Whenever I give up this house by the compulsion of death or otherwise I shall give full furniture to my Sodbury mission, and most of my books (the latter only after my death). Now would it answer you to take them over? I only give them on that condition, for otherwise I should dispose of them in another quarter: this, except in case of my death sooner, will not happen till about five years of this time; as by then I shall have had as much of this house as I want: shall be 73—high time to choose a smaller habitation, as the smallest, if not chosen for me, must be quite at hand. Poor Mr Duck is gone to Downside: he is better, but never will he be fit to go to another mission; he was nigh ruin in this; he is a very very pious man, but no more fit to take care of himself than a child. The O'Connors, to my great regret, are gone; Boulogne is to be their summer séjour, and Paris they mean to winter at, but much may hinder that: surely some great movement is in agitation for France to bring to a crisis—Louis Phillippe's throne chancellante will turn over and set all Europe in war. I cannot help thinking, that as the Jews were warned to quit Jerusalem, so your New S.W. is the Pella to which the elect may retire. So persuaded am I of the danger, that were I 20 years or 30 years younger, I would surely take a journey to your new country; but now old age and the Saturdays being kept in your Diocese put all out of the question: the latter certainly disagrees

with me, but I do not feel authorised comfortably to break through it. Well! for the little time the world will last you must think for your Colony. Really it will be a very flourishing one I think; much is open to you (if you embrace it) in a pecuniary point of view. Recollect, there is perhaps no printing press, at least not, but had you one, it would bring in much profit, so manufacture one of any kind: many idle hands, or rather industrious unemployed ones who would be glad to go over on Government paying their expenses and settle there—I mean Catholics. Well, as my poor sister used to say: "You must look sharp and jump about"—as to the first you need be Argus, as to the second a parch'd pea on a drum edge. I must have many on you, indeed you will have it on yourself, and toss this into the drawer. "Adio" say you. Two things you never did: you never said whether you would offer Mass for me, and you never answered my questions: the first I leave to you, the second are these. Do you think you can dispose of books and trinkets, etc. Will the gift of furniture answer the carriage. Perhaps you will come over in five years, and if not, will they repay the expense and risk of damage? Adieu, my dear Rev. friend. Pray give me your blessing and good prayers. I say nothing for my neighbours as they will speak for themselves.

Ever remaining,

Your most respectful servant,

SARAH NEVE.

"Oh! another matter thought of. Pray look out about the purchase. What interest will £1,000 bring in, made by purchase of cultivated land?"¹

It will be remembered that Dr Polding before leaving England issued an appeal for subscriptions, and endeavoured to enlist the interest of charitable Catholics at home in the welfare and prospects of his Vicariate. The following list of subscribers may be put on record as being amongst the earliest benefactors to the Church in New South Wales.

Rev. John Jones to Father Hepstonstall.

"10 Upper John St., Golden Square.
19th October 1835.

"REVD. DEAR SIR,—I have great pleasure in informing

¹ *D. A.*, I 428.

SUBSCRIPTION LIST

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that on 6th inst I paid into Messrs Wrights & Co. to the acct. of the Rt. Rev. Dr Polding for the Australasia Catholic Society, fifteen pounds and twopence, the amount of the collections made by the undermentioned persons and deposited with me.

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----|------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|-----|
| 1835 | | | | | |
| July | 3. | To received from | Miss Pole . . . | £1 | 1 8 |
| | 18. | Do. | Miss Floris . . . | 1 | 1 8 |
| | | Do. | do. | 1 | 1 8 |
| | 26. | Do. | Miss Plumtre, per Lady Stanley | 1 | 1 8 |
| Aug. | 3. | Do. | Mr Morley . . . | 1 | 6 3 |
| Sept. | 7. | Do. | Mr Moran . . . | 5 | 1 |
| | 14. | Do. | Mr Peter Gorman . . . | 12 | 4 |
| | | Do. | Mr Ml. Gorman . . . | 18 | 10 |
| | | Do. | Mr Peter Gorman, senr | 1 | 0 0 |
| | | Do. | Miss Quigley . . . | 15 | 11 |
| | | Do. | Martin John Gorman | 15 | 7 |
| | 19. | Do. | Miss Floris . . . | 1 | 1 8 |
| | 25. | Do. | Mr Macauliff . . . | 1 | 0 0 |
| Oct. | 4. | Do. | Marcus Foy . . . | 14 | 6 |
| | | Do. | Rev. John Jones . . . | 1 | 1 8 |
| Sept. | 19. | Do. | Miss Floris . . . | 1 | 1 8 |
| | | | | <u>£15 0 2</u> | |

I remain,
 Rev. Dear Sir.
 Yours fraternally in Christ,
 JOHN JONES." ¹

We may here insert an interesting passage from Dr Ullathorne's *Autobiography* ² furnishing details of the labours he was going through at this time, before Dr Polding's arrival, enlivened with interests both sad and diverting.

" Having had to remove the priest from Windsor for six months, I had unexpectedly heavy Sunday duties to perform. I went to Windsor, a distance from Sydney of forty-five miles, and put up at a Protestant tavern. The next morning at six o'clock I had to say Mass, preach and administer the Sacraments, to attend the convict and military hospitals; then ride to Parramatta, a distance of thirty miles, there to put up at

¹ *D. A.*, J 11.

² pp. 90-93.

the Woolpack Inn, and perform the same duties in the military guard house, a long dark room without a single window, erected over the prison of a chain-gang. The only light I had was from the opening of a wooden shutter at the back of the temporary altar. Before me I had the prospect of a busy public-house.¹ When I turned to the people I got a Rembrandt view of the first row, whilst the rest of the congregation were buried in darkness After this duty I attended the military and convict hospitals, about a mile from each other, and then to breakfast at the inn. After which I rode to Sydney, fifteen miles further, to preach in the evening. The next morning by eleven o'clock came on the sense of fatigue, from which I recovered by lying for a couple of hours on a sofa with a light book. On one of these occasions at Windsor, I had a sick call after night came on, which was a couple of miles beyond the river Hawkesbury. When I and my man reached the river, there was no getting the ferry-boat across for a very long time. The convict ferry-men were sleeping in their hut on the other side of the river, and were unwilling to hear, with all our shouting. It was a cold sharp night in the open air, and we got back to the inn at a quarter to twelve. I was hungry, with fasting till one o'clock the next day before me. Everyone else was in bed, so I searched all about the house till I found a piece of bread and a jar of pickled walnuts, of which I made a hasty supper before midnight, which I had to regret the next day.

"Father M^cEncroe generally attended the executions at Sydney, and prepared the condemned for death. It is a fact that two-thirds of the Protestant criminals sought the aid of the Catholic priests after condemnation to the gallows. This at last produced such an impression that the Protestant Arch-deacon printed and circulated a thousand copies of a pamphlet on the subject, in which, among other things, he said that this fact ought not to awaken any surprise. That these poor creatures had very little religion, and that the soothing ways of the priests, and their less guarded system of confession, acted as a fascination on criminals in their last moments. *A propos* of these and similar remarks, I remember having been summoned to a bushranger immediately after his sentence. My first words to him were: 'You are not a Catholic—why have you sent for me?' He was a finely-formed young man, with an intelligent face, and in full vigour of life. With tears he replied: 'Sir, I want to tell you what

¹ See note *ante*, p. 216.

is on my mind; and if I tell it to a parson, he will tell it again.' I felt the Archdeacon's pamphlet would do more good than harm, so I took no notice of it.

"Two men, after their condemnation, were sent by sea to Newcastle, to be executed on the scene of their crimes. It was for beating an overseer to death in the midst of a chain-gang employed in making a breakwater. One of them, though not a Catholic, applied for a priest, and I went with them a distance of about 70 miles from Sydney. On arrival at the jail at Newcastle I was told by the Governor of the jail that the Protestant chaplain particularly desired to see me. I thought it singular, because, though a stranger to me, he had recently written an attack upon me in a Wesleyan magazine. On his entrance he was embarrassed, and told me that as he had to attend one of the men, and this kind of duty was new to him, I should greatly oblige him if I would give him some guidance what to do. I gave him such hints as I thought would be useful to the poor man, and he left me with thanks.¹ The execution was to take place early next morning on a promontory, upon which a lofty scaffold was erected, that it might be visible to a thousand men, forming a chain-gang. These men were dressed, as usual, in alternate brown and yellow clothing of frieze, were all in irons, and were guarded by a company of soldiers. The execution took place soon after sunrise, because the Deputy Sheriff and executioner had afterwards to proceed up the river to hang some blacks. I was therefore very early at the jail. We had to walk with the condemned about a mile to the scaffold, and it was blowing a furious gale of wind from the sea. The Anglican clergyman again wished to see me. He asked what I should do on the way and on the scaffold? I told him that my poor man was well instructed, that on the way I should repeat a litany which he would answer, and I should occasionally address words to him suited to his state. 'Very good, Sir; and what will you do on the scaffold?' 'The man,' I replied, 'is well taught to offer his

¹ A somewhat similar experience fell to the lot of the present writer. When in South Africa during the late Boer War, a youthful Church of England Army Chaplain just arrived from England and on his way to the front to take up his duties, asked me to instruct him how to deal with the sick, etc., as he had had no experience. I told him as best I could what to do, laying great stress on his endeavouring to get the men to make a real act of contrition for all their sins.

life to God for his sins, which he will do with me in the words I have taught him. And when the executioner is quite ready for the drop, he will give me a sign, and I shall descend the ladder and pray for his soul.' 'Very good, Sir; will you please to walk first with your man?' 'Certainly.' He followed in a nervous condition, and when we reached the scaffold, each knelt at the foot of a very tall ladder. The wind blew tremendously, and sent my ladder down, falling across the back of my Anglican friend; but I seized him by the coat laps, and just saved him from the descending blow. The ladders were then tied, and I mounted first. What a spectacle were those upturned faces on that desolate rocky promontory! The scaffold shook in the wind, and I had to put one foot against the framework and to hold the man from being blown off, speaking to him, or rather praying with him, whilst the executioners made their preparations. The young man was bent on speaking to his comrades below, but I would not let him; for such speeches at the dying moment are commonly exhibitions of vanity. He obeyed me, I pressed his hand, and he was cast off. After all was over, I walked back with my Anglican friend, who said to me: 'Sir, this is a painful and humiliating duty. Had I known that I should be subject to it, I should never have taken Orders.'"

CHAPTER VIII

DR POLDING'S ARRIVAL, AND EARLY DAYS IN SYDNEY

BISHOP POLDING reached Sydney on 13th September 1835,¹ and his arrival was signalled by a remarkable event, which, though possibly only a coincidence, yet was so strange a one, as to strike the colonists as something more.

The country had been greatly afflicted by a drought of three years' duration, and the people were driven almost to despair by this long continued dearth of rain. Relief came to their temporal wants at the same time that their spiritual needs were being supplied by the arrival of Dr Polding; for, quite unexpectedly, and to the universal joy, a small cloud was seen and the long-wished for rain began to pour itself on to the thirsty land at the very hour of their new bishop's first appearance amongst them.²

The Bishop waited a few days for the proper arrangements to be made, and was then installed in the Cathedral of St Mary's on Sunday 20th September, with due solemnities. Dean Kenny³ describes the function and states that "The Vicar-General [Dr Ullathorne] when introducing his Lordship to his flock, delivered an appropriate discourse which deeply moved the Bishop. His Lordship then for the first time addressed his flock in a most feeling and impressive manner, when he dwelt with considerable force upon the merits of the Reverend gentleman, who had filled for some time the office of Vicar-General; and spoke of the excellent qualities of Father Therry, the pastor to whose zeal they were indebted for the

¹ According to Mr Harding's Journal it was on the 12th.

² *cf. Saturday Magazine*, 8th April, 1837, p. 134.

³ *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, pp. 70-71.

noble structure in which they were then assembled, and whose absence on this occasion seemed to be much felt by the congregation. He concluded by complimenting the gentlemen who had accompanied him, and hoped that the flock would abide by the instructions of those who had forsaken their country and friends to administer to their spiritual wants."

High Mass was then celebrated by the Bishop, and "under the patronage of our Blessed Lady, whose feast of the Seven Dolours was that day kept, the Church of God entered upon a new era beneath the Southern Cross."¹

Father Ullathorne tells us² that, "Arrived in Sydney the Bishop assembled his little flock of six priests, and retaining one in the capital, containing above 6000 Catholics, divided the Interior into vast districts, allotting to each of the remaining priests, one. These missionary districts take in each a range of active duty, of some 60 or 100 miles extent, a central township being selected for residence, and the remainder being visited at regular intervals. It is thus evident that, even yet, little more can be done in the Interior than to preserve religion from entire decay, than to run hastily from place to place, to answer the most pressing demands—to administer the rites of religion to the child and the dying man. The individual efforts of the priest thus situated, must be imperfect in their application, and weak in their power, for his time is taken up, and his energies consumed, in travelling, and he comes wearied and exhausted to his duties. Efficiency, on the other hand, depends upon residence amongst his people, and familiar acquaintance with their habitudes and dispositions."

"The Bishop directed his immediate and most earnest care to the increase of the number of schools, and to their improvement—our chief hopes resting on the rising generation—as also to the reformation of his people generally. But, before all things else, the frightfully immoral state of the

¹ Moran, *History*, p. 187.

² *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, pp. 13, seqq.

convict population claimed the first and greatest share of his pastoral attention."

In his Report to Propaganda¹ Father Ullathorne gives much the same account, with the following further detail :

"The Bishop's attention has, from the first, been concentrated on the bettering of the elementary schools, and on building churches. We have them in Sydney, Parramatta, Campbell Town and Maitland, and others are being built at Bathurst and Windsor; he also labours strenuously for the reformation of his flock, who, with few exceptions, have lived in a terrible state of spiritual destitution."

Dean Kenny here comes to our aid with precise details as to the distribution of the Bishop's forces, and the nature of the work allotted to each.²

"The Catholic population of New South Wales, according to the census taken one year after the arrival of Dr Polding, amounted to 21,898, and in Van Diemen's Land they numbered not less than 7000 souls. The Bishop did not delay in sending the few labourers at his disposal into this portion of the vineyard of God's Church, which had been entrusted to his pastoral care. Father Cotham, as stated, he left in Tasmania with Father Conolly; he removed Father Therry from Sydney and placed him in Campbell Town; Campbell Town contained 287 Catholics; Appin, Menangle, Narellin and Cooke, 810; and he had charge of Appin, Illawarra and Argyle. There was great discontent, on the part of the Catholics in Sydney, at the removal of Father Therry, who had done so much for the Catholic cause there; but his new appointment was a larger honour, and he preferred to labour in those districts. The Bishop arranged that Father Therry, who had been deprived of his salary, should receive in testimony of his merits, a stipend equal to that of the Colonial chaplains. The Rev. J. Corcoran was appointed to Windsor, Richmond, and Currajong; the Rev. J. V. Dowling was placed at Maitland, on the Hunter River. Windsor at this time contained 228 Catholics, Richmond 171, Hundred of Richmond 102, County Cook 534, West Maitland 365, East Maitland 200. The Very Rev. the Vicar-General, Dr Ullathorne, remained for some time with the Bishop in Sydney

¹ *D. A.*, J 401.

² *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, pp. 72, seqq.

and then took charge of Parramatta, and resided there. The Bishop retained in Sydney the Rev. John McEncroe, a priest most devoted to his duties in visiting the sick and comforting the poor afflicted prisoners, and withal, a man of learning and great energy of character.

"Like a true missionary, the first object of the Bishop was to reform the morals of the people, and enforce the discipline of the Church The Bishop and his clergy were indefatigable in their exertions to bring about a reformation of manners, and the greatest success, by the grace of God, resulted from their exertions. In the first relation of the mission of New Holland, which Bishop Polding presented to the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, in Rome, he details the plan adopted to obtain that good end. 'We have,' he says, 'the inexpressible satisfaction of being eye witness to a decided change in the conduct and manners of our flock From week to week we have been employed in hearing the general confessions of individuals, who, on account of their circumstances, or through negligence, have remained immersed in sin for forty or fifty years, and even a longer time. It being of the greatest importance to have order in our missionary life, we formed a plan which we follow to the present day. We commence at an early hour in the morning, and place ourselves in the Church, or house used for that purpose, and remain there until some one comes to confession. At 10 a.m. the sacraments of baptism and matrimony are administered; afterwards the hospitals are visited, the prisons, the jails, and finally, the sick living in the city and suburbs. Thus is occupied the day until the evening, when the funerals are attended. Then only can we repose for a while, and apply ourselves to our spiritual exercises, although they are frequently interrupted, and even our sleep during the night. In the evening we instruct our converts. It need not be added that the Sunday is a day of incessant occupation. Each one celebrates Mass twice, and it is necessary to give two or three instructions, besides continual attendance in the confessional. In the course of a few months there was a visible change in the entire population, it being impossible that a reform such as this should take place in one third of the population without producing a certain effect in the remainder. In consequence, the public authorities acknowledged that there was an amelioration, concluding from the general tranquillity throughout the Colony, and from the diminution of public crime.'"

Dean Kenny goes on to say he well remembers how the Bishop took his share, as a simple priest, with the other priests in these labours; every day attending the confessional, and delayed on Saturdays till nearly midnight in the old chapel of St Joseph; for as he was a wise, prudent and consoling confessor, his confessional was always thronged. He took his turn in preaching and his words went forth with great power and unction. He visited the hospitals and prisons, inspiring patience and resignation, encouraging the poor sufferers to be fervent and to lay aside all tepidity and repugnance in the service of God.

On his arrival in Sydney, the Catholics of that place presented the Bishop with a carriage and horses, partly to enable him to uphold the dignity of his office, partly to put at his disposal the means of getting through his arduous labours. Dr Ullathorne¹ says: "I succeeded in renting a large and stately house, built for the first Protestant Archdeacon, and which at that time alone occupied the Vale of Woolloomooloo, with an extensive domain attached to it. It joined the Sydney Park, in which stood his Cathedral." This domain consisted of an extensive garden and twenty or thirty acres of lawn facing the bay. The house has long since gone, and the grounds are covered with houses and streets. The Bishop soon determined to make this house a seminary, and became its first president and professor. On the arrival of the Rev. Charles Lovat, he was installed as its president. The first students were the young men who had accompanied Dr Polding from England.

Dean Kenny says: "The nucleus of St Mary's Seminary was formed in the year 1836, when there were four students intended for the Church pursuing their preparatory studies in the Bishop's house at Woolloomooloo, viz.—Messrs. Harding, Kenny, Reynolds, and Gorman. In the beginning of the year 1837, Mr Reynolds and a Mr Ferguson went to Europe to prosecute their studies for the Church there.

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 89.

² *Progress*, etc., p. 116.

Mr Reynolds studied at St Sulpice in Paris, and Mr Ferguson in the Propaganda at Rome."

It may be mentioned in parenthesis that both went for a time to St Edmund's, Douai, on their first arriving in Europe.

"After three or four years family matters caused Mr Reynolds to return to the Colony, but he did not resume his ecclesiastical studies, but afterwards became a solicitor in Sydney. Mr Ferguson was ordained in England, and he did not return to the Colony. In the years 1836-37 the time of the good Bishop was very much occupied in corresponding with the Government and visiting from time to time all the districts about Sydney with the view of preparing them for the placing of resident clergymen. When he obtained some leisure from the discharge of his onerous duties, he did not forget his young charge, the hopes of the ministry; he would call them into his study in the quiet of the evening, and hear them repeat those passages of Scripture which he had given them to learn, and then he learnedly explained them, and never failed to put before them the sanctity, the glory, the responsibility, and the perils of the ecclesiastical state. Those homely and fatherly instructions of the saintly Bishop always made a deep impression, and were never forgotten."

Elsewhere he says:¹ "Towards the end of the year 1837 arrived in the Colony the Rev. Charles Lovat; he came to conduct the Seminary: he was the first, perhaps, who brought to the Colony a set of apparatus to assist in illustrating lectures on natural philosophy. He was a man of no ordinary abilities and attainments, and was well-grounded in physical science and mathematics; a distinguished classical scholar and a sound theologian. He came from Stonyhurst College in England and had been for some years the professor of physics and moral theology. He went through his theological course at the Propaganda, in Rome. Not long after the arrival of the Rev. Charles Lovat, there arrived in the Colony two young theological students from the College of Waterford, in Ireland, their names were Messrs Walsh and M^cGrath. They were

¹ p. 119.

received by the Bishop, and immediately resumed the study of theology, and at the same time assisted by teaching in the Seminary."

Dr Ullathorne¹ informs us that : " Everything in the Church now began to assume larger proportions. The Bishop took a position which gradually raised the tone and spirit of the whole Catholic body. We had pontifical functions with as much solemnity as our resources could command, which much impressed the people, to whom they were new. Then the vast body of the Catholics, who had never been confirmed, received this sacrament. As the Bishop's house was large, he turned half of it into a boarding school, over which I presided for a time. Thus was begun a solicitude for raising the sons of the settlers who were acquiring property, that they might take their suitable position. As the Bishop was inexperienced in official correspondence, and as the work began to increase, I continued that duty under his direction to the end. When resident, later, at Parramatta, I rode once or twice a week over to Sydney to perform this duty under the eye of the Bishop, and to call at the Government offices when business required it. I had also to look after the completion of the Church begun at Maitland, and to start another at Parramatta. I had the assistance of the Government architect in devising the plans. But what was my surprise, on arriving one day at Maitland, to find that without my knowledge Father Therry had been there, and had doubled the number of windows in the walls. This was one of his singularities, to put as many windows in a building as the walls would allow of, without any consideration for the intense glare of heated light. Thus in the old Cathedral of Sydney he put seventy large windows, two rows in one wall. At Campbell Town his church was like a cage. At Maitland he spoiled what would have been a well-proportioned nave in the old lancet style. His taste in architecture was for what he called *opes*; if a plan was brought to him, his first question was : 'How many more *opes* would it admit of?' He could not under-

¹ *Autobiography*, pp. 110, seqq.

stand the principle of adapting the light of a building to the climate."

"The Bishop himself began that wonderful course of missionary labour among the convicts, which attracted so much attention, produced so great an influence, and more than any other part of his ministry, drew so great a veneration towards him. He had not merely the heart of a father, but the heart of a mother towards them. When they came into his presence he wept over them, and they could never resist the influence of his words."

In order to understand properly the nature of the work now undertaken by Bishop Polding, we must acquaint ourselves with the condition of the convict population of New South Wales, which was so important a factor in determining the lines of its development.

For this purpose, no better guide can be taken than Father Ullathorne, in the description furnished by him in his pamphlet *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, and the Report he made the same year, 1837, to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda. Comparing these two productions side by side, it may be said that one and the same draft served for both. We make no apology, therefore, for quoting extensively from the pamphlet mentioned.

"The number of criminals annually transported is above 6000. In 1835, the last year of which I have a full account, there were transported to New South Wales, 3006 males and 179 females; to Van Diemen's Land, 2054 males and 922 females; making a total of 6161 criminals. The entire number in actual bondage is, in New South Wales, nearly 30,000, whilst in Van Diemen's Land there are nearly 20,000; to which must be added 3000 for the penal settlements of Norfolk Island, Moreton Bay, and Port Arthur.

"It is to be further considered, that the great proportion of free inhabitants of these colonies consists of emancipists from a similar condition of bondage. Of all these, one-third are Irish Catholics, of whom many, if I except those from the large cities, have been transported for the infringement of penal laws, agrarian offences, and minor delinquencies; whilst those from England are, with rare exceptions, punished for direct aggression on property or the person. As,

however, there is no distinction in the degree of punishment, they become mingled, contaminated, and corrupted alike.

"They arrive in numbers of from two to three hundred in a ship, under the authority and superintendence of a surgeon of the Royal Navy. Thrown together for four months, with no occupation, they live over again their guilty joys and exciting hazards, devising new ones for the future. Their emulation, especially on board the English ships, is to exhibit to admiration their accomplishments in wickedness—to prove the most diverting of their comrades by the clever recital of their past infamies—to enrich the effect of the whole by the most profane and obscene language. Facts exhausted, imagination is ready with her teeming stores—thus they go on—incessantly applying the whet-stone to their wit, and sharpening the edge of their guilty cunning. The day over, they are closed down at night under hatches, each rolled in his blanket, three, four, or more, placed together in one wooden crib—the seven years' prisoner couched with the convict for life—the petty thief with the murderer—the simple countryman with the gaol-polluted felon, and the monster from the hulk. With such a mass of individuals crowded together so long a time, wonder not if you hear that the more decent soon rival the worst in depravity of manners, insensibility of mind, and corruption of heart. Bibles, Common Prayers, and tracts are plentifully distributed, even on board the Irish ships, where they are worse than useless. whilst there is no anxiety to furnish the Catholic with one single book of prayer, or instruction, which he would gladly read. On Sunday, on board the Irish as well as English ships, the prisoners, a few Protestants sprinkled amongst them, are driven, like sheep, to the pasturage of Protestant Common Prayers and homilies, the only effect of which is to stir up a secret spirit of dissatisfaction and revolt, and to plant the feeling of a grievance. The prisoner does not very nicely discriminate qualities, but balances within his mind the wrong-doing of his task-master against his own misdeeds, and deducts from the sum of respect which he considers due to the constituted authorities.

"Arrived at their destination, and placed, in the first instance, in their barracks, they are not allowed to associate with the 'old hands,' lest, say they, the new ones should be contaminated—an admission that they are not yet so bad, but they are destined to become worse. Until lately, the boys were confined in a separate establishment, but it proved such a hive of busy wickedness—sent out on the wing such

a swarm of accomplished pests, that it is now broken up, and boys and men are lodged in the same great barrack. Here begins the initiation into the deeper mysteries of the masonry of crime. I have known the well-disposed prisoners rejoice, after labouring all day, to be allowed to watch an unenclosed building during the inclement night, rather than be locked up there. I have known the infirm man invoke any torture elsewhere, so he might not rest there; I have known the blind consider his privation of sight a blessing, as shutting out wickedness through one sense from his knowledge. I remember a youth who, expressing his astonishment at the infamies amongst which he suddenly found himself, observed: 'Such things no one knows in Ireland.' I think I now see the newly arrived convict, his frame shuddering and shrinking together, whilst, with his feelings yet fresh, he recurs to the iniquities of those barracks. Colonel Arthur has spoken of the prisoner's 'exposure to ill-usage from criminals worse than himself.' Wherever he goes—to work, to church, to his meals—he carries, tied to his person, his small canvas bag, containing his only little necessities, and, perhaps, a prayer-book, otherwise they would be stolen in a moment, whilst the poor creature who, with a more timid conscience, and a keener sense of his condition, seeks to separate as much as possible from the rest, and to heal his seared conscience by the prayer of repentance, offers a fine game for the chase of ridicule, and is hunted down with a mingled pack of scoffs, jeers, obscene oaths, and rough practical jokes. The newly-arrived stranger, whilst straying over Hyde Park, and enjoying the first sight of that beautiful scenery of undulating lands, of curious shrubs and trees, of graceful mansions, and of the waters of the Cove, arched over by so bright a sky, in the cool mellow evening, is suddenly startled by a loud, brawling, high-keyed, articulated yell, which, long and hurried, breaks through the solemn stillness, when all again is silent. Recovered from alarm, the stranger is told that it is the voice of the overseer chiding, or giving his directions to the convict. The feelings of the convict are petrified by the harshness of everything about him. He never feels the touch of kindness. Wonder not that his vital warmth dies, and he becomes a haggard insensible thing. . . ."

"In the chain-gangs, great numbers of prisoners are brought together for colonial delinquencies of a secondary class. In 1835, the number of men in chain-gangs was, in New South Wales, 1191; in road-gangs 982. In Van

Diemen's Land, the number in chain-gangs was 805; in road-gangs, 2919. They are clothed in a piebald dress of grey and yellow, and worked in irons under a military guard. When employed in the interior, they are, at night, and on the Sunday, locked up in square portable boxes, some sixteen being crowded together in a space considerably less than two feet square for each person. The countenances of these men are shocking to behold. On board the Sydney hulk, ten or twelve are crowded together into a cell so small that they cannot lie on their backs. When the public prison fills, before sessions, the prisoners have often been compelled to stand and lie down alternately for want of room. The consequence of all this can only be conjectured by those experienced amongst criminals."

"What shall I say of the female convict, acknowledged to be worse, and far more difficult of reformation than the man? Her general character is immodesty, drunkenness, and the most horrible language. On board the ship in which she sails, there are generally to be found some two or three grey-headed hags, the very incarnation of crime, who become the priestesses of initiation to the younger and more simple-minded during the voyage . . ."

"The Factory at Parramatta is the female house of correction; there is a similar establishment in Van Diemen's Land. It has hitherto been the sink of abomination. Generally containing a fluctuating population of some 600 females, their principal occupation is the work of mutual corruption. Returned hither from service for correction, after receiving a new finish in vice, they are again sent forth into circulation, carrying with them infection to every extremity of the colony. At Hobart Town, sundry persons have, by favour, obtained their servants direct from the ships, on arrival, to prevent them bringing with them the contamination of the Factory. In Parramatta the military have been known to be called in, as a last resource, to quell the female riots of the Factory. I am happy to hear that, since my departure from the colony, ameliorations have been introduced into this institution.

"The numerical disparity between the sexes, which is still, amongst the prison population, as three to one, is the cause of indescribable evils. The Government, with a view to remedy, has been sending out ship-loads of free females; but what must those females generally be, who, abandoning their country, go out such a voyage, unprotected, in the expectation of marrying convicts? . . ."

"I have said that our hopes are chiefly rested on the

rising generation. But, alas! we see them growing up from earliest infancy in a spirit of irreverence and dissoluteness, which is yet not to be wondered at, when we consider that they are in the hands, either as mothers or nurses, of such women as I have described. I know a lady, who, from her experience, durst not entrust her infant children with women, but actually employed men convicts as nurses in preference. What can I say of such women as mothers, but that their children are cradled in vice, are nursed at the bosom of profanity, and fed with the poison of ungodly lips, and that they drink in iniquity from their parent's example . . ."

. . . An always sober servant in a town would be a phenomenon. I have known fourteen public houses in full employ in a small township of 1200 inhabitants. In Sydney there are 224 licensed taverns, in addition to sly grog-shops; and they line every road side at short intervals. In every considerable township there are one or more quarters in which the signs hang out on each side into the street as thick and numerous as the kingly banners that adorn the chapel of Henry VII at Westminster. There the incessant noise of fiddles, tambours, and hautboys—the drunken song—the dissolute laugh—the heavy curse—the scream, at intervals, startle and wake up the ear of the by-passer through the day and live-long night. Filthy, swollen-faced wretches, with something of the shape of women in them, haunt the doors, and the very streets reel and stagger with drunkenness, dissoluteness, and debauchery, until the purest minds are defiled by the continued contact. The prisoner is not supposed to enter these houses, except for refreshment on a journey; for him the sly grog-shop is prepared . . . there, be assured, the prisoner will find, though no one else can, a person who, without leave from his master or licence from the Government, is ready to exchange that master's property for any amount of the bane and paralysis of the colony—rum. The annual amount of duty on this spirit received in Sydney is £120,000. It has been calculated that the quantity of rum drunk in New South Wales, compared to the quantity of spirits consumed by an equal number of people in England, is as seventeen to five. After hearing all this, the number of criminal committals can awaken no surprise. In 1835 there were 116 capital convictions in the criminal court of Sydney, all for crimes of violence; whilst the convictions for petty offences, for the same year, throughout this one colony, amounted to nearly 22,000. The Rev. Mr M'Encroe has himself attended seventy-four executions in the course of four

years, and a yet greater number capitally convicted also, but committed to Norfolk Island—to them, he remarks, ‘*a second death.*’ ‘Very many,’ he writes to me, ‘declared on the scaffold that they preferred suffering death to being sent to Norfolk Island, fearing more the depravity of that place than death itself’ . . .”

“The crime of perjury is of such common and notorious occurrence, that the barristers tell me they seldom think of resting evidence upon the positive oaths of witnesses, of whom there are generally to be found several on each side of a case swearing the directly contrary . . .”

“There is another class of crimes, too frightful even for the imagination of other lands; which St Paul in detailing the vices of the heathens, has not contemplated: which were unknown to the savage, until taught by the convict—crimes which are notorious—crimes that, dare I describe them, would make your blood to freeze, and your hair to rise erect in horror upon the pale flesh. Let them be enfolded in eternal darkness. . . I have neither applied the strongest colours, nor worked in the deepest shadows, nor brought out the worst details on the subject. Yet, what history can produce the records of such a debasement of our human condition in the dark ages of any nation?

“In an atmosphere so thick with crime,—on a land so spread with obstacles—it is a people thus shamefully fallen, that the Right Rev. Bishop Polding, and his clergy, are most strenuously labouring to raise up and reform.”

It seems impossible to realise that such a state of degradation could have been permitted to exist, much less to continue for a long series of years, by any body of Christian officials. When the present fair fame of Australia is considered, its place amongst the comity of nations remembered, it seems incredible that comparatively so few years separate us to-day from the period when such things as Father Ullathorne merely hints at could be done almost in the light of day, and that from the moral cess-pool of 1835 there should have emerged a people strong, virile, self-respecting as were the inhabitants of Australia when Bishop Polding’s task was finished, and he went to his reward forty-two years later. Those who knew him best in the first years of his life in Australia have declared that he was undoubtedly the greatest missionary of his age. Though some of the many grievances

under which the Catholics of Australia laboured had been removed before his arrival, still there were a sufficient number remaining to frighten any but a brave heart such as was Dr Polding's, when duty was in question. How he laboured to humanise as well as Christianise this foul mass of wickedness; how he strove to ameliorate the condition of the convicts; and how he gradually revived in the hearts of these poor fallen men and women the memories of the religion of their childhood, which their bitter lot, and absence of instruction had combined to obliterate, is known fully to God alone.

The missionary labours of this noble-hearted Bishop were, indeed, extraordinary. For many years, during the greater part of his episcopal life, in fact, he worked as a simple priest, saying Mass daily, preaching, teaching the Catechism, hearing the confessions of multitudes, and attending by the bedside of the sick and the dying.

"The way in which he multiplied his energies" wrote Bishop Ullathorne,¹ "struck the colony with amazement. What above all things enkindled his zeal was the state of the convict population. Assisted by one or two priests, he raised his altar one day in a gaol, another in the convict barracks, another at the penal settlement of Goat Island, another at the great female house of correction, another at the establishment for juvenile convicts. He preached to them, taught them their Catechism, wept over them, poured the overflowing tenderness of his heart into them, heard their confessions from morning to night, then, after all were prepared, would some early morning say Mass for them, and after some last most moving appeals, administer to them the Holy Communion. After that he seldom failed to give them solid advice touching their position, the perils that surrounded them, the way in which the disciplinary rules affected them, and how they might most effectually soften and even shorten their period of punishment. But it was when a ship arrived with some three or four hundred fresh criminals that the Bishop put forth his whole powers to the utmost. He had permission from the Government to have all the Catholics put at his command for a few days after their arrival. Under

¹ *Tablet*, 24th March 1877.

their superintendents they were kept at the Church the greater part of the day. Then would you see the Bishop, helped by his clergy and students in divinity—but himself the foremost—working such a change in these unhappy men that they went to their several destinations changed in heart and completely instructed in their duties. It was a touching sight to see the Bishop with one of his criminals kneeling by his side in the Sanctuary, and by word and action instructing all through one, how to make their confessions, or how to receive the Holy Communion.”

It is stated on good authority ¹ that between the years 1836 and 1841, no less than 7000 convicts had passed at least ten days' retreat in these pious exercises so well calculated to confirm, and in many instances to form their religious habits. One very obvious good which resulted from these exercises, and one which the officers of the Government were not slow to avail themselves of, was the greater docility and good behaviour which the Bishop's earnest exhortations produced among the Catholic convicts. We can, perhaps, form little idea of the incessant labours Dr Polding and his devoted clergy underwent during these days of abundant harvest. While there were souls to be saved, the Bishop seemed to feel no fatigue, and certainly he sought no rest.

“On Sunday his confessional was crowded by the convicts who could not come at other times, until he had to be drawn away almost by force, still weeping, to celebrate Mass or to preach, after he had been long waited for. He would say as his apology, 'Others I could leave to another time; but these poor creatures, who have no one to care for them, I cannot.'”

Dr Ullathorne ² gives a detailed account of these labours, and it is clear that he, too, took his share in the work, and thus speaks with an intimate personal knowledge of the facts coming under his own observation.

“Wherever they [the convicts] are gathered in numbers, as in barracks, prisons, chain-gangs, hulks, etc., there, besides the usual attendance, the Bishop, with one or two

¹ *Sydney Mail*, 24th March 1877,

² *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, pp. 32, seqq.

priests, is to be found at intervals, where, by a succession, for some days, of exhortations, instructions and religious exercises, many are brought to repentance, and finally, to the Sacraments. The hospitals, where one-half the diseases are the direct offspring of crime, are daily visited. The prisoners in barracks are assembled on a week-day evening, as well as on the Sunday. Where we have not time to be, our few ecclesiastical students are called in aid, and proceed, two by two, to catechise, instruct, and prepare the way for us. Every opportunity that offers is embraced to bring back these poor lost ones to a sense of their condition. The penitent is joyously received at every hour of the day or night. We know of no rest, but in the heart of the afflicted. Alas! how many that are now aliens would embrace the faith, were there but pastors to instruct them; and how many returning prodigals, were there but fathers to receive them? Even from those of other opinions, I have known, out of a number of forty-five condemned to death, not less than two-and-twenty who have, in their last hours, embraced the faith, and died with all the signs of fervent repentance for their sins; and this has been about the proportion of those who, in the last extremity, have sought our aid.

"When a prison ship arrives, from Ireland especially, by permission of Government, who have seen the beneficial result, the Catholic prisoners are, for a succession of four or five days, conducted to the church, preparatory to assignment. There the Bishop, assisted by two priests, one of whom is called from the interior for the occasion, enters with them upon a course of religious exercises. They are first addressed with gentle kindness; we show them our sympathy by entering into their unhappy circumstances with compassion. As their feelings begin to flow, and all irritation and bitterness of heart ceases, they are chastened and humbled under the duties of repentance; their mind is directed to the Cross, and to Him who suffered upon it, innocent, for their guilt; and their memory is filled with the Passion of God. With the mystery of atonement, the value of resigned suffering as a salutary expiation is dwelt upon. They are exhorted to submit to, if not welcome, their privations in the spirit of penance—to attach their afflictions to the Cross, to bow beneath its power, and unburden their sins at its foot; and, henceforth, to do and endure, for the penitent love of God, whatever may be imposed upon them. Their resolutions are strengthened with the Sacraments. These exercises conclude with a series of advice on their future condition as

prisoners, on their duty to their masters, their dangers from their fellow-servants and their own passions, and on the ultimate rewards for good conduct."

We may learn further particulars from Dr Ullathorne's evidence before the parliamentary Commission; for though the information covers the same ground as that already traversed, certain special details are given, not elsewhere touched upon. Explaining the moral change for the better observable amongst a considerable number of the Irish Catholic convicts, he said: "I think it proper to explain to the Committee the causes which, I believe, have operated in producing that change. The Catholic prisoners, who are about one-third of those who arrive, with the consent of Government, remain ten days in Sydney before they are assigned, for the purpose of obtaining religious and other instruction. They are marched to our church at six in the morning, and remain until about eleven; they are then marched to church at three, and remain till about six. The Bishop himself appears personally amongst them; and after giving them an exhortation, they are then classed by us; those who have neglected the duties of religion altogether for the course of one year; those for three; those for seven; those for ten, and those for life. They are then subject to an examination as to their dispositions, and the amount of religious instruction which they may possess. After this they are again classed; the best of them are selected as monitors. Our ecclesiastical students act as catechists; a clergyman is called to assist from the interior; and after they have gone through a series of religious exercises, and through a series of individual converse with the clergy, they then, after that course of their instruction, go through another series of instruction with regard to their condition as prisoners, as also in reference to their masters, and the law, and the Government, and the particular dangers that surround them. After this they proceed to their assignment. The result of this has been, as stated to me in the letters of Bishop Polding, very remarkable. Previously, a

very great number of those newly arrived were found in gaol soon after their arrival, from having been brought forward, by the adepts in the Colony, into mischief. We have found that of the 1400 that have passed through our hands since this system has been adopted, only two, up to June 1837, had found their way into the Sydney gaol. Heretofore we had to attend not less, yearly, than twenty persons to execution; but since this system has been introduced, from the 1st of January, 1837, to the 12th of June, 1837, only one Catholic was executed, and that man for a crime of three years' standing; another, at that time was under sentence. We have found generally amongst the prisoners, that this has had a most beneficial tendency; indeed it has been a common remark with us, that those men who have come into contact with our clergy after their arrival have very rarely found their way into gaol. The only reason why the system is not extended into the interior among the prisoners, is the want of clergy: I trust that want will be supplied."

"The effect of these labours, where they have reached, has, with the grace of God, I am happy to say, become already visible; so much so, that the principal superintendent of convicts urged the fact, grounded on the evidence of his personal observations, in a public speech . . . as a motive for supporting our religion. The acting Chief Justice, I am informed, has stated that, since the arrival of the Bishop and his clergy, a very visible diminution has taken place in the number of police cases, which is attributed to their labours. The newspapers—even those opposed to us—have, for the last three years, successively recorded their astonishment that the festival of St Patrick is no longer distinguished for its riotousness and drunkenness—particularly that on the occasion of its last recurrence the number of police cases were fewer than for many previous weeks. Mr McArthur, in his recent work¹ in support of certain petitions to King and Parliament, speaks of the 'recent accounts from the Colony of great amelioration in the character and condition of the Irish Roman Catholic population, in consequence of the zealous labours of their clergy.' Even Dr Lang with all his bitterness

¹ *New South Wales, its present state and future prospects, etc., 1837.*

of unprovoked opposition, though with a sinister object, admits their 'well directed efforts.'"¹

"What might be done, indeed, had we means and numbers? At present, we are afraid of our own labours. These unhappy men leave us in dispositions so good, and our own minds are only filled with melancholy forebodings. They leave us, and we see them no more, except such as are brought down the country to an hospital or a gaol; for, in the greater part of the interior, the lot of the Catholic convict continues much the same as when, in 1832, it was described by Mr Commissioner Therry."

Father Ullathorne then proceeds to quote Mr Therry's words, which deserve to be here reproduced:—

"The moment he reaches the shores of Australia, he is sent into the interior of the country, there to be assigned to a settler, at a distance of perhaps fifty, one hundred, or even two hundred miles from Sydney. There he is estimated according to the quantity of labour which he is capable of performing—there, amidst associates reckless in their habits, and infamous in their vices, his days are passed without care and without solicitude—there, also, (and it is of this I complain), the voice of religion with its salutary counsels and its blessed consolations, never comes. For him, religion has lost all sanction,—morality, all attraction. Can it be wondered at that, when temptation presents itself anew, the miserable man continues his career of crime, until, at length, he expiates his offences on the gallows, or, by an equally terrible fate, is cast into a penal settlement, whose inhabitants consist of a *populus virorum*, the misery and horror of which is shocking to contemplate."

¹ "This gentleman, in his work *An Historical and Statistical account of New South Wales*, 1834, and 1837, 2 vols., takes every opportunity of impressing the notion, that the Irish is a worse and more unreformable character than the English convict. In a long passage in the first edition, left out in the second, he refutes himself. Exemplifying the effects of judicious management of farm convict servants, in the case of his brother's mode of treatment: of thirteen persons, whose course he traces from faithful service to final settlements for themselves, the greater number are Irish Catholics. The wakes after executions, and their bad effects, which he so powerfully describes, do not exist. The bodies are interred early in the afternoon of the day of execution. We are indebted to Dr Lang for several errors of this sort."

In constant and never failing toil, such as has been above described, on material so debased, yet possessing such possibilities of improvement, Bishop Polding passed the first years of his episcopal office. Hence we possess but few letters to his friends and brethren at home, for the incessant cares of each hour following close one on another, allowed no breathing space for anything but necessary and official correspondence. The morning labours gave place only to fresh work in the afternoon. Often, after midday, he would mount his horse and ride off to some chain-gang or other band of prisoners at a distance, and to them he devoted the afternoon till nightfall. He might be seen mixing among them whilst they were at work, instructing them in the faith, and gently winning their confidence by his kindness. Whenever the men got into trouble, which they frequently did in those rough times, it was to Dr Polding they went to help them out of it, and he never failed to stand by them. And whilst he thus toiled as a missionary, with no other thought but how to gain souls to God, no one knew better than he did, how on proper occasions to uphold the dignity of the episcopal office, and no bishop could have been more solicitous for the becoming splendour of the Divine worship, although in those earliest days little could be effected in the way of functions, either for want of a suitable church, for want of ministers, and for want of all but the most essential adjuncts of the Church's requirements for a fitting performance of her ceremonies.

At times Dr Polding went on a missionary tour through the interior, and often those visits to distant stations, particularly at a later period, partook of the nature of a triumph which made the humble Bishop feel much out of his place. The Catholic settlers, who were very numerous in some parts, would come together (having had, of course, due notice of his intended visit, so as to be prepared for the Sacraments), and ride out some miles from the town to which he was journeying to meet him, and then forming in long lines would escort him to his destination. Arrived at the house at which he was going to stay, they would dis-

mount, greet him with a hearty welcome, and kneel for his blessing. After the missionary labour was over, which generally occupied the Bishop several days, attended as on his arrival by a troop of horsemen, he visited the house of every settler in the district who was sober, and the steady father of a family, but passed over unnoticed any whose life and character he could not approve. It is said that there is hardly a family in any part of that vast district which has not treasured up the recollection of some such visit, and which cannot recall some kind words spoken on these occasions to young and old. It would be only confusing here to quote from the many letters of a later time giving interesting details of these expeditions, but in their proper place, an abundance of evidence will be forthcoming, illustrative of the fruitful labours of this great missionary bishop.

Having, however, taken a hasty survey of the manner of his life, based on the testimony of those who shared its labours, and spiritual and pastoral rewards, we may turn to the letters Dr Polding occasionally managed to indite to those who, at home, anxiously awaited news of him in whom they placed their hopes of rehabilitating the good name of the English Benedictines, and their earnest desire to do solid work for religion, somewhat dimmed by the want of success of Bishops Slater and Morris, partly through defects of character in the first named, and, in Dr Morris's case, partly hampered by want of means, material, and *personnel*, and still more by treachery at the hands of foreign priests, whose character, alas for religion! was a disgrace to their sacred calling.

The first letter, written to the Prior of Downside some seven weeks after his arrival, shows the energetic Bishop already engaged in church-building. Reference is also made to the endeavours he was making to heal internal dissensions—the bane of every good work. A word of warning at the outset must be given. These letters are the unstudied outpouring of the moment, scribbled off in hot haste, usually at the last moment before the departure of a ship for England. Graces of style must not therefore be sought in them. Indeed,

remembering the conditions of their composition, they may even be considered as marvels of mental concentration, belonging to the real period of letter-writing, when letter-writing was raised almost to an art, even though they do not exhibit the finish we have learnt to look for in the studied and elaborate epistles of that period.

“ 1st November 1835.

MY EVER DEAR CONFRERE,—A thousand and ten thousand kind wishes to you and all at Downside on this return of All Saints' Day; to every member of our Order and Congregation. I hope this day next year will be celebrated by the to-be-born progeny of our Holy Founder in Australia. By the *Spence* I wrote to Mr Scott: since, not much of novelty has occurred.

“ I am busily engaged in preparing to build a church at Parramatta, 70 feet by 40 feet, *i.e.*, two aisles, each $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and Nave 21 feet. The calculated expense is £600, half of which will be given by Government, the other half we must raise as we can. The people have been so tired out by the continued applications made to them for money, which has been spent, they know not how, that it is quite necessary to exert ourselves before confidence in the clergy can be restored. For instance, they were called upon to subscribe for a chapel at Parramatta seven years since: upwards of £150 were collected, and a shapeless building was carried to the height of 6 or 7 feet, and so it remains to this day. At present Mass is celebrated in an upper room of the gaol, to the music of chains and ribaldrous conversation in the apartment below. There is no other place more convenient. A collection is made weekly, the average amount of which, (allowing something for the increase when the church shall be erected) makes me consider myself justified in permitting a loan to be made. The erecting of this church without risking the chance of refusal of contributions from the people, I have no doubt will be productive of great good. In the course of a few months, the opposition which the partisans of Rev. Mr Therry have endeavoured to raise in consequence of certain regulations I deemed essential to the well-being of the district, will be completely discomfited. Indeed, I may say it is so now, having been raised chiefly by a person lately living in the Chapel House, and the tool of a family of the name of Dwyer, whose mother having been

housekeeper to Mr Therry, whose snug possession at the Chapel House has been disturbed by the new arrangement.

"If Mr Heptonstall in passing by Lloyd's has time to look over the Sydney papers, he will see several articles in them in allusion to this subject. Almost every thing private or public finds its way to the press, for the matter of news is so scanty here for the supply of daily papers, that the editors are glad to obtain any article that may be in any way interesting. We have kept out of the sight of the world as much as possible: indeed, I am very pleased with the conduct of the young men in this most important matter. They live more retired than at Downside, seldom going beyond the garden or the seashore a few hundreds of yards in front of the house, except to the church, the barracks, the gaol on Sundays to read to the prisoners. We have our regular schools. Next week I am going to the Illawarra District, about forty miles from Sydney, to determine upon the site of a monastery. The title of the piece of ground I mentioned to Mr Scott, I am told is very insecure; besides, the land is extremely poor. It will do very well for many religious purposes, particularly for a place of retirement for old people, not being far from Sydney. The Illawarra is a magnificent tract of country: the land is now selling at 5/ per acre; but the general opinion is that as soon as the new road is completed it will rise very considerably. I wish Mr Scott were here with his purse and prudence. The interest allowed by the Savings Banks is 10 per cent., by the other Banks, 16 per cent., on the best security, quite as good as any in England. There is, and must be, a vast demand for capital for many years to come. It is absorbed in various ways, particularly in the purchase of cattle and sheep. These being kept at little cost, being fed on land not sold, belonging to no one and attended by assigned servants who only receive their food and clothing, give an immense return. Many persons have told me that they are receiving £200 per ann. on capital of that amount, first invested in sheep, three or four years since. This accounts for the high rate of interest.

"Until Providence raises up some means, we can only look on and out. It was most unfortunate for me that Lord Aberdeen was Minister at the time of my leaving England. His despatch is so precise that the Governor here has his hands tied up. He can neither give me an acre of ground or anything else till the state of things be altered by the Home Government. We want here a *commission* of enquiry:

this O'Connell ought to take in hand. Such a state of Protestant domination as regards V. D's. Land would be revealed as would astonish even him. Here we have a most excellent Liberal Governor—a man of enlightened mind and affectionate heart, with cold self-calculating Scotch Tory Officials. Thus the efforts he wishes to make are rendered abortive.

“May God bless you and all under your care. Write me a very long long letter: remember me most cordially to all, not forgetting your good mother and sister, George and Sweetman, all friends in Bath.

✠ J. B. POLDING.”¹

Before leaving England, Bishop Polding had appointed his cousin, Father Paulinus Heptonstall, O.S.B., as his agent to conduct all business affairs for him. In addition to him he had also invited Fathers Barber and Robinson to act as Vicars General for him in matters spiritual, such as selection of suitable priests, etc.; a letter of this period to Father Heptonstall from Father Barber explains the nature of these appointments:—

“Salford Convent,

16th November 1835.

MY DEAR CONFRERE,—We have been so busy since Wolly [Father Scott] came, that I have not had time to write sooner. Before he quitted England, Dr Polding appointed me a V. Gen. as well as Mr Robinson of Liverpool. His Lordship naturally expected that Priests would be offering for his diocese, and he therefore constituted us his Vicars to examine and approve the applicants. I shall deem it a duty not to reject any applicant who is duly recommended and qualified and has zeal to enter upon so laborious a Mission. With respect to having my name annexed to the Circular, I think I shall be only fulfilling the trust which Dr Polding reposed in me by assenting to it. As soon as ever I have accepted of the services of any Priest, I shall instantly inform Dr P. of what I have done, and request the Priest to write to him as soon as possible after his landing in Southern Australia. Dr Polding will not acknowledge any Priest who has not either Mr Robinson's or my authority for going out. We neither of us make ourselves responsible for the support

¹ D. A., J 17.

of the Clergy going out. If you attach my name to the Circular (and do as you please), my title is 'Vic. Gen. in England to Dr P. . . .'¹

The possibilities and advantages offered to colonists by the sub-continent were now being realised in England, and the set of emigration to Australia was flowing strong, and its volume increasing. Catholics were not slow to perceive the opportunities open to them, if only they could count on the presence of priests in their midst. Up to this period few settlers had proceeded anywhere except to New South Wales; but from this time onwards, the other provinces began to attract attention. Thus we have in the following letter the first reference to the foundation of a mission in Adelaide, which was to be in no long time the site of the first suffragan See under Bishop Polding's jurisdiction. As such, it has its interest, though the help sought for came, not from England, but from Dr Polding himself, and the beginnings were but small.

" 15 Albion Street, Hyde Park,
5th November 1835.

SIR,—A colony is about to be formed in the province of South Australia, New Holland. Mr John Wright is one of the commissioners for the management of this colony, and has purchased a considerable quantity of land. Several Catholics are about proceeding out, and I myself have an appointment under the Government there. We naturally wish to promote as much as lies in our power the establishment of a Catholic mission in the new settlement, and Mr Wright expresses his willingness to co-operate, and I believe there is little doubt if there be not absolute certainty of our obtaining an annual allowance from the Government of the Colony towards the support of the Mission. As I understand that the authority of Dr Polding extends over the whole of New Holland, and that you are his Grand Vicar in England, I should feel obliged if you would appoint some day for a conference on the subject. I have already had a correspondence with the Commissioner on the matter in question, and am satisfied that with a little exertion the affairs may be brought to a satisfactory bearing and extend

¹ *D. A.*, J 25.

materially Catholic influence in New Holland. I have the honour to be, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

G. P. IVERS.

Rev. Thos. Heptonstall."¹

The next letter to Father Heptonstall speaks of progress in various directions, but also points out the necessary limitations. Some of the young monks who had accompanied him from England were advanced a step towards the priesthood; but it is clear that for Dr Polding to be compelled to send one who had only just been raised to the subdiaconate away from his fostering care was a desperate move born only of dire necessity. This accentuates, as hardly anything else could, the deplorable shortage of priests which for so long crippled his best efforts. This too, shows that until he could be surrounded by a body of monks stable in their life, there was no hope of establishing the religious life as the centre whence might radiate to all parts that example of Christ-like lives which would prove the best and surest apostolate amongst the abandoned people he longed to raise to a higher spiritual level. And yet, with all his cares and preoccupations, what a brave heart he shows, even breaking out into playful raillery! For these reasons, this letter gives us an insight into the depths of the Bishop's soul such as a more studied composition could not have done.

"Bishop's House,
1st May 1836.

If, my dear Confrere, a long time seems to you to have elapsed since last I inflicted upon you the task of decyphering my Antipodean Hieroglyphics, judge whether I have not some reason to complain, who have not seen a line from you since November last. And what is Mr Scott about, to leave us so long without Directories? Half the Saints of the foregone months, for aught I know, may have entered suits at law against us for deprivation of due honour and service. Mr Scott—*ipse viderit*. I manage my Office just as you fill up the row of potatoes or cabbage—when you come to a vacancy you pop in the one in hand. Spencer, however,

¹ *D. A.*, J 19.

and Gregory have managed pretty well to make out a Calendar.

"On Sunday next, I hold my first Ordinations; Mr Sumner and Gregory, Deacons, Mr Spencer, Subdeacon. On Thursday after, Mr Sumner, Priest. I could wish to defer this, but I cannot. I must go to Hobart Town, and I am obliged to ordain him to keep things in their places. He will still continue to reside with me and apply to his Divinity. Mr Spencer I shall send to Port Macquarie for some months as a Catechist, to form a congregation there, and also to give him a trial which I think will be of considerable service to him. Mr Gregory will take charge under me of the Seminary which I am determined to commence on the 29th of June. I have had many difficulties and must expect more and greater, but I trust we shall get through. If I had only four or five efficient priests in addition to the present number! My dear Hep.—do cut your stick, as Gregory says, and come out—the very place for you—Procurator of the District and Seminary, and Major Domo of the Episcopal Palace—there is a sesquipedalian title and no responsibility—only think, think of that, and money bearing legal interest 10 per cent., invested in sheep, duplicating in four years! Why, Rothschild himself in a lustrum would take off his hat to you on 'Change. This is, indeed, in money matters, a wonderful country. It is folly to think of investing in Portuguese or Spanish in these hazardous times. Here you have higher interest and the greatest security. Even the Savings Banks give $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The simple cause is that money invested in sheep is so extremely profitable.

"I have sent in our estimates for this year—the Tories will be astonished at our impudence. N'importe: they dare not refuse. I have made application for six additional clergymen: the Governor will recommend it to the Legislative Council: and on the certainty of its being granted I have decided on sending Mr Ullathorne to beat up and select recruits. How I shall manage without him I scarcely know. Providence will aid. He is most useful to me. His intelligence, aptitude for business, and zeal, render him a most valuable coadjutor. He has certainly great merit for what he did previous to my arrival. God grant he may be successful. He has also much business to transact. You will, I am sure, assist him to the utmost. Thank God, our labours amongst this people are far from being fruitless: the tide sets in regular and full: each day adds to the number of the penitent; still, the prevailing indifference is most astonishing. I went the

Sunday before last to Windsor, and celebrated Mass in our temporary Chapel there. It was a barn, and will be one again, made of slabs. A man of the name of Doyle died there a few weeks since, and left £500 to build a church, and £200 for a school. I hope to obtain as much from Government for the same purpose, and to complete the two this year. Windsor is situated on a long-backed eminence on a flat country, well cleared and cultivated; the vicinity is beautiful. As I looked towards the *Blue Mountains* about 200 miles distance, I saw a resemblance to the tract of Somersetshire you see on the left as you proceed from Bridgewater to Taunton; only, the mountains are not so tame in the outline, stand more in and out than the insipid Mendip range. Mr Corcoran who is stationed there has a district 70 miles in length and very wide, studded throughout with Catholic settlers. He has had this Easter upwards of 140 communicants, of which perhaps not more than six or eight had been to confession for many years. We only want priests to make this country Catholic. Pray that the Lord may send *good* workmen into His vineyard. How is good Mr Kelly and family and Mary—the Loughnans—Mr Jones. To all, as if named, mention me most kindly, and believe me ever most affectionately yours,

✠ J. B. POLDING.

“I do not write on the turndowns: they have an ugly knack here of reading them. Remember me most kindly to Downside, Mr Barber, Mr Turner.”¹

This letter to Father Heptonstall was followed by another to Dr Birdsall,² from which it will be seen that for a time and amongst a section of his flock, the Bishop's popularity suffered through the effects of partisanship.

“Bishop's House, Sydney,
7th June, 1836.

VERY REVEREND AND DEAR FATHER PRESIDENT,—I know not how it has so happened that I have permitted so many months to elapse without writing to you, unless it may be accounted for by delay respecting the termination of different affairs in which I have been engaged: these however have run into each other, and thus have I been carried along to this period of time. However, from different sources you

¹ *D. A.*, J 142.

² *Ibid.*, J 168.

would hear something of our doings. Thanks be to God, since our arrival, good has been effected. In consequence of an arrangement my duty required me to make soon after my arrival, which was not pleasing to the Rev. Mr Therry, who has been here for many years, I was somewhat unpopular with a certain party: I believe, however, that has in great measure died away. We are quiet and united—the first blessing to be desired in an infant Church. The almost total absence of pecuniary means has hitherto prevented me from doing anything in the way of forming a Seminary; and the commencement of a School with the small available force I can spare from the Mission is an experiment I have some dread to hazard, seeing that there are several Schools with means of every kind already established. Without an addition to our numbers we can do very little; and hence, though it is to me personally a grievous privation, and to the Mission generally a great loss, yet in the view of the great advantages to be derived, I have come to the conclusion that it is absolutely necessary to depute someone to Europe to implore assistance. Mr Ullathorne is charged with this commission. The Governor, in mentioning him in his Despatch in terms of great commendation, says no more than is strictly correct; for he is indeed a most exemplary zealous clergyman, whose life and talents are consecrated entirely to the duties of his state. He is a true son of St Benedict. If any of my confreres are willing to join me, I am sure no objection will be raised on your part; but they must be of the *right sort*—zealous, laborious Missioners, no loves for self nor pelf. How necessary it is to be careful in selecting clergymen for these Colonies! They live so continually in the eye of the Public, their conduct must be spotless, or Religion vitally suffers: every trifling incident respecting them spreads through the country. With those who accompanied me I have every reason to be satisfied, save one. Him I wish again in France. I have ordained Mr Sumner, Priest, and in the view of encouraging and giving strong motives to a manly line of conduct, I have made Mr Spencer, Subdeacon; and as soon as I can obtain a salary, I shall send [him] to Port Macquarie to form a congregation. He refers to his want of experience, to the state of dependence in which he has always lived, as the causes of his defects of character. I am determined he shall have a fair trial: and, for this purpose, I shall send him to Port Macquarie; the resort of all the invalids and what are called the Gentlemen Convicts. Mr Gregory is Deacon, and

is a great comfort to me. Spencer's faults are quite what they used to be : no immorality : but contriving and mischief-making ; so long as he is with me, I could not think of having Boys, for I am sure I should be involved in scrapes of his making. I must say for him he evinces zeal in reading prayers and in instructing in his music for the Church to a certain degree ; but I am miserably deceived in the hope that I entertained, that by his means I could introduce Music amongst the Children of the Charity Schools, and form them to Chapel singing. The fact is, he dislikes trouble and will plead inability, want of talent, any excuse to escape it. . . .

"I must not forget to acknowledge with the greatest gratitude your most kind letters : the powers conferred were quite sufficiently complete ; but my mentioning the case almost produced mischief in my little society. Dr Brown has so deeply impressed the minds of the young men that I must say nothing on the subject for the sake of peace and harmony. They give me their services readily, cheerfully, zealously, but not in the way of that obligation. I do not dispute about terms. Adieu, V. Rev. Fr. Pres : pray for me and mine. My *Br. of Australia* has just arrived, shorn mightily of his honours in not having a warrant to sit in Council here and a most excellent thing for the Colony. He is woefully crestfallen in consequence, and his party most indignant. Kindest regards to all.

I am,

With the greatest respect,

Most affectionately yours,

✠ J. B. POLDING." ¹

No account of Dr Polding about this period would be complete without that pen-sketch representing 'Rolf Boldrewood's' boyish recollections of him. In a volume entitled

¹ The "powers" to which Dr Polding referred in the above letter were conferred by Dr Birdsall as President-General of the English Benedictines transferring the obedience of the monks who went out to Australia from himself to the Bishop. The wording of the document shows that in view of the impossibility of the President exercising proper jurisdiction over his subjects at the other side of the globe, the obedience due from them to him, was to be rendered as if to him, to Dr Polding, in all things according to the Constitutions of the English Benedictine Congregation. This ensured their return to England if so wished by the Bishop.

In Bad Company and other stories, he has an article on 'Ancient Sydney,' and this is how he, a Protestant, conjures up the memory of the Catholic prelate.¹

"At the Sydney College half-yearly examination, Archbishop Polding was always among the examiners—a gentle, if dignified old man whom all of us revered. Our own Bishop and clergy attended on these occasions, but I have a more distinct impression of the Prelate first mentioned than of any other clergyman of the day. St Mary's Cathedral was building then—it is building now—a monument of the persistent progress of the Church of Rome. What she begins she always ends, rarely relinquishing an undertaking, or a stronghold."

The author has to some extent confused the vision of a later date with the memories of boyhood, for, when he would have been at Sydney College, Dr Polding was not an 'old man,' but a man in the very prime of life—but that is a detail. The picture is one of benevolence together with determination, and in that the artist's pencil is accurate. The benevolence was a personal trait: the determination was generic of the Church he was spending his life to serve.

As usual, our surest guide at this period, when Dr Polding had but little leisure for correspondence with his friends at home, is reliance upon the recollections of Dean Kenny.

"The first year after the arrival of Bishop Polding was filled with many important events in connection with religion. The first time the Bishop administered the Sacrament of Confirmation was on Sunday, 28th February 1836; it was then given to sixty or seventy soldiers of the 17th Regiment. . . . The next Catholic work of importance done by the Bishop was the blessing and laying of the foundation stone of St Patrick's Church at Parramatta. . . . On Thursday, 17th March 1836, St Patrick's day, the inhabitants of Parramatta witnessed a religious spectacle, the first of its kind in the Colony."

All the Catholic clergy were present: a procession was formed to the site; the Bishop was in full pontificals and the address he delivered, no doubt taken from a newspaper of

¹ p. 330.

the date, appears in Dean Kenny's pages. On 6th May 1836 he made an application to the Governor for an increase to be made to the number of priests, dealt with elsewhere. Here perhaps, it is right that a document given *in extenso* by Dean Kenny, and printed in the Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee on Transportation, should find a place, so that the reader may judge for himself of the Bishop's dealings with the Government.

"SIR,—In forwarding to the Colonial Office the estimate of the probable expenses of the department of the Roman Catholic Church and School Establishment for the year 1837, and also the supplementary to the estimate for the year 1836, I have the honour respectfully to submit to the consideration of your Excellency, and of the Honourable the Legislative Council, the justice and expediency of augmenting the present number of Roman Catholic chaplains in this Colony and penal settlement. Before I state the reasons on which I ground this application, your Excellency will permit me to trace the measures that have been adopted within the last three years to provide the Catholic population of New South Wales with religious instruction. In the year 1833, on two chaplains, with the presiding clergyman—Father Therry, Father M^cEncroe, and Dr Ullathorne,—devolved the duty of imparting religious instruction, and of administering to the spiritual wants of one-third of the entire population of the Colony diffused throughout every part of this extensive territory. By so small a number of clergymen, not more than sufficient for Sydney alone, little could be done, except to keep from entire decay so much of the spirit and form of religion as had been preserved by the zealous labours of their predecessors, to run hastily from place to place, perhaps at great distances, to supply the most pressing wants of their flocks—to administer the rites of religion to the child, and to those in danger of death. In such a state of things, even the individual efforts of a clergyman must of necessity have been limited in their application and weakened in their power, the greater portion of his time being consumed, and his energies exhausted, in the act of passing from locality to locality. The efficiency of clerical labour is intimately connected with the continued residence of the clergyman amongst his people; thus only can the pastor know the habits of the individuals of his flock; have frequent communication with them, become enabled to adapt his

instructions, public and private, to their respective dispositions and circumstances. In the course of the same year the urgent petition of the Catholic community for religious assistance was taken into consideration, and provision was kindly made by your Excellency and the Honourable Legislative Council, for four additional chaplains. Towards the latter part of last year, the Bishop arrived with three chaplains, and the result of the combined labours of the Catholic clergy thus augmented in numbers tends to show, in the effect, the absolute necessity of a resident, in order to secure an efficient clergy.

"During the last seven months, two clergymen and the Bishop have devoted their labours permanently to the inhabitants of Sydney and its various establishments. The result has shown itself as well amongst the prison population as amongst the free, in the inmates of the gaol, prisoners' barracks, the hulks, and amongst the inhabitants of the town, by a marked and acknowledged improvement of morals, and in the case of a by no means inconsiderable number of persons hitherto regardless of religious duty, by a total reformation of conduct; and your Excellency will participate in the pleasure with which I state that this moral improvement amongst our people is, under the divine blessing, still steadily progressing.

"Since the month of October last, each Sunday ecclesiastical students have read prayers, and instructions selected by the Bishop, to the prisoners in Carter's barracks, at the treadmill, in the gaol, and recently, to those employed at the new gaol.

"Sydney being thus provided, there remain only four chaplains for the whole of the interior of the Colony and the remote penal settlements. Duty is performed at Parramatta by the Vicar-General, Dr Ullathorne, but in consequence of our limited numbers, he is liable to be required to attend other and distant settlements. Clerical attendance is also provided for Liverpool, a position important on account of the hospital. A chaplain is also established at Windsor, but as the field of his labours extends from Penrith and its vicinity down to the mouth of the Hawkesbury, a distance of more than sixty miles, over a populous country, he cannot be considered as a resident; each part of this extensive district can only be occasionally attended to; still, a manifest improvement has taken place at Windsor, and in its vicinity. The same may be said of Maitland. The chaplain stationed at Maitland has to extend the sphere of his duties to

pressing wants of the Colony, my confidence in the successful results of this application is the more firm, being supported by the late Right Honourable Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Stanley, as to the dispositions of your Excellency, and of the Honourable the Legislative Council. Lord Stanley states it to be his opinion 'that an addition of four chaplains was not more than was required by the urgency of the case.' A letter, dated 22nd January, 1835, to Edward Blount, Esq., a copy of which was transmitted from Downing Street to the Right Rev. Bishop Bramston, by the direction of Lord Stanley, and now in my hands, contains a similar sentiment. Having stated the opinion above quoted, his Lordship continues:—'and should the demand increase, I am satisfied that the Legislative Council of New South Wales will be happy to make such further provision as may be in their power, consistently with the other claims upon the revenue, which it may be necessary for them to take into consideration.'

With great respect,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

✠ J. B. POLDING."

Dr Polding had other matters to engage his attention besides the needs of his own pastoral charge. When the Church Act put all denominations in a position of equality, Dr Broughton, the Protestant Bishop of Australia, raised a great outcry against it, and presided at a meeting of all denominations held at the Pulteney Hotel in Sydney on 24th June 1836, whereat a series of resolutions were passed of a type suitable to the bigotry and ignorance that lay at the root of the hubbub.¹ Dr Broughton made some very extravagant assertions and misstatements about the dangers of Catholicism: Bible reading in schools, and the attitude of the Church thereto: and so forth. This elicited from Dr Polding, writing under the pseudonym of *Catholicus Ipse*,

¹ The full text of the Resolutions there passed, together with a Petition to the Governor, Sir R. Bourke, is given in Judge Burton's *Religion in New South Wales*, Appendix No. v., pp. xxxi-xxxv.

four very spirited and able letters addressed to the editor of the *Australian* newspaper, wherein he pulverises the arguments and statements adduced by his Protestant opponent. The matter and the manner of these controversial productions would make their perusal worth while; but as they refer to subjects of local and passing interest they must be sought in the pages of Dean Kenny's *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*¹ who adds: "he explained his own views on the vexed question of the fitness of the system of general education proposed to be introduced into the Colony by the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke. These letters show how vigorous was the mind of the gifted prelate at that time, and how capable he was of defending the dogmas of the Catholic faith, and protecting the interests of that portion of the Church which had been committed to his care."² We may here insert from Cardinal Moran's pages³ the first official return presented by Dr Polding to the Government, giving the authentic statistics regarding the Catholic Church in Australia in the year 1836.

"In Sydney there is one chapel at Hyde Park, capable of containing 2000 persons. It was generally attended on Sundays by a congregation of 1500 to 1800; there is one chaplain, Rev. J. M^cEncroe, with salary of £150.

"In Parramatta, Rev. J. Sumner, chaplain, £150; one church, capable of holding 500; ordinary congregation from 200 to 300.

"In Campbelltown, Rev. J. J. Therry, £150; church capable of holding 450; ordinary congregation, 250.

"In Windsor, Rev. J. V. Corcoran, £150; church being erected to contain 1000; ordinary congregation, 250.

"In Maitland, Rev. C. V. Dowling, £150; church accommodation 450; ordinary attendance, 250.

"In Wollongong, no chaplain; church capable of containing 250."

The particulars regarding schools were:

"In Sydney, Castlereagh Street, boys' school, 100 children, payment to teacher, £92; Castlereagh Street, girls' school, 95; teacher's payment, £85; Kent Street

¹ pp. 83-105.

² p. 108.

³ *History*, p. 190.

North, boys' school, 76; payment, £78; Kent Street North, girls' school, 45, payment, £50. Total children in Sydney schools: boys, 176; girls, 140.

"In Parramatta, boys, 50; payment, £50; girls 40; payment, £30.

"In Windsor, boys, 50; payment, £54; girls, 40; payment, £30.

"In Maitland, boys, 36; payment, £40; girls, 25; payment, £22.

"In Campbelltown, boys, 45; payment, £50; girls, 30; payment, £30.

"In Appin, boys, 25; payment, £18."

Internal administration, likewise, weighed heavily upon Dr Polding, and the questions that presented themselves for solution were, at times, complicated enough, as may be gathered from a letter written by him under date of 14th June 1837 to Dr Brown at Downside, a theologian of repute, showing that his anxieties as a guardian of morals could not have been slight. The actual cases propounded for Dr Brown's solution need not be given here, as they pertain to the domain of the confessional; and although, of course, no names or circumstances are mentioned which could have led even more than seventy years ago to an identification of the parties concerned, it is best not to appear, even remotely, to furnish what might be imagined by some not sufficiently instructed, as a violation of the seal of confession.

"Sydney, 14th June 1837.

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,—A considerable time has elapsed since I had the pleasure of addressing you. The space has been opportunely filled by the conversation of Mr Ullathorne from whom you have doubtlessly received full and particular accounts of our Mission as it was at the period of his departure. Since, I trust, progress has been made; whilst, however, the number of clergy is so small, we are chiefly occupied in keeping things together and in making preparations to extend our labours over a larger field when we shall have persons who will be on the spot to watch over and gather the harvest. The flying visits of the clergyman do little good in the way of permanent conversion. In one sense they do harm, in as much as the consciences of

individuals are made comfortable by this visit, and not unfrequently their bodies too. A dreadful propensity to drinking prevails; only raw burning spirit, unmitigated, is relished, and any cause or no cause sets these parties down, and there they sit as long as the money lasts. We have also much trouble with marriage cases. Many are out here whose wives or husbands are left at home; they care neither for perjury or anything else, provided they can have the sanction of a clergyman. For this end they forge and feign; and if they cannot deceive the Priest, why, they try the Parson [and] are too generally successful. Of course, I only speak of a certain proportionate number. I often wish I had you to consult and counsel with. I will mention one or two cases, in which let me have your opinion. . . .

“I wish also to consult you how far for the sake of peace a wife may join her husband, a Protestant, in prayer. I have always insisted on the strict separation which accords with the true spirit of the Apostle's injunction. In some cases I dread domestic strife will be the consequence. A husband is willing to say our Catholic prayers but purposely omits the Hail Mary, for instance, or again he will say such prayers as all may offer, without reference to belief. Bishop Hay has given an excellent instruction on this subject. Still, whilst the general principle must be maintained, I think there may be cases where toleration of a less evil may be endured to prevent a greater. For instance, in the Confessional, if the party did not mention the circumstance, you would not deem it necessary to interrogate. Being asked, what advice must you give? I recollect your mentioning the state of a Mrs N——, Mr D——'s sister; but the result of the enquiry she made respecting the line of duty she was to follow has escaped me. Many of our Catholics cannot see the impropriety of joining in prayer or kneeling down at the time others are at prayer. The Governor generally assembles his visitors for prayers previous to breakfast; it is a custom always observed; and Catholics before my arrival were in the habit of assisting and kneeling too. Being consulted, I told the party I could not sanction it.

“Restitution! ! Oh, the chapter of woe and wail! I formed conclusions heretofore which before practice I thought would save me a world of trouble. It will not do, Restitution must be made where possible. I receive large promises, but unfortunately few realised. It does, however, so happen that the greater part of the Penitents cannot fulfil this duty. We content ourselves with the disposition. . . . Gregory

will soon be *au fait* at his business. He is a good young man, very zealous; his health improves: he is capable of great fatigue, but he requires a good sleeping morning after his day's work. He attends the Benevolent Asylum, the last home of the helpless and destitute, and other public Institutions, with great assiduity, and has made to himself an honoured name amongst the people.

"How Scott will be amused when he hears that two of my mitres were stolen! The rogue was a man selected by Gregory and at his entreaty obtained by me especially—Paddy White. He had been sent out on a message and some one gave him a shilling: with this he regaled himself and returned *groggy*. Instead of coming to night prayers, he went upstairs, opened the box in which Mr G. had stowed away these mitres, and fitting them under his waistcoat to his breast, walked off to the town, and went to a hatter of the name of Lee. Lee at once saw they belonged to me, and kept the man in talk whilst he sent for a constable, by whom the man was lodged in the Watch House. He asked 6 guineas for them and said he had been commissioned by the mate of a vessel to sell them for him. One belonged to Cardinal Weld, and the other to poor Dr Slater. I wish you and Scott would come and occupy each one. Master Paddy is in prison, the police had him fast before I knew anything of the adventure. I suppose he will be sent to Norfolk Island for life unless I can obtain a mitigation of sentence. I fear Master Paddy had been planning this affair, for he had under pretext of sickness continued some previous days upstairs, and, I suspect, employed his time in examining and making the previous preparations.

"Mr Corcoran is the only clergyman who has been attacked, since we came, by Bushrangers. The man pretended to be the constable of the road and stood at his horse's head till a severe blow made him retreat. After their wont, another man came out of the Bush a few yards further on, and was treated in the same manner. Mr Corcoran was not known to be a priest, otherwise he would not have been attacked. Did you read his adventure with a most desperate character in the Curryjong, Armstrong, the terror of the country, who by his means was brought to justice. With this man he had frequent interviews: he begged him to desist his lawless habits. On Good Friday, at Armstrong's especial request, he met him, and then entreated for the sake of his Redeemer to give himself up. He promised to do so on the Wednesday following. The police, however, had received notice of

Mr Corcoran's movements : they watched him, and following at a distance met Mr Corcoran on his return, and by him were directed which way to go, on their promise not to take his life—a futile promise. They fell in with him, and whilst running off, after having snapped his pistol, was shot. He survived about half-an-hour. He called repeatedly for Mr Corcoran, who was sent for, but arrived too late. He was the chief of a lawless murdering gang, and had his headquarters in the Curryjong, a hilly district abounding with fastnesses, between the river and the Blue Mountains.

“These Blue Mountains about which Scott used to have his joke, as yet I have not crossed. The country undulates, the breadths of swelling land becoming gradually higher and larger as you recede from Sydney. At about 36 miles you reach the river Hawkesbury. Windsor is built on its banks, a beautiful picturesque site. From the other side you begin immediately to ascend and the Blue Mountains—Hills in England we should call them,—are, at their summit as it appears from that side in the distance of 10 miles or so. Their top is like the edge of high table land, here and there dipping, with one or two absurd breaks. They take their name from the blue haze in which they are generally seen from the vicinity of Sydney. Our roads are sometimes very good ; in wet weather almost impassable, owing to the large holes which remain in the places of the trees removed. We have however coaches *et omne id genus*. Travelling on horseback is now becoming fashionable. The weather is, at this our winter season, deemed delightful by most ; to me the hot season is more congenial ; our mornings and evenings are sometimes very cold ; in the middle of the day the heat is May heat. The vicissitudes of temperature are most sudden. I have scarcely ever experienced a heat of atmosphere overpowering, save in the hot wind, and this, I do assure you, is not pleasant. Next Baking-day put your hand in the oven when prepared for bread, and imagine yourself breathing and living in it, and you will have an idea of a hot wind. Keep the doors and windows closed in the direction of the wind and it will not molest. We have a clear spotless sky five days out of the six, indeed, fine weather becomes almost tedious from the monotonous succession. The thunderstorms as in all hot countries are very violent : the thunder has a very peculiar light crack, as it were, in its burst. Accidents do sometimes happen from the lightning, not more frequently nor more seldom than elsewhere.

"I have fitted up by means of the Australian funds the Chapel House for a School and Seminary on a small scale. As soon as Mr Lovat comes, whom Mr Ullathorne gives me reason to expect shortly, I shall open the Seminary. I did intend doing so long since, but I had not efficient means to carry it on; and a failure would have spread a fatal influence over many years. Two young men, one a convert, I send to Douay for a few years. I could not here give them that strict trial and continued attention required to bring persons of their age to the humility and other virtues of a religious life. The instance of unfortunate J. is not lost upon me. I have selected Douay because they will be there more secluded from the world than they could be at Downside or Ampleforth. They pay their own expenses, and by the time they have been duly instructed, professed, and ordained, I trust we shall have subjects prepared for the Noviciate, to whom they may impart the Benedictine spirit it will be my fervent prayer they may deeply imbibe.

"Once more, my dear friend, I congratulate you on the victory you have achieved over Tottenham. The "Discussion" I have read with great pleasure. The Appendix with greater, for it elucidates so well the most obscure of our mysteries. It is a mine of wealth. I wish it could be brought within the compass of a small price. A condensed statement of the arguments used by you on the subjects discussed, omitting Tottenham's sophistry and Lyon's profanity, would be of service. What bigotry and prejudice exist here, owing in great measure to political party. When this ceases, the former will disappear. When we have a sufficient number of clergy to instruct the people, I am certain, with the blessing of God, the beneficial effects of our Holy Religion will be universally acknowledged. To suppose that the cold forms of Protestantism can ever have effect on our abandoned population is absurd. Zeal amounting to enthusiasm is required. So long as Methodism does not come in, we have no rival to fear, and I doubt much whether Methodist Ministers would persevere long. Money is to be made more rapidly by tending the quadrupedal than the biped flock. Hence, most of those who come out here to preach the Gospel, sink into woolgrowers and herd feeders.

"Let me hear from you the first convenient hour you can spare: you were always a good letter-writer: I, never. Pray remember me to all my dear confreres; to good Dr Coombes, whom I often pray for, the only return I can make for his kindness. I have not heard of the poor fellow he

went over to Ilchester to visit since his departure from Sydney. Tell Mr Wilson one of his Bungay people came out by the last ship, and has been to his duties—an Irish pedlar. One of Mr Pope's congregation came some months since. He had been instructed by Tunstall, and lived where once the Chapel was at Beoley, I think; he had not been admitted to the Sacraments before he came out. We had one from Gloucester also, a tanner by trade, once in pretty good circumstances: many from Manchester and Liverpool. To these and to the far greater part the sentence of transportation in a spiritual sense is a blessing: in a temporary one it is the most grievous punishment than can befall a man. Remember me to Farnham Flower and Mrs F.—a glorious opening here for a medical man of skill and integrity: also to Mr Gillard—his friend, Mr Manning, is one of the most estimable, hospitable, kind-hearted men in the Colony. Captain Scobell's friend, Westmacott, has retired from the military service, and turned settler. He has a beautiful estate in the Illawarra. My love to confreres at Bath. Tell Mr Wilson Mr Cure has come up to Sydney from Van Diemen's Land, and is likely to make a great fortune in the curing of tobacco. Love to Scott and to all. Do not neglect my theological difficulties, and believe me yours most affectionately,

✠ J. B. POLDING." ¹

The reader will experience a sense of relief to learn that Paddy White did *not* find his way to Norfolk Island. Dr Ullathorne in his *Autobiography*² says that when the latter sent word to the Bishop of the attempted transaction: "A priest went to the shop, took possession of the mitre and the old man, and on his arrival at home he was saluted with general laughter. No more notice was taken of it. The old man worked on, but never heard the last of the mitre from his fellow-servants."

The reference to Father Corcoran, who had gone out to Australia in company with the Bishop, and his bushranging adventure, shows some of the dangers to which the clergy were at any time liable while on their solitary journeys from station to station. We may here record, in Dean Kenny's words that "The Mission towards the end of 1837, [to be

¹ D. A., J 418.

² p. 116.

the procession proceeded to the Catholic burying ground in the following order :

The Undertaker.
 The Medical Gentlemen.
 The Boys of St Mary's School.
 The Girls.
 A young man carrying a Cross covered with crape.
 Rev. Mr Gregory. Rev. Mr Sumner.
 The Body.
 Secretary, Treasurer and Committee of St Mary's Church.
 Lieut. Col. Woodhouse and Officers of H.M.'s 50th Regiment,
 followed by the Band, and such of the soldiers of the
 Regiment as are Catholics.
 Members of the Catholic Congregation.
 Private Friends of the Deceased.
 A large Train of Carriages.

“The procession, on reaching George Street, extended from the end of King Street as far as the Police Office, and the whole breadth of the street was occupied by persons accompanying the Rev. deceased to his last melancholy resting place, all of whom seemed to feel as for the loss of a dear friend.”—(*Sydney Gazette*, 9th Sept., 1837.)

We may here gather together from the Dean's pages various items of news connected with the progress of the Church under Dr Polding's fostering care.

On Sunday, 8th May 1836, Brothers Spencer and Gregory had been promoted to the diaconate; on the following day the Rev. Bede Sumner was ordained priest, the first ordained in the Colony. Immediately after this ordination Dr Polding had proceeded to Van Diemen's Land with Father Ullathorne, and thence the Vicar-General had taken ship direct for England. During the Bishop's absence and for some time after his return, the Rev. B. Spencer caused the Bishop much anxiety by the infirmities of his character. The following letter to Father Heptonstall sufficiently outlines the cause of trouble and the sequel, and is here given to show how very various were the matters, domestic and public, which occupied the valuable time of the Bishop.

In the same way, his official correspondence shows both

his solitudes and his character. Cardinal Moran's pages¹ give ample evidence of this in the examples printed by him. He does not indicate their source; but it may be presumed they are either from the originals, or from drafts in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Sydney.

To His Excellency the Governor.

"Sydney,
October 1837.

SIR,—The Rev. Mr Dowling, chaplain at Maitland, has represented to me that the commandant of the stockade at Harper's Hill would not permit the prisoners of the Crown to attend Divine Service when he visited that station in August last, alleging that he could not allow the men to attend on any other day but Sunday. Your Excellency is aware that it is impossible for the chaplains to attend the spiritual instruction of the several iron-gangs on the Sunday without an omission of the essential duty of performing Divine Service in the churches or chapels of their districts. At the same time instruction and Christian consolation of the unfortunate men condemned to the iron-gang is a duty of great importance. I have, therefore, the honour to solicit your Excellency to direct that all reasonable facilities shall be granted for the performance of spiritual duties when the Roman Catholic chaplains visit the stockades and that the men may be allowed to attend their ministry. I have the honour to be, etc.,

✠ J. B. POLDING."²

Dr Polding to Father Heptonstall,

"Sydney, 10th November 1837.

MY DEAR CONFRERE,—I send a letter for Mr Barber which you may read and forward: I do not recollect his new address.

"I am under the necessity of writing to you in consequence of the mischievous interference of Spencer. John Gorman sailed in the *Normahal*, as I before advised you. After being at sea, it was perceived that she was not sufficiently caulked in her upper works, and hence she returned to Sydney. The day after she came in I sent Mr M^eEncroe to see John and enquire if he wanted anything and if he were comfortable. Without speaking to me, Spencer also went. John wrote to

¹ *History*, 295-332.

² *Ibid.*, p. 296.

me requesting to be received again into my establishment, and asking forgiveness. This of course I should not think of doing. This on the Friday. On Sunday he came on shore, and in the afternoon called on me to say that he did not want to be received into my establishment, that he had many grievances to complain of. Since then I have not seen him. He went off to a Mr MacDermott's, a Protestant. I sent for him; he was refused me. Knowing that John had signed articles with the Captain, I did not object to the latter endeavouring to recover the boy by law. The articles were signed out of Port, and therefore are invalid, and it was arranged that the boy should sail in the vessel, I paying for his passage £20 more, that he might go as a passenger, which £20 I did intend to request you to use if the boy behaved well, for his benefit in London. As it is, I have finished with him and Spencer, too.

"That man took it into his head to interfere. He has caused a world of evil, in families, and degraded himself. Declaring to me that he was doing nothing, he was plotting and planning and caballing. I trust you will see him in London before many weeks.

"To him I attribute the loss John has sustained of his vocation. He was miserably jealous of Mr Gregory; he poisoned the boy's mind against him, and had recourse to mean and pitiful acts to gain his ends. I really do not recollect one unpleasantness which has not emanated from him.

"I hope Mr Ullathorne will be with me long ere this reaches you. Priests—Priests—Priests, our only want. You say nothing of Dr Baldacconi nor of yourself.

"My intention was not to have sent John by this vessel and hence I wrote the letter I enclose for Mr Jones which you can either deliver or not; but when I found that the boy's mind had been poisoned against me, that he wanted to stay in this wicked town,—worse to a young man than Gomorrah—that he had been decoyed to place himself under the protection of a Protestant in name, nothing in practice; whose brutal conduct to his first wife whom he married for her money, brought her to a premature grave; that he had been duly informed I had *no legal* authority over him, and all this was done in opposition to me, and by the management of Spencer, I deemed it my duty to get away the boy without delay. Do let me know by the first vessel after his arrival, that he is safe in the hands of his father, and I shall be happy. I expect you will have a fine spread of tales and misrepresentations. Forward me

such as you deem ought to be noticed ; but *cui bono* ?—a year must elapse before you receive an answer.

“Write to Downside, mon cher, a discreet letter, and tell all my friends they are so deep in my heart they cannot find the way to my pen. The Loughnans and Barnewalls and Bullers. Oh ! pray call on Mrs Webb Weston and give my best wishes. Mention that an elderly person, a servant, I believe, whom I have seen in her house as her servant, was at her confession some months since. I saw her on her landing : she was almost broken-hearted about her child, and I told her I would recommend her child to the care of her good mistress.

May God bless you for your kindness, and your *sheets of vacuity* : Send next time to old Nick to frank. By the bye, how very eloquent Fanny Tuite has become. He crows quite valiantly in his old age, in company with his little Bantam, Dr G. : how profane!!! It is very possible—may have contrived some scheme to delay the boy, so be not surprised if he do not come.”

[Unsigned.]¹

On 17th March 1837, Dr Polding had the happiness of raising to the priesthood Father H. G. Gregory, his faithful companion, and in future years, life-long confidant. This was the second ordination to the priesthood in Australia. The year 1837 ended with an event much deplored by the Catholics. Sir Richard Bourke's tenure of the Governorship, which had commenced in 1831, now came to a close by his resignation. His loss was greatly regretted by all classes of the Colonists, but by none more than by the Catholics for whom he had secured just treatment, and a proper recognition of their rights. Dr Polding and his clergy presented him with an address shortly before his departure, in which they eulogised his services in the cause of religious freedom and equality, in his successful efforts to reduce crime, and the high standard of public morality which he set. His reply was short but heartfelt and grateful. The text of both may be seen in Dean Kenny's pages.² Governor Bourke left the Colony on 5th December, 1837, a great concourse, including the clergy of the various denominations, accompany-

¹ *D. A.*, J 482.

² *Progress*, etc., pp. 112-114.

ing him from his residence to the place of embarkation.

"The Bishop was most anxious to see St Mary's Cathedral completed," says Dean Kenny; "he published a pastoral on the subject, and called a public meeting of the Catholics, which was held in the Cathedral on 10th July 1836. The pastoral was read at the meeting, which strongly urged the Catholics to exert themselves by subscribing towards the completion of the Cathedral."¹ These efforts were not allowed to slumber, and in March, 1838, an advertisement appeared in the *Australian*, stating that "a subscription list has been opened for the purpose of completing the plastering of St Mary's Church; the roof is now nearly finished, and on completion of the plastering, this spacious and handsome edifice will afford ample and convenient room to the large congregation of Christians who resort to this church." There followed a subscription list amounting to £57, headed by the Bishop, who gave £25.

Meanwhile, as a result of Dr Ullathorne's untiring efforts in Europe, the stress felt from the paucity of clergy began slowly to be lessened as the different priests whose services he had secured began to arrive. As Dean Kenny chronicles it:² "The first happy result of his endeavours was the arrival of two priests and two ecclesiastical students; they came in the *Upton Castle*, 24th February 1838, which ship brought the new Governor, Sir George Gipps; they were the Rev John Brady, an experienced and prudent priest, who had been for nineteen years a missionary in the Island of Bourbon;³ the other was a young priest, Rev James Gould, of the Order of St Augustine, lately ordained, who came direct from his Monastery in Italy, where he had prosecuted his studies. Dr Ullathorne first met him on the steps of St Augustine's Church in the Piazza del Popolo, at Rome, and induced him to labour on the Australian Mission." He became, eventually, Archbishop of Melbourne. "Messrs Farrelly and MacPhilip who accompanied them were not in

¹ *Progress*, etc., p. 115.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 121 seqq.

³ Mr Kenny says, by mistake, Mauritius.

Holy Orders, but had finished their classical studies, they were prepared to commence philosophy, and whilst studying logic, metaphysics, and theology under the learned president, they assisted by teaching in the Seminary. The senior priest, Rev John Brady, was appointed after a short time to Windsor. . . . The Rev James Gould remained for a considerable time in Sydney assisting the Rev. John M^eEncroe (whose duties were very arduous amongst the prison population). When the Vicar-General, Dr Ullathorne, returned to the Colony, he was appointed to Campbelltown."

We need not enter here into the old-world squabble over a letter written by Father Brady to expostulate with a bigoted Protestant for the manner in which he had refused him an alms towards a new church at Penrith. After nineteen years in a French-speaking colony he may be excused if he had partly forgotten his English, and made a few orthographical and grammatical blunders in his letter. This was ungenerously used to hold Father Brady up to ridicule as a "hedge priest" devoid of learning. A scathing defence appeared in the local paper over the pseudonym of *Erigena*; which, as Dr Ullathorne tells us, was by himself.¹

"To these libels I replied," he said. "But as the editors persevered in their attacks, an action was brought against them. One of the papers was ruined in consequence. The editor subsequently established a paper in Melbourne, and became a defender of the Catholic cause in that Colony."

On 15th July 1838, the barque *Cecilia* reached Sydney, having left Gravesend on 23rd March. It brought amongst its passengers Rev. Francis Murphy whom the Bishop retained in Sydney; Rev. John Rigney, who was sent to Wollongong; Rev. John Fitzpatrick, who proceeded to Goulburn; Rev. Michael Brennan who was stationed at Yass; Rev. John Lynch, who was put in charge of Patrick's Plains; Rev. Edmund Mahony, who went to Maitland; and the Revv. Michael O'Reilly, and Thomas Slattery, who were appointed to North and South Bathurst respectively.

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 158.

Besides these there were the following, to augment the ranks of the school teachers:—Mr and Mrs Davies, Mr and Mrs Hawkesley, Mr Brady, Miss Fisher, and Mr M^cGrane.

Dean Kenny preserves for us a specimen of colonial bigotry, evoked by these fresh additions to the forces at the command of Bishop Polding.

“The progress which the Catholic Church had made in the Colony in such a short time,” he writes,¹ “by the devotion and zeal of the Bishop and clergy, alarmed the illiberals . . . a sure index of the rabid party feeling towards the Roman Catholics may be found in the remarks which appeared . . . at that time . . . [in] the *Government Gazette*. ‘The *Cecilia* from London, has brought us eight additional Irish Roman Catholic priests, being the first fruits of Dr Ullathorne’s pamphlet, at a cost to the Colony, which he has calumniated and injured, to the extent of only £1200! We expect shortly to see the Colony swarming with these adventurous spirits, if, as in the present instance, our emigration fund is to be taxed with the payment of £150 to each priest for the purpose of defraying the expense of his passage and to give the gentleman an outfit—a system of robbery of which we shall say more on an early day.’” Dean Kenny then quotes as a set-off to the vindictive reference to Dr Ullathorne’s pamphlet “the words of a liberal and intelligent contemporary journal, wherein the editor writes that there is ‘not the slightest indication of that *malus animus*—of that personal vindictiveness, of that acerbity of temper which characterise the works of our other colonial slanderers. It breathes throughout rather a spirit of compassion for the religiously neglected prison population of his own, the Roman Catholic, community, and a feeling of sympathy for human suffering.’”

The two letters that follow show how these clergy were shaping to the work ahead of them; the sort of sudden calls to which they, like the Bishop, were subject, as also the dangers from bushrangers, snakes, etc., etc. They make interesting and instructive reading. They help us, too, to realise how his anxieties and responsibilities were added to rather than diminished.

¹ *Progress*, etc., p. 145.

"Wollongong, Illawarra,
Sunday, 28th January 1838.

MY DEAR DR BROWN,—I avail myself of a vacant hour to write to you. A vacant hour here is not often my portion: it might be more frequently, did I not, after my wont, sometimes procrastinate—a truce, however, to such observations. I was called here two days since to attend a dying man, about 15 miles distant, just 85 miles from Sydney—a comfortable ride for one day and a half. The man had fallen from his horse, half drunk and more than half frightened. When I arrived, I found him not at all likely to die from the effect of his accident. He had not been to his Confession for 17 years, and this good work we set about without further delay. I must return in two or three weeks to perfect it.

^aYou may judge from this what an active life a Missionary in this country has to pass. I ride to Sydney to-morrow—70 miles, and I think no more of it than formerly I did of returning from Bath to Downside, and I shall not be more tired. I live, when I travel, entirely on bread and tea, now and then an egg, nothing more; no wine, nor anything inebriating: and here is the secret—keep the body cool, and you may endure great fatigue without feeling it. We were under grievous misapprehension on this head before I left England. Mr Lovat, who lately joined us, is a great acquisition. He is much respected, and his services are most valuable as a preacher and confessor: his good conduct in everything is admired. He has been as far as Bathurst to visit the Hospital and to administer to the wants of the Catholics. About 70 persons went to Confession, a large number, I assure you. Oh! it is so difficult to bring these people to the sacred tribunal. Several couples presented themselves for marriage, alas! so circumstanced,—having wives and husbands at home,—that nothing could be done for them. Upwards of 40 children were baptised, the gatherings of the last six months. I have arranged to have this Township visited once each quarter till we have a clergyman to be stationed there. Only clergy are required to make this a Catholic country. There is a great cry-out amongst the Protestants, but little done. The harvest is indeed ripe. I trust you will use whatever influence you possess to persuade those you deem proper for this Mission to come out. They will be very happy if they have a sincere love for their state. But removed as they must be from the public eye, having intercourse with men coarse and addicted to vulgar habits,

prudence and steadiness are as necessary as zeal; and perseverance!! for the continuance of our duties is annoying to mere flesh and blood; to travel the live-long day, through immeasurable solitude, tedious from the monotonous character of the country; and to work upon characters indifferent to everything except money and drink—these are our *daily bread*, which sweetens wonderfully to the palate when a good intention receives the blessing of Heaven, and, whatever may be the vices of this people, you are consoled in their reverence for their clergy, and their extreme desire to attend Mass; for this purpose they will come cheerfully 20 miles or further. I will not say that other motives, not spiritual but spirituous, do not mix themselves up. The last time I came here, to my great dismay, for I had always had a good opinion of the *Illawarese*, I believe more than half of the people got drunk. This has not again happened. Apropos, the only time I have been molested on the road was on that occasion. I was returning to Wollongong after dark, in a broken-down cart gig with Gregory: he was leading the horse, and two soldiers came up to the gig and desired me to stop; a signal for going on; they were, however, within the hearing of some cottages before they could reach us, and they returned. On arriving at Wollongong, I desired Gregory with the servant and some other man to go after those soldiers; they continued their search till they reached the stockade. On mustering, two were missing; a sergeant went out to look after them. As Gregory and the servant were returning, these two soldiers sprang from under a bridge, and one seized Gregory's bridle. He hit him hard. The servant came up and knocked him down; the other surrendered, and soon after, both were marched to the stockade in the custody of the sergeant and handcuffed. The Magistrates were very pressing to proceed against them; this, however, would have essentially crippled our functions; so, after a considerable confinement, they were dismissed, no one appearing against them. They were doubtless lying in wait for some unfortunate individuals returning to the country from church. *Au reste*, this country is quite as safe as England, whatever reports may reach you. Many delinquencies take place in Sydney, in great measure owing to the horrible darkness of the streets. So truly is this the cause, that it is well known not *one half* of the thefts committed are perpetrated during the moonlit part of the month; add to this the wretched materials of which the Police is composed—the very refuse of other callings, when a

man can obtain no other employment, he goes into the Police. In the country depredations are sometimes committed by half-starved cruelly treated men on their tyrannical masters. In England, were a third of such treatment received, ten times worse consequences would ensue. Talk of reform and less of . . . of the Convict . . . the code of convict law is Draconian. Let us have a better race of masters and the reformation of this country will be speedily accomplished.

"This tract of country, called Illawarra, is extremely beautiful, more perceptibly so perhaps from its contrasting with other parts of the Colony. You may form some idea of it by imagining the Mendip range running somewhat in a horse-shoe form from the Channel which we must call the ocean, to some given distance, 80 miles, the bight being perhaps 10 miles from the ocean to the range. You travel on high table land till you come to the range, and you stand on the edge of a precipice upwards of 1500 feet high. Down this the late Governor has cut a winding road, very passable. The vegetation assumes, as soon as you descend, a tropical character. The cabbage tree, fern tree, nettle tree, with a length of leaf and strength of limb and tallness of stem, making everything that grows gigantic in its way. The line of range is extremely varied. Vast masses here and there detached, have formed very deep gullies and chasms, with hills and petty mountains between. In every part, magnificent timber and woodland scenery. You are prepared to enjoy the prospect by a ride of thirty miles over the bush—not a house nor vestige of cultivation in any direction. In coming this time I was terribly frightened. Jogging along, I did not perceive an immense black snake stretched across the path, till he was actually moving under my horse. I struck my spurs deep and sprang away. Their bite is death. It was upwards of 7 feet in length and about 8 or 9 inches in circumference. You must not imagine there are many such within the Colony. I have only seen four, one was larger than this; the others very small, three or four feet long. Every person makes it a point of duty to destroy them. I opened after the celebration of Mass—six went to their duties—a subscription for the erection of a school, and £46 were put down. A few pounds more will be sufficient, as Government will contribute an equal sum. The Master and Mistress I sent down at Christmas time have established their school. They have taken away from the Protestant School all the children except *two*, they have only 20.

The children are so scattered, they cannot come; for which reasons I am about to build a school, so that the children living at a distance may reside with the Master; 30 more at least will then come. Adieu, good night. I start in the morning for Sydney. God bless you and all Confreres.

✠ J. B. POLDING.

"Remember me to all neighbours, Mrs Gillard: Flowers: Scobell, who once saved from imprisonment a little rogue I have taken under my care; Sebastian . . . back yet from Bath. He was a little pet of M: iame de Sommary and Mrs Day. His father is a tailor who works I believe at Prior Park. The boy is well and good. Cooper, Wilson etc., etc."¹

"Sydney,
6th May 1838.

MY DEAR MR HEPTON,—I write one line—for positively I have not time to write more, to thank you for all your late communications—letters from my more than excellent V.G., whose pamphlet I have perused with singular pleasure. I send by H.M. *Buffalo* copies of the *Australian* containing a letter from a resident in New Zealand to myself, and which I desire you to forward to Mr Collier, as I know they are extremely anxious at Rome to have tidings of Mr Pompallier.² Messrs Brady and Goold are working admirably well; the former is with me engaged in clearing off a cargo of miners lately imported. Vraiment these priests in Ireland are hard to manage; formerly they sent us all their scabby sheep unwashed and unshorn; in other words not one prisoner in three had been attended in gaol. So we complained. Now they despatch the affair of preparing them for the Sacraments with an adroitness and an off-handedness which makes even us—old and clever practitioners—stare. We must complain again. Expect soon a long letter. Kind remembrances to all, ever affectly.,

✠ J. B. POLDING.

"That little lad, B—whom J. G. taught the mystery of picking locks, is now a regular thief. Our choir goes on prosperously. It is far superior to what it was under Mr

¹ *D. A.*, K 10.

² This letter was written by a Mr Thomas Poynton of Hokianga; the text may be seen in Dean Kenny's *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, pp. 131 seqq.

S——'s management. Apropos, Mr S—— has taken with him or put out of the way, a quantity of music arranged for the last festival. I cannot say how much he is censured by the musicians for this nonsense. To him it cannot be of any service; to us, of great. It has much injured him in the esteem of those by whom he wished to be deemed a badly used man."¹

It is to about this period that the following letter belongs. The reference to Fathers Brady and Goold fixes it. The next letters of 17th August and 27th September make it also clear that this one preceded them, and that the foundation stone of the church at Goulburn was laid, therefore, on 26th May, the feast of St Augustine, the Apostle of England. It seems worth while to clear up this point, as it would seem that Cardinal Moran considers the dedication to be to St Augustine of Hippo, Doctor of the Church.

[undated, but *circ.* 1838.]

"MY DEAR COUSIN AND CONFRERE,— . . . Messrs Brady and Goold have been now some time in their stations. The former on account of his zeal, piety, and fearless advocacy of the poor and friendless convict, has become the object of the most scurrilous vulgarity imaginable in the *Herald* and in the *Gazette*. I shall send you some numbers if I can, that you may inform our parliamentary friends that the instigation of a judge is not required to incite a set of reckless, irreligious wretches on fire against the Catholic clergy and people. All the moderate Protestants are perfectly disgusted with such goings-on. The *Gazette* has laid himself open to have the only sort of notice he will ever receive; notice has been sent him of action for charging Mr Brady with obtaining money under false pretences. . . . I have just returned from my first pastoral tour of extent. I was absent from Sydney four Sundays—the longest period since my arrival. I went to Yass on horseback, 190 miles, in five days, resting one at Goulburn (same horse). Here I laid the foundation stone of the Church of St Augustine on his feast day. Thence I proceeded beyond the limits of the Colony; then on, crossed at Mount Bowning (a native name) to Melora, about 20 miles where I held a

¹ *D. A.*, K 49.

station and blessed a Cemetery. A remarkable coincidence I will just mention. I walked out early to say my Office and to select an appropriate spot. At a small distance on the other side of the rising ground which I had ascended, I observed a tongue of land with water surrounding it, a pretty spot, which appeared well adapted for the solemn purpose. On mentioning my selection to Mr Fitzgerald, he remarked that that place had been chosen by the natives for the same purpose. I walked down to it, and there for the first time I saw the native graves. Their mode of burying is so far peculiar; they bind up the body into a lumpish form, and having dug with their sticks a hole sufficiently deep, they deposit it therein, placing large stones upon it, and over they erect a hillock. The spot may be a yard in diameter and a heap of earth over with a stick in it. The grave of a female is distinguished by the smaller size of the heap. As the natives had taken the lower range, I selected the higher for the same purpose. The country beyond the limits assumes a character very different from any part of the Colony I have seen. Range of hill rises after range, creeks intervening, now, in consequence of the long drought, entirely dry. Trees, tall and spreading like the ash, here and there, not dense, as in a forest. You may gallop without fear in any direction. You proceed entirely directed by marks in the distance: and gradually you acquire an instinctive knowledge of the *lay* of the country. I am said to have an excellent idea of Bush-travelling; and so I may conclude, when I hear of the woeful wanderings of other unhappy wights. Mr Goold has been out two or three nights. He left Yass about two weeks since at 11 a.m., and after journeying all day supposed he was at least 40 miles away, when lo! at 10 o'clock p.m. he found himself in the township again. From Melora I proceeded to regain the Port Phillip route. It is as well frequented as the road to Frome, but intersected by gaping creeks. How bullock drays get down, and when down how they get out, is puzzling. Travelling along this road about 20 miles I reached the Supon (?) Creek, and for the first time beheld the waters of the Murrumbidgee, a beautifully clear, English-looking stream. I cannot tell you the sensation with which I contemplated this river, the first I had seen meriting the name since I left England. All the inland waters I had before met were scarcely more than arms of the sea, retaining more or less the bluish tinge of the ocean. The ranges of hills widen as if to do homage and respect, and

the intervening space consists of the most fertile plains imaginable. . . ."¹

Hitherto Dr Polding has been presented to us by others, and by his own acts and words as a gentle, tender-hearted man, incapable of being roused to anger. Such natures, when at last moved, seem to discover strange depths of feeling little, if at all, suspected. When aroused, they are like a lion in the path, and, as a consequence of their former characteristics, the contrast is not only striking, but almost terrible in its intensity. We have now to deal with an occasion which thus goaded the usually placid prelate into vigorous action and relentless determination. The whole story may be seen in Appendix XV² of Judge Burton's *Religion in New South Wales*, also in Dean Kenny's *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*.³ Cardinal Moran dismisses the affair in eight lines—not more than the incident in itself, perhaps, deserves; but very inadequately in view of the stir it created at the time, and the consequences that resulted from it. The circumstances are these. On Thursday, 19th July 1838, was held the Anniversary Meeting of the Diocesan Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Mr Justice Willis, in the speech in which he moved the principal resolution of the meeting, deplored the passing of the Church Act which crippled their resources, discussed other matters, and then continued:

"This brings me to a point which, however unpleasant, I should not discharge my conscience were I not to allude to. It is this:—Many members of the Church of England in their zeal to disseminate God's Holy Word, have contributed to societies under the direction of sectaries, whose tenets and principles are opposed to those which their contributors profess. . . . If it be asked whether I consider no other doctrines lead to salvation but those only of the Established Church? I say, God forbid. But I feel convinced that the doctrines of our Church are the safest and best—therefore I profess them—therefore I assist in their pro-

¹ *D. A.*, K 107.

² pp. lxxxix-ciii.

³ pp. 135-144.

pagation—therefore I abstain from promulgating others. I believe the faith we profess to be the pure and Apostolic Faith handed down to us as the tradition of the Fathers, and that this tradition enables us to read the word of God aright. *I believe, that in what I conceive to be the undue assumption of spiritual power, the adoption of unauthorised traditions and idolatrous worship, the Church of Rome has greatly erred, etc."*

This insulting and calumnious statement aroused the keenest resentment amongst all the Catholics of the Colony. It was felt that with a man entertaining such sentiments, and publicly voicing them, they were not secure of impartiality, and that the offending Justice must be removed from the Bench at all costs. A public meeting was held at which Dr Polding presided, and the account of it is here given as printed by both Judge Burton and Dean Kenny, which appeared originally in the columns of the *Australian* of 31st July 1838.

"At the close of the service at St Mary's Cathedral, on Sunday last [29th July] a public meeting took place to take into consideration the best means of dispelling an error induced by a portion of the speech of his Honour Mr Justice Willis, delivered at a meeting of the Diocesan Committee, at the Old Court House, Castlereagh Street, on Thursday, the 19th instant, in which that gentleman attributed to the Roman Catholic community, '*idolatrous worship*,' and that they '*had departed from the pure Apostolic Faith*.'

"His Lordship the Bishop took the Chair, and was supported by the Roman Catholic Clergy, who took their seats on either side on the platform. The chapel was crowded by the laity, and on the business of the meeting being opened, the Bishop delivered the following address, premising that it might be remarked that several of the leading members of the lay community did not take an active part in the proceedings of this meeting. The reasons were so obvious and need not be specified; the meeting might be assured that they felt equally pained and aggrieved by reason of the slander thrown upon their religion, with any individual present."

"The Pastoral Address of John Bede, by Divine Providence, Bishop and Vicar-Apostolic of New South Wales and Van

Diemen's Land, to his beloved in Jesus Christ—the Rev Clergy and Laity of Sydney and its vicinity :—¹

“ St Paul has forewarned us that men will arise, speaking vain things, and the Royal Psalmist, in prophetic vision contemplating the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ and its assailants, exclaims ‘How have the nations raged and people meditated vain things against the Lord, and against his anointed?’ [Ps. 2.] In every age, in every place, the Church has experienced these predicted trials; and we could not expect that our Holy Faith would be planted unassailed and unmaligned within the limits of our jurisdiction in exception to the general law. Accordingly, we have had proof that ridicule and misinterpretation are the portion of the people of God. For party purposes the tenets of our religion have been made the topic of unjust comment unceasingly. It was vainly imagined we should become like unto those who thus slandered us. They have done these things and we are silent. We sought after peace and followed her paths, for we knew they were filled with pleasantness.

“ But, my beloved brethren in Jesus Christ, circumstances have recently occurred which compel us to depart from the silent unobtrusive course which we deemed most fitting our sacred ministry. Our blessed Redeemer endured all in silence till His Eternal Father's name was used by one high in station for party purposes. And St Paul, who prescribes patience and long-suffering, rebuked severely Elymas, who tried to prevent the right ways of the Lord in the Court of Sergius the Proconsul. [Acts. xiii.] In like manner we cannot permit calumnious expressions, which, proceeding from the pen or lips of ordinary men, might pass by, to escape unnoticed and

¹ Note in Judge Burton's *Religion in New South Wales*, p. xciii :—
 “The style assumed by the Bishop cannot fail to be noticed; by what authority is he *Bishop of New South Wales*, etc? certainly not by any authority of any King or Queen of England; It can be only of the Pope, and the assertion and acknowledgment of the title here assumed, amounts to an assertion and acknowledgment that the Pope has power to make a Bishop of New South Wales. He is in fact, it is believed, created by the Pope, Bishop of Hiero-Cæsarea; The Bishop in his ordinary style has been observed to drop the place of which he is Bishop, and to place a *comma* after the word Bishop, thus he would have written ‘John Bede, by Divine Providence Bishop, and Vicar Apostolic, etc.’ Here and elsewhere *the comma* is dropped, and he is styled Bishop of New South Wales, etc.”— which shows the captiousness of Judge Burton.

uncensured, when they come forth to the world impressed with a weight of authority, in itself entitled to the deepest respect. Our worship has been represented to the public as idolatrous by Mr Justice Willis. A grave charge this ! If true, it sweeps away from the fold of Christianity a large proportion of the inhabitants of this Colony, and with them four-fifths of the Christian world. Such an accusation is in itself so far beyond credibility that we might leave it, as we before observed, unnoticed, had it not been stated that it proceeded from a high source. We ourselves could not credit the report. Our sincere respect for the individual implicated, and regard for our beloved flock unjustly maligned, induced us to write to Mr Justice Willis, requesting to be informed whether the expressions imputed to him were correctly reported or not : to this request we received a reply by no means satisfactory.

“One from whose breast the reverential love of truth ought to scare away every unseemly prejudice : from whose lips no words unseasoned by discretion ought to proceed, has volunteered the conviction that our worship is ‘idolatrous.’ Have we not reason to feel aggrieved ?

“But since this charge of idolatrous worship has been brought against our holy religion, we deem ourselves called upon succinctly to expound those doctrines of the Church which ignorance or malice has usually selected to justify this most dreadful imputation.

“We premise first, that we enter our solemn protest against those who, differing from us in religious belief, arrogate to themselves a claim to interpret our doctrines. ‘Every Church,’ says a well-known Protestant author, ‘is the properest judge of its own doctrines and government.’ Secondly, we declare that God alone is the end of all religious worship. The Catholic Church holds, as the foundation of all religion, that our first duty is to believe that God is the Creator and Lord of all things, and to love Him with all the feelings and faculties of our souls ; to prostrate before Him all our mental and corporal powers ; attaching ourselves to Him by a continued service of faith, of confidence, and of love ; for He is the source of all good.

“Opposed to this duty is idolatrous worship, which consists in giving to any creature whatsoever that supreme adoration, honour, or worship, which is due only to Almighty God.

“Idolatrous worship, consequently, as being opposed to the first duty of man, the Catholic Church teaches to be one of the greatest crimes which can be committed against the

majesty of the one eternal God; and every sincere Christian must feel grievously injured by an imputation alike destructive of his faith and of his hope.

“For the Catholic Church, moreover, teaches that the fruition of God and the remission of sin are not attainable otherwise than in and by the merits of Jesus Christ, who, being God, became man, suffered and died in His Human Nature for the salvation of all mankind; that through His merits, gratuitously purchased for us, all may be saved; and that there is no other name under Heaven given to men, in which salvation may be obtained. All spiritual graces in this life, all happiness hereafter, must come to us through the merits of Jesus Christ.

“To God alone, therefore, do we offer the tribute of our supreme homage; in Jesus Christ alone, His blessed Son, do we rest the hope of our salvation.

“In contradiction to these our doctrines, it is said that we adore the elements of bread and wine in the Mass—that we adore the Virgin Mary—that we worship the Saints, and images of Christ and of the Saints.

“In the Mass we believe that after the consecration, the substance of bread and wine is no longer present, but only the appearances. In the Mass we do offer supreme adoration to Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom we believe to be truly, really, and substantially present, under the appearances only of bread and wine. Not indeed present according to that *sensible* manner and *visible* form of existence which He once assumed for our salvation, but after a *spiritualised* manner, and in a *sacramental* form, not exposed to the senses, nor to corporeal contingencies. Even as we believe the Divine Nature to have been truly present in Jesus Christ whilst He was visible on earth, though concealed; so in this, His sacramental form of existence, we believe Him to be truly present. The Divine and Human Nature being alike concealed, and their presence being known to us by His own unerring Word, which is the direct testimony of God. We adore, therefore, the Saviour in the Mass, as we would have adored Him in the stable of Bethlehem under the form of an infant, or on Calvary, under the appearance of a criminal dying upon the Cross; relying on the testimony of God manifested to us by prophecy and miracles. In the Mass we adore Jesus Christ, whom we believe to be present—whom we acknowledge to be truly God, the legitimate object of supreme adoration and love. The reality of the presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist may form a subject of

theological discussion. The adoration of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist is a necessary consequence of a belief in the reality of that presence. And we hold we have an equal right to draw our own conclusions from the words of sacred scripture in favour of the Real Presence, with those who deny it. They maintain a right of judging for themselves—this right we also maintain.

"Before we proceed to answer the other objections, it will be proper to remark to you, that the words—worship, honour, adoration, with several others, are terms in themselves relative and ambiguous, varying in their sense according to the nature of the object to which the act, by the term expressed, is directed, and according to the intention of him by whom they are used.¹ In Scripture we are commanded to honour God and to honour the king; children are commanded to honour their parents. Is it to be supposed that the honour due to the king or to parents is the same we owe to God? To God we owe supreme and sovereign honour, in which no created being can have any part. To the king we owe the highest civil honour. To parents children owe the honour of filial respect and obedience. Thus the words adoration and worship are used in the ancient liturgies to signify supreme homage, and also affection and respect.²

¹ How frequently is the former word to be met with in this

¹ Compare Prov., v. 9, and Exod. xx. 12., Deut. xxviii. 47 and 48.

² It would not be difficult to find innumerable words and phrases, which are applied to the most dissimilar acts, and the most varied circumstances, where no misunderstanding is occasioned, simply for this reason, mankind have agreed to use them for different purposes; and no one will call his neighbour to account for so using them, and taking them in one of their peculiar senses. It is the same with the Latin word, 'to adore,' of which the primary meaning was to place the hand to the mouth; it simply signifies to show a mark of respect by outward salutation. The term was later applied to supreme worship, but was applied also in the Church to other objects of respect; but in ordinary language, we no longer use it, except when speaking of God. It would be very unjust to hold us accountable for the word being found in those formulæ of devotion, which were instituted before these controversies arose, and when its meaning was so well understood, that no ambiguity could occur. And certainly they are not consistent, who quote against us those services in which we are said to adore the Cross, for they are taken from liturgies used in the very earliest ages of the Church.

sense in the language of poetry, or excited feeling. The latter, with perfect innocence, may be used in the same sentence in reference to God and to man. Thus, in the 1st Book of Chronicles, ch. xxix, v. 20, 'and all the Congregation blessed the Lord God of their Fathers, and bowed down their heads and *worshipped the Lord and the King.*' Here evidently the word worship is used to signify supreme homage to God and inferior worship to the king.¹

"Seeing therefore, that these terms are in themselves ambiguous, and that their sense is determined by the intention of the person by whom they are employed, surely, no arguments can be more unfair than those derived from the use of terms merely relative, and construed in a sense disavowed by those against whom such arguments are brought.

"We therefore declare the faith, which we have been taught from our infancy, when we state that we do not adore, nor worship, nor honour with the supreme adoration,—worship and honour due only to God,—any other than the one, living, true, and eternal God, the Creator of all things. Whatever may be the terms employed, we do not intend to express more than an *honour and respect infinitely inferior in kind, and infinitely inferior in degree* to this supreme homage. The honour we have in reference to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints is precisely the same in *kind* with the respect and honour we would pay *to our fellow creatures on earth*, whom we deem worthy of respect and honour.

"How unjust, therefore, to say that we offer idolatrous worship to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints! In like manner we renounce all divine worship and adoration of images and pictures, since we worship and adore God alone. Pictures, nevertheless, and especially the image of our crucified Redeemer, may be placed in our churches, to recall our wandering thoughts and to inflame our affections. What Christian can contemplate the image of his dying Saviour without veneration? It is a book to the unlearned; the Cross was the book of St Paul, from which he derived his knowledge. We venerate the Cross as a son respects the

¹ In the ancient liturgies of the Church, as in the Hebrew, Latin and Greek, the words adoration and worship are used in different senses to signify the supreme homage due to God alone, and also respect, honour, and affection. See in Hebrew, Prov. iii. 9; Exodus, xx. 1; Deut. xxviii. 47-48; and Psalms xcvi. 9; and 1 *alias* 3 Kings i. 23. In Greek, Gen. xxiv. 26 and Gen. xlix. 8. In Latin, *Adorare*. Psalm xxviii. 2; Genesis xxiii. 7.

image of his father,—a parent the picture of his child,—a friend that of a friend,—and to condemn the feeling which prompts this relative respect, would be to condemn the finest feelings of our nature : how unjust to stigmatise this veneration as *idolatrous worship* ! Neither do we adore the Saints. We believe in the Communion of Saints,—that the Church triumphant in Heaven is one in Christ with the Church militant on earth ; that although faith and hope are absorbed in the vision and fruition of God, charity never faileth. Hence we believe that the blessed, who have died in the Lord, pray for us, their fellow-members on earth, and that they rejoice in the conversion of the sinner. We believe that the departed parents, when happy with God, may pray for their children, even as the parent did pray whilst on earth. We believe that God may be favourably inclined to hear the petitions made by them in our behalf ; therefore we believe that it is *good* and *profitable* (not *necessary*) to desire their prayers. Can this manner of communication and invocation be more injurious to the merits and triumph of Christ, our only Mediator of Redemption, than it is for one Christian to beg the prayers of another ? Above all, can this be deemed *idolatrous worship* ?

“Should anyone demand a more explicit declaration against this most anti-Christian accusation, we most solemnly pronounce Anathema to him who commits idolatry, who prays to images, or worships them as gods. Anathema to him who believes the Blessed Virgin to be more than a creature ; who puts his trust in her more than in God. Anathema to the man who gives divine honour to any created thing, whether in Heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or who adores as God, any but the one, only, true and living God, to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever, Amen.”

“At the close of the address, His Lordship said, that having now touched upon the leading points of their faith, as connected with Mr Willis’s allusion, he would proceed to the business of the meeting, and he had to express his deep regret that he was called upon thus publicly to acknowledge how keenly they felt aggrieved at the unfounded and illiberal charge made against the Roman Catholic community generally by Mr Justice Willis.”

A series of resolutions were then put to the meeting, and carried unanimously, being proposed and seconded in very

able speeches, which it is needless here to reproduce: they may be seen, however, by the curious, fully reported in Dean Kenny's and Judge Burton's books.

The first resolution, proposed by the Rev. C. Lovat, and seconded by Mr Adam Wilson, was in these terms:—

“That valuing peace as the greatest of all temporal blessings, and believing its preservation to be a sacred duty, we have studiously avoided giving cause of offence to anyone upon the subject of religion which was given to man to be a bond of union with his fellow man. For the same reason, when our doctrines have been impugned or misrepresented, we have not answered railing for railing, and we fearlessly appeal in proof of this assertion to the authorities of the Colony, and our brethren of every religious denomination. We deem it criminal to bear false testimony against our neighbour; and we consider, that to charge any body of Christians with doctrines by them disavowed, is a false testimony; it is a calumny deepening in guilt in proportion to the numbers maligned, and to the odiousness of the doctrines imputed. We consider that the charge of idolatrous worship against any body of Christians is most odious, for it strikes at the very root of their faith and of their hope; it ranks them amongst the Heathen, their acknowledgement of the sole dependence on one God, the Creator of all things, is denied; their trust in the one Mediator between God and Man, our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is declared to be a lie; their fitness for civilised life, which, as the experience of past ages proves, can only rest on these primary doctrines, is questioned. Moreover, that this charge of Idolatrous Worship, first brought against the Catholic Church for the purpose of misleading the ignorant, and since resorted to, for the purpose of exciting party feeling and unholy prejudice, has been distinctly and repeatedly shown to have no foundation whatsoever in our belief or our practice.”

The second resolution, moved by the Rev. J. M^cEncroe, and seconded by Mr R. Murphy, was in these terms:—

“That this meeting cannot express in terms sufficiently strong, its sense of the conduct of Mr Justice Willis, who in a public meeting has declared that Roman Catholics, by reason of their idolatrous worship, have departed from, or greatly erred from, the pure Apostolic faith, an assertion

containing a wanton and unprovoked insult, imputing to a large proportion of his fellow citizens, inhabitants of this Colony, a practical doctrine which they hold in the utmost abhorrence; and that this declaration on the part of Mr Justice Willis, uncalled for by the circumstances of the meeting, and calculated to enkindle the flames of religious discord in this Colony, being direct evidence, that in his estimation we possess neither a moral nor a Christian character; we the Roman Catholics of Sydney and the Colony at large do hereby declare we can have no longer esteem for, nor confidence in him."

The third resolution, proposed by the Rev. J. M^oEncroe, on behalf of the Rev. H. G. Gregory in his absence, and seconded by Dr Burke, was :—

"That among the motives for this expression of our abhorrence of the imputed Idolatry, not the least is our desire to rescue from so gross a calumny our respected Protestant brethren, who have so liberally and generously contributed to the erection of this and other temples to be dedicated, not to the service of idols, but to the worship, in spirit and in truth, of the living God."

"It was then moved by the Rev. Mr Murphy, and seconded by Mr A. Ennis: 'That a copy of these resolutions be presented to His Excellency the Governor, with a request that they may be transmitted to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State'—carried unanimously.

"Mr Adam Wilson moved that the Bishop should leave, and that the Rev. Mr Murphy should take the Chair.

"The Rev. Mr Lovat moved—'That the thanks of this meeting be given to our revered Bishop for his zealous and dignified conduct, and for the honour he has done us in the Chair in presiding over this meeting.' The resolution was seconded by Captain Carter, and was carried unanimously.

"The Bishop addressed the meeting :—The proceedings of one of the most painful days of his existence had nearly come to a conclusion. They had been obliged to lay aside, for a short space, the unobtrusive and humble course they had always followed, to bring to the test of truth, what, if true, would debase them below the heathen nations, and render them a reproach to the name of Christians. They had met, and he hoped by their unqualified denial of the odious charge made against them, that they had removed from the minds of their brother Christians the odium which the

indiscreet avowal of a gentleman high in office, attached to them. Having done so, it was now their duty to fall back into their wonted course of quietude and charity, and it rested with them to show to their opponents the real beauty of religion, by the purity of their lives. He earnestly prayed his flock to preserve and cherish feelings of peace and goodwill towards their brethren of whatever denomination, regardless of the calumnies that might be thrown upon them either by unkind or ignorant persons, which would in the end meet their own refutation, and rebound upon the propagators. He entreated them to remember that, whatever difference existed in the forms of religion, there was one great commandment given to all, that they should love one another like brethren, and this they were bound to obey, however others neglected it. With these words he would dismiss them in peace.

"The meeting was conducted throughout with the most perfect order, not a word being uttered, except by the speakers, from the beginning to the end; and the Bishop having given his benediction, the meeting broke up as if nothing uncommon had occurred."

Dean Kenny, who was, of course, present on this important occasion, makes a comment on it which merits quotation here.

"This meeting was by no means uncalled-for," he says, "for it was necessary in order to dispel from the minds of Protestants the revolting prejudice that Catholics were guilty of idolatrous worship. Indeed, this branch of the Church Catholic would have been unworthy of the Faith had they not repelled with indignation such an odious charge made by one of the judges of the land; and it would seem that those who were present at the Protestant meeting (Bishop Broughton was in the chair) shared in the sentiments of Judge Willis; for not one rose to contradict his calumnious assertion; and the most influential members of the Church of England were at the meeting. The editor of the *Government Gazette*, in commenting on the meeting, stated that nine-tenths of the Church of England Colonists 'cordially acquiesced in the opinions of Judge Willis.'" ¹

Roderick Flanagan, the historian of New South Wales, ²

¹ *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, pp. 144-145.

² Vol. I., p. 528.

says that "similar meetings were held in all the principal towns of the Colony, and similar resolutions were adopted."

While Bishop Polding was counselling his flock to live in peace with their traducers, he had no intention of allowing the matter to rest there, however, with the passing of resolutions merely, however strong. He felt that drastic action should be taken that would secure Catholics once for all from any repetition of a like offence. Judge Willis had forfeited the respect and confidence of the Catholic body: they had no mind to submit their causes to a judgment proved so biased: he must *go*. Even the Governor, Sir George Gipps, admitted to Mr Plunkett that the Judge's conduct had been most indiscreet. Bishop Polding's summing up of the situation was correct: "the decision on this case will either attach or detach the affections of the people to the Government. If they uphold Willis, good-bye to peace and union for many a long day. Remove him, and we shall never again be disturbed." The Bishop felt so strongly that on the cast of this die the whole future so largely depended, that his orders to Father Heptonstall were: "Spare no expense, no trouble; oust Willis, and you will save us folios of controversy." As a result, the services of Judge Willis were transferred to Melbourne, and he was finally removed from the Bench in 1843, "the superintendent having officially reported that he did not possess the confidence of the public. The specific grounds of the complaints urged against him were, want of dignity and a petulance unbecoming a judge. For a considerable period the records of the proceedings in the court at Melbourne contained accounts of the most unseemly, and sometimes ludicrous, disputes between the judge and members of the legal profession practising in the court."¹ Thus the sequel more than justified Bishop Polding's strong action. Justice Willis died in England in 1877.

"Sydney, 17th August, [1838].

MY DEAR MR HEPTONSTALL,—I must write to you a very different sort of letter from that which you would wish to

¹ Flanagan, *Hist. of N. S. W.*, vol. II., p. 58.

receive or I to send. You will perceive that we are engaged in a struggle against the High Church party, which, if it successfully terminate, will ensure our peace. For this end, we must calculate on strenuous co-operation at home. Without this our Resolutions here will be of little avail. This Justice Willis is brother to the parson of Bath whom Dr Ullathorne took in hand some time since. Personally, we were great friends till this rencontre. I did not notice the obnoxious speech till application was made to me. Respectable Catholics had been taunted in the street, and it was considered highly necessary to put a stop to this wholesale calumny. Wherefore I wrote to Judge Willis to ascertain whether the report was correct or not? In reply, he gave an evasive answer, to the effect that he did not doubt that the words by him used were the following: "I believe that by idolatrous worship the Church of Rome hath greatly erred," in which the offensive expression is retained, but somewhat screened by a form which does not harmonise with the remainder of the speech. Official persons who were present on the occasion declare that the expressions used by Judge Willis were much more offensive; that he called us idolaters. As I had apprised him that I wrote in the name of the Catholic community, I deemed this answer in mode and substance a repetition of the insult, and sent back his note under cover to him and took measures for the public meetings. The proceedings of the meeting with the Resolution I send to you, and I do hope O'Connell and Shiel and Howard—all our members—will interest themselves. If Colonel Vernon was dismissed the Magistracy for an obnoxious taunt, surely a judge who is so indiscreet as to declare that he believes the larger portion of the Christian world, a very great proportion of this Colony, not to be better than heathens, ought not to be permitted to occupy a judicial situation. He is, in fact, a mere tool in the hands of the High Church party. His brother-judge Burton is ten times worse as an intolerant, but infinitely more cunning. They have been endeavouring to introduce the Gaol Act here, which would place all the gaols under the sole control, as regards spiritual matters, of the Protestant chaplains; he has been enquiring whether the Emancipation Act is in force here or not; in a word, had not Providence helped us with a most excellent Attorney-General, Mr Plunkett, whose name you have often heard from Mr Ullathorne, I do not know what would become of us. I send you a letter explanatory of the circumstances in which the meeting was

held, which I intend for Philip Howard. I shall also send a number of sheets signed by me, and you can have the same re-copied, if it be deemed prudent, and with a copy of the Report, sent to those Members of Parliament and other influential persons to whom it will be advisable to do so. This letter was in the first instance intended for Lord Glenelg, but I was dissuaded from sending it to him by Mr Therry. He thinks the better plan is to place the circumstances within the knowledge of the parties who may be pleased to interest themselves for us.

"I have only to add that the line adopted by the Catholic Body has received the approbation of all classes of the community here, with the exception of the rabid party represented by the *Herald*, copies of which I send you. The Governor told Mr Plunkett that he considered the conduct of Judge Willis to be extremely indiscreet; indeed, he is not a man fit for his situation, and his removal from the Bench will be a blessing in more senses than one to this Colony. Of course you will charge to my account whatever expense may be incurred in re-copying my letter, or in any other way.

"You will perceive that this is a subject of the greatest importance to our future peace. I do not believe that even in the worst days of Orange ascendancy in Ireland, any judge ever attended a public meeting to deliver himself of sentiments so offensive. He has incurred the censure of all the dissenters by his sweeping condemnation of them. . . .

"I send you copies of my letters to the Governor requesting the transmission of Resolutions, etc., to Lord Glenelg.

Copy of answer to address by the late Governor.

Copy of a letter explanatory of the causes which have induced the R. C. Body to assemble on this occasion—these two last perhaps might be advantageously printed.

Copies of Justice Willis's speech.

Reports of Proceedings.

"MY DEAR HEP.,—You must move heaven and earth in this business. See Philip Howard and devise the best plan of success. You may open, if you think fit, the various letters I have addressed. Philip must not be content with vague expressions. *He must see the letter which is to be sent out here, and, if possible, obtain a copy of it, otherwise the people of the Colonial Office will trick him.* They will say one thing and write another. Now it is not to be supposed that the feelings of the people are to be trifled with. I may say with perfect sincerity and truth that the decision on this case

will either attach or detach the affections of the people to the Government. If they uphold Willis, good-bye to peace and union for many a long day. Remove him and we shall never again be disturbed. Voilà tout. Willis has placed his case in the hands of the Earl of Winchelsea, who is to bring my *insolence* under the notice of the House of Lords.

"Spare no expense, no trouble ; oust Willis, and you will save us folios of controversy. I have no time to write till I return from Yass. By the *Cecilia* I hope to send a canoe from New Zealand, and armour. I send some tails of the Lyre-tailed Pheasant—give them to whom you please ; only one to Miss Haedy, and another to Mrs Knight. God bless you and give you success. Yours most affectionately,

✠ J. B. POLDING."¹

Such disputes and wrangles, however,—as they were not the first, so they would not be the last,—were not congenial to Dr Polding: his bent was for real missionary work, hunting for strayed sheep, that he might bring them back to the fold ; in this, imitating, as a Bishop should, his Divine Master, the Good Shepherd. We see Dr Polding, then, at his best, when he is describing one of his constant long journeys into the interior, resourceful in the unexpected yet ever to be expected *contretemps* incidental to and inseparable from travel in unsettled regions. Such information do we get from the accompanying letter to Dr Brown, together with some of the subsequent developments of the Willis insult. We learn, by the way, that the Judge "brother to the man of Bath [Rev Wm. Downes Willis] whom Dr Ullathorne drubbed so unmercifully last year."

"Sydney, 27th September 1838.

DEAR DR BROWN,— . . . Since your favour came to hand (of Feby. 26th) I have been incessantly engaged in surveying the Districts assigned to the spiritual care of the good priests Almighty God was pleased to send us. I only returned a week since from an excursion of a month, during which I went far beyond the limits of the Colony, and rode upwards of 900 miles. Previously I had been to Maitland, about 80 miles to the north. To save time I submitted to the horrors

¹ *D. A.*, K 90.

of steam navigation. I started on the Saturday evening, in the full expectation of reaching in time for Mass at 11; however when we arrived at Newcastle, at the mouth of the Hunter, on which river Maitland is situated—70 miles up—it was eight o'clock, and I learned that the steamer would not reach before two or later. A gent had a little pony on board which he kindly lent me, and I trotted off from Newcastle by land—The distance is only 26 miles; I arrived in time to celebrate Mass at 11. The road lies along a sandy flat; and being now little used by reason of the steam communication, is much overgrown by bush and scrub. The lands in the distance rise gently and undulate on the horizon; here and there you have a magnificent sweep of the river, which may be 200 yards wide for the first 30 miles of its course near the sea, but afterwards contracts rapidly. Our church at Maitland will be, when finished, a pretty building about 70 feet by 25, and high in proportion. It has the fault so common in buildings in this country,—too many windows. No allowance is made for the greater intenseness of our light. Maitland stands on a large extent of ground. In one part there is some consecutiveness of building—an approach towards a street. This, which is the principal part, is about the size of Midsomer Norton, on an alluvial flat. The land on each side of the river is, for many miles, of the richest quality. Here I have stationed Messrs Mahony and Lynch. Their district extends towards the north some hundreds of miles. I had not time then to visit the district; I propose doing so in the course of some months. On my return from Maitland, my attention was drawn to the conduct of one of our judges, Mr Willis, brother to the man of Bath whom Dr Ullathorne drubbed so unmercifully last year. Ever since the passing of the Church Act, which placed all religious denominations on an equal footing, there has been in the Tory party a continued itching to resume or retain the name of Established Church as appertaining to the Church of England existing here. This claim Willis put forth very prominently, at a recent meeting of the so-called Diocesan Meeting. Not content with this, he bespattered Catholics and Presbyterians without mercy; charged us with idolatrous worship. It was thought highly improper to let this pass unnoticed. Accordingly I wrote to the Judge, who, in his reply, owned to the truth of the charge. Accordingly, the Sunday after, a Public Meeting was held, and Resolutions, expressive of our withdrawal of esteem and confidence, passed. This was a blow for which

the party was altogether unprepared. Its organs, the *Herald* and the *Gazette* became charged with the most scurrilous abuse of me and of the clergy. The Judge sought redress from the Governor, who plainly told him he would not risk the popularity of his Government by defending him when, as he thought, he had most unwarrantably travelled out of his way to attack the Catholic Body. He applied to the Attorney General to prosecute me for bringing him into contempt. The Attorney General said he must first be informed under what statute or law he was to proceed. So the matter rests here. The proceedings have caused a great sensation and have been cordially approved by all the respectable Protestants, who dislike the bigotry of this Tory party. No member of Government will again insult us, especially, as I sincerely trust, if our good friends to whom I have written succeed in obtaining the removal of this most obnoxious Judge. He is not fit for his place. He has not the respect of the Bar nor the confidence of the people. He is a mere tool and puppet in the hands of Judge Burton,—another deeply-imbued bigot—and of his party. By that party he was put forward on the occasion alluded to. Really I do not recollect that even in unhappy Ireland at the time when Orangeism triumphed, that ever a judge so far forgot his place and the semblance of good feeling as to insult the Catholics after the fashion of Judge Willis; and after the removal of Col. Vernon for a toast which might give umbrage, from the magistracy, we have reason to hope Judge Willis whose offence was far greater, will not be permitted to sit on the Bench for which he is not fitted, and to have in his keeping our lives and property and fair names, when we have declared that we have had just reason to withdraw our confidence from him. Use your influence with all your parliamentary friends for this purpose. Before this rencontre the Judge and I were very civil towards each other; since, we have not met.

“My seminary consists of five ecclesiastics; four studying Divinity, one Philosophy; eight boarders, and eight day scholars! All the first are supported by my own funds at present, and notwithstanding all my care, without assistance I must get into debt, or break up my little establishment. This would grieve me much. I have struggled hard; all my savings have gone to its support. This has been indeed a hard year for me; so many recent arrivals of clergy, all of whom I have had to assist, not only by having them in my house, some for many weeks, whilst I was preparing places

for them; but also with money. *Dominus providebit.* The country is swarming with hungry Scotch pedagogues who are opening their *soi-disant* schools in every part of this town and country. I do not believe there is a more happy establishment than mine at present. The boys of all classes in our variegated community live each as brothers; all is harmony and peace. What a striking contrast from the years preceding! Whilst S—— and John were with me, I had not one week of comfort; always some discontent or dissension. . . Ships are daily arriving with emigrants from all quarters: yesterday two persons from Wardour called upon me . . .”

✠ J. B. POLDING.”¹

The end of 1838 was approaching; and, with it, the Bishop was awaiting the arrival of Dr Ullathorne and more recruits for the labours of the Mission. In the following letter we learn about his hopes and expectations so soon to be realised; about the foundation now made in Norfolk Island, and lastly some news from Bishop Pompallier in New Zealand. He had arrived in Sydney on 8th December, 1837, with one priest and a Marist lay-brother, and had been hospitably received and entertained as his guest for six weeks by Dr Polding, before proceeding to his destination.

“Sydney,

28th December 1838.

DEAR MR HEPTONSTALL,— . . . I must defer till the next vessel the many letters I have to send to England. Unless I sit up all night, it is impossible for me to keep up the correspondence I have. Since the departure of Mr M'Encroe I have to write all the official correspondence myself; prepare it, I mean; and now my clergy, thanks to an all merciful God, are pretty numerous. Dr Broughton has a secretary paid, one of the remnants of the ancient regime. I wish I had one. When my Vicar-General returns I shall do very well.

“The *Francis Spaight*, the vessel in which I expect Messrs Geoghegan and Marum, has arrived at last at Hobart Town. We hear the good Sisters have selected the *Alfred*, and that Dr Ullathorne could not accompany them. I scarcely believe this. Marshall's agent is my authority. I have

¹ D. A., K 104.

selected a house for them at Parramatta near the Church, near the School House, the best of the kind in the Colony, and near the Factory. It is not the thing I could wish it to be, but the best to be found. Rent is £50 per annum. I do hope that Dr Ullathorne has obtained an order or recommendation from Lord Glenelg that their services are to be used in the Factory: without this I fear we shall have some difficulties. Lady Gipps has taken upon herself the superintendence of the ladies therein confined, and it is said that they are much improved. She certainly has introduced some alterations for the better. But I anticipate that my good Vicar-General who has managed things so well, has taken the requisite precautions on this head. How they will be supported is a secret to me in the bosom of Providence not made known, but this is certain, that we will want bread ourselves before they are without the comforts of life. Messrs M^eEncroe and Gregory have written from Norfolk Island. They reached after a tedious navigation of 17 days. They propose building a church. They have obtained a place of separate interment for the Catholics, and also gardens in the most beautiful part of the Island. They are on the best terms with all the officers, kindly received by all except by Mr Sharpe, the Parson. Mr Harding remains as Catechist. Great improvement is anticipated amongst the prisoners. I have lately heard from my good friend Bishop Pompallier, by the French ship *La Venus*. Religion is making rapid progress. The two principal chiefs are Catholics, and a Princess has received with the greatest piety the most Holy Communion. About 3000 are preparing and are most anxious to receive Baptism. The good Bishop cries aloud for help; particularly he desires to have an English priest; but where is he to be obtained? He is well in health. Dr Broughton left Sydney some weeks since to visit Norfolk Island and New Zealand. This latter is not within his jurisdiction: I presume he is gone on the part of one of the Societies at home who carry on their humbug of conversion. . . . Most affectly. your obliged confrere,

✠ J. B. P."¹

Dr Ullathorne records in his *Autobiography*² that "On 31st December 1838, we reached Sydney, having been five months and a half on the voyage . . . when the Sisters

¹ *D. A.*, K 145.

² p. 148.

were lowered into the boat by a suspended chair to reach the land, all the men spontaneously arranged themselves along the bulwarks, to show their respect and address them in a low voice in the words: 'God bless you, ladies!'"

In the *Australian* of Tuesday, 1st January 1839, appeared the following announcement:

"December 31, 1838.—Arrived, the *Francis Spaight*: Sayers, master, with merchandise. Left London August 23. Passengers: the Rev. Dr Ullathorne, Roman Catholic Vicar-General; the Rev. Messrs P. B. Geoghehan, Richard Marum, and Thomas Butler, Roman Catholic clergymen; Mrs Cahil, Mrs O'Brian, Mrs Callen, Mrs de Lacy, and Miss Williams, Sisters of Charity; Messrs J. Dunphy, P. Magennis, and J. Grant, ecclesiastical students."

Dr Polding's delight was of course unbounded; writing to Father Heptonstall on 12th January 1839, he says:

"MY DEAR CONFRERE,—I sit down literally at the eleventh hour to write to you. Prison ships, male and female, have crowded so closely upon us of late, that I have not had time, scarcely, for any other objects. Dr Ullathorne, with his companions and the good Sisters of Charity, arrived on the last day in the year—a happy termination to it. As I was proceeding from my house about 7.30 in the morning to the church, I observed a vessel sailing up the harbour, sails set in glorious style, and I remarked: 'that vessel contains a goodly freight,' alluding in joke to that which proved to be the reality. About an hour after, I was gratified, having at my feet my good Vicar-General, after all his labour, anxieties, and travels. I perceived he looked pale and careworn; nor can I be surprised at this, having such a convoy under his protection. In fact, a sort of collapse has taken place after all his exertions, and I have deemed it proper to have him under medical treatment. I have no doubt that a very short time will restore him to perfect health. The Sisters have remained with me; their house at Parramatta not being yet prepared for them. To tell the truth, they arrived a full fortnight before I expected them; and though fortunately I had taken a house, it was not fit to receive them. In two days, however, I expect they will proceed to their new Convent. Within the week after landing they were formed into a religious community, the Rev. Mother being appointed, and the different offices filled up under my obedience. They

appear so happy and cheerful, I shall feel quite a loss when they leave me. This, however, must be done as soon as possible, and, I expect, within the two next days. The good they will do here is immense, and they are excited to commence. . . ."¹

We may close this long chapter with the record of the thanksgiving devoutly offered up, first by those who had safely reached their destination after the perils of their long voyage; secondly, of the Catholics of the Colony at the return of Dr Ullathorne, and at the arrival of the first religious women to set foot on Australian soil. Dean Kenny² records that, at the time, the press made the following remarks: "On New Year's Day, High Mass was celebrated in St Mary's Cathedral, when the newly-arrived priests and Sisters of Charity attended at the altar. The Cathedral was crowded to see the installation of the priests, and, no doubt, partly from curiosity to see the veiled Sisters who have ventured so far from their homes for the purpose of contributing to the religious instruction of their fellow creatures."

¹ *D. A.*, K 158.

² *Progress*, etc., p. 148.

CHAPTER IX

DR ULLATHORNE'S LABOURS DURING HIS VISIT TO EUROPE 1837-1838

It has already been stated that Dr Polding determined to send his Vicar-General, Father Ullathorne, to England to beat up recruits and to collect money, and, generally, to forward the interests of the Vicariate. With this object, as he stated before the parliamentary Commission, he left Sydney in June 1836, first accompanying his Bishop to Hobart Town, and thence starting the long voyage to England, which he reached towards the end of that year. He set foot in Sydney once more on the last day of the year 1838, being thus absent from the Australian Mission for two years and a half. In giving the story of Norfolk Island, some part of his work in Europe had necessarily to be touched upon—a part, too, fraught with important consequences as to the future development of the Colony. Here we may treat more in detail of his various plans and schemes, drawn partly from his Autobiography, partly from letters that have been preserved. On the long voyage home, he tells us he “contrived to make a sort of retreat,” and he “also wrote some chapters on the convict system, which afterwards proved of use.”¹ What use he put these notes to, he tells us in a subsequent chapter.² “One of the first things I did in England was to publish in pamphlet form, the *Catholic Mission in Australasia*,” to whose pages any writer on Australian ecclesiastical history must perforce turn, and from which so much has been quoted in this volume. “This at once awakened,” he says, “a warm interest in the

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 121.

² p. 133.

missionary work of that remote country. Several English priests offered themselves for the work, but their Bishops could not spare them." This must ever be a subject of keen regret, as indeed it was both to Dr Ullathorne and to Bishop Polding, for they were in consequence forced against their own better judgment to look elsewhere for their supply of priests, with results in many cases far from satisfactory. "Besides publishing five editions of that pamphlet, I took to lecturing on the same subject, and generous contributions flowed into my hands." News of his return quickly reached Rome, and Father B. Collier writing to Father Jenkins under date 9th January 1837, from that city, said:—" . . . Mr Ullathorne I understand is in England. Cardinal Weld is anxious that he should come hither to Rome to give an account personally of the Mission in N. S. Wales; and I am no less desirous that he should do so, if he be not deterred by the expense of the journey."¹

Dr Ullathorne likewise says that the occasion of his going to Rome "was a letter received from Cardinal Weld, requesting me to go to Rome and make a report to the Holy See, on the Mission of Australia." The following letter indicates that already he had secured one priest for immediate departure to Australia; that he was in treaty with the Colonial Secretary for further official help; and that, acting in concert with his Bishop, the plans for establishing a properly constituted monastic body in Australia were taking definite shape after the experience of a few years, and that both saw that the only chance of ultimate success lay in the direction of a semi-severance of the direct dependence on superiors in England, owing to the difficulties of securing effective government at so great a distance from the centre of authority. We learn from the official correspondence, of the appointment of the Rev C. Lovat to a Government Chaplaincy; the reader will recall that priest's name in Dr Ullathorne's letters from Rome. This letter is interesting as showing that Dr Polding's English agents, Father Barber and Father

¹ *D. A.*, I 361.

Heptonstall, were, on their part, doing what in them lay, to further the interests of the Australian Church.

Appendix to Report from the Select Committee on Transportation.
App. A. No. 15.

Lord Glenelg to Sir R. Bourke, K. C. B.

“Downing Street, 15th April 1837.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you, that the Rev Charles Lovat, having produced satisfactory testimonials, signed by Rev L. B. Barber, acting in the capacity of Vicar-General in England to the Rev Dr Polding, as to his fitness to fill the office of minister in the Roman Catholic Church in New South Wales, I have authorised the issue to him of the usual allowance of £150 for his outfit and passage.

I have etc.

GLENELG.”

Dr Ullathorne to Dr Brown.

“London, 23 Golden Square,
27th February 1837.

MY VERY DEAR CONFRERE,—I write to you for the purpose, principally, of saying that I believe I shall start for Rome next Monday. I think it, from every reason, advisable to go there, before going to Ireland. It is, I believe, my duty to look everywhere else for subjects first, before looking into Ireland; then I must, of necessity, fill up my numbers. Unless I start immediately, I shall be unable to move until after Easter, which would be a great loss of time. I received a letter from my Bishop last Monday, dated 12th August; he cries out loudly for immediate help, and says that all he can do now is to keep religion from being extinguished. Religious politics still run very high in N. S. Wales, but Dr Broughton has already offended the Dissenters by his exclusive principles.

“I have written to Mr Lovat to hold himself in readiness to start in a week or two for Sydney, and am expecting a communication from Mr Whitaker and his superior. Dr Baldacconi makes no secret now of his intentions, and proposes, if possible, to meet me in Rome after Easter. If you can assist me at Rome, by advice, letters, or otherwise, I shall be grateful. I saw Lord Glenelg on Friday. Lord Stourton wrote me a very kind and pretty note, for the purpose of being shown to the Colonial Secretary, who is

evidently afraid of committing himself, on one side by establishing a precedent, and on the other by involving himself with the Catholic members of the Legislative. I am to have a definite answer in a few days in writing. I have not yet received intelligence if the votes for our clergy have passed the N. S. Wales Council, but have applied for two, in addition to the Norfolk Island case, on the ground of existing vacancies.

"On the proposed connection between our Body in England and Australia, on mature deliberation, it appears to me, as also to Mr Barber, impossible to have a practical connection of *Government* between the two countries, considering that the space of twelve months must be allowed for any mutual communication. Reverse the case: put yourself in our position; suppose the source of authority to be Australia, and England a province, you will at once, without my expanding the circumstances of the case, see the difficulty of anything like a practical exercise of authority, even in cases of appeal, and how much it must enfeeble and weaken the confidence of local authority. How difficult, again, for you in England, in Chapter or elsewhere, to reach the real merits of any of our circumstances. It appears to me, then, as also to Mr Barber, that a filiation, with its own internal structure of government, the Bishop Provincial, with due checks, is the only feasible and prudential plan. Its value to Australia would be unquestionable, and the sacrifice would be all on your side; but this would not be much greater than has already been made, and the very essence of religion is sacrifice. I think, with Mr Heptonstall to co-operate, I could arrange this, and bring it satisfactorily about; it would, of course, require a mutual understanding; in the first instance, between Dr Polding and the Body, before any sanction were applied for. You will be kind enough to consider all I have to say on this subject, as far as my name is considered, for my position is a delicate one, as strictly confidential.

"Mr Barber has written to Mr Heptonstall on the subject of his going out; he says he is willing to yield a passive acquiescence, admitting, however, that his going would contribute to his own comfort as well as to Dr Polding's. Mr Heptonstall intends, I believe, to write to you on that subject. I am confident, I speak again to your confidence, that our government will not be solid and stable, without such a person as Mr Heptonstall, and that the individual good he may do is not the principal advantage which would attend

the sacrificing his services in England. It is the principal and the *sine qua non* condition of our being able to establish a regular body in Australia, hence my yearning anxiety on the subject, and the earnestness with which I obtrude myself on your charity to assist me in this great work for the exaltation of the Church and the glory of our holy religion.

"I would, could I, give a great deal for this one object; as it is, I can only give my anxiety. You know why I cannot communicate myself with the President with any degree of security on the subject, or I would. Pray remember me to all good confreres, and believe me to be very affectionately and fraternally your confrere,

WM. ULLATHORNE.¹

As the subject has here been broached, it may be proper to mention that, while in Rome, Dr Ullathorne secured papal approbation for the scheme of canonically erecting a Benedictine Monastery in New South Wales, with dependence, not upon the President of the English Benedictines, but on the Vicar Apostolic for the time being of New Holland. Subjoined is a copy of the Rescript, directing this course to be adopted. In its proper place more will be said on this topic.

"Ex Audientia SSmi, habita die 4^a Junii 1837.

Cum SSmo. Domino Nostro Gregorio PP XVI. innotuerit ad Religionis bonum in Vicariatu Apostolico Novae Hollandiae et Insulae Van Diemen promovendum plurimum conducere posse, si in ea regione erigatur Monasterium Religiosorum Monachorum Congregationis Anglo-Benedictinae qui sub R.P.D. Vicarii Apostolici pro tempore existentis dependentia, missionibus in vastissimo illo Districtu deserviant, cumque ejusdem Congregationis Monachi id se libenter facturos esse significaverint, eadem Sanctitas sua, referente me infrascripto sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, Monasterium de quo agitur in Vicariatu Apostolico superius memorato erigi Auctoritate Apostolica probavit, accedente tamen R.P.D. Joannis Polding Episcopi Hierocesariensis et Vicarii Apostolici in Nova Hollandia et Insula Van Diemen consensione.

¹ D. A., J 357.

“Datum Romae Ex Aed. dic. Sac. Congregationis die et anno quibus supra. Gratis, sine ulla omnino solutione quocunque titulo,

(signed) A. MAIUS, S.C.P.F.
a Secretis.”¹

We may pass over such details as the persons he met at various places of stoppage on the way, interesting as those people were; but, always mindful of the main object of his mission, Dr Ullathorne says: “At Lyons I was introduced to the managers of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith then in its early years. I do not forget the kind attention which I received from them. At their request I drew up a full account of the Australian Mission and of the convict system, to which I added a description of the country and of its most curious productions. It filled nearly a number of their *Annals*, and being so completely new, was said to have advanced the interests of the Society. The Society voted a handsome allocation of money to Australia, and it was continued for many years.” It may be here stated that in the Downside Archives are many formal business letters from the Lyons Secretary to Father Heptonstall during a long series of years, giving details of these allocations; first, solely to Dr Polding; then, as the Vicariate was split up into Dioceses, this annual grant was apportioned to each division according to the special needs of every one. It is a splendid record of charity, and Australia owes a debt of gratitude, which can hardly be fathomed, for timely help at a moment when neither England nor Ireland could do very much in the way of support of the infant Churches of the Antipodes.

“We arrived at San Calisto in Rome on the morning of Holy Saturday, 25th March, 1837. . . . So soon as I was refreshed, I went out with Father (afterwards Bishop) Collier, to see St Peter’s and attend the Pontifical functions in the Sixtine Chapel. . . . We entered the Sixtine, but I had no sooner got a glimpse of the Pope than I was turned out by the Swiss Guard. ‘Is this the Roman welcome?’ I said to Father Collier, ‘coming from the far end of the

¹ *D. A.*, K 88.

world to report a new continent for the work of the Church, I am at once turned out of the Pontifical Chapel.' He then, however, recollected that the frock-coat was the sin I bore upon me. I ought to have been in the habit of my Order. But that I had never worn, and it had yet to be made. The Pontifical Chapel is part of the Pontifical Court, and requires some kind of court costume." Further on in the same chapter, Dr Ullathorne remarks: "the tranquillity of the Benedictine monastery [of San Calisto], the great kindness, courtesy, and refinement of the Fathers, and the religious influence of Rome, were very grateful after the rough work of Australia, and the toils and solitudes that followed my return to England. Then, though I had been a professed Benedictine for a dozen years, owing to the penal law it was the first time that I had ever worn or even seen the Benedictine habit; and I found it a valuable control on rapidity of movement, and even of thinking."

But Dr Ullathorne's purpose in visiting Rome was to give a report of the Australian Mission; his recollections in connection with his presentation to the officials of the Roman Curia are amusing. He writes: "When I was presented to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, the mild and gentle Cardinal Franzoni, as Vicar-General of Australia, his Eminence, after a quiet inspection, exclaimed 'qual giovane!'; and after answering a few questions, I retired. On my presentation to Pope Gregory XVI, by the same title, His Holiness uttered the same exclamation: 'qual giovane!—what a youth!' But he was truly paternal, and expressed a hope to see my report. On fire as I was, and that habitually, with the interests of the Australian Mission, and anxious to awaken a like interest in Rome, these receptions considerably cooled me. I felt I was looked on as a mere boy [he was at that time barely thirty-one years of age], and I therefore kept out of sight, and set to work with my report. I drew it up at considerable length, in four parts. It was put into Italian by Dr Collier, and was revised by Abbot Peschiatelli. I presented it one part at a time, until I knew that the whole had been printed at the Propaganda Press. I then called upon the Cardinal Prefect, who expressed warm interest in the report, and became very cordial. He

also informed me to my great satisfaction, that a Canon of the Cathedral of Vienna, moved by what he had heard of that country, had given a foundation for the maintenance of a priest at Norfolk Island. I think that his informant must have been the late Baron von Hügel, who in his early days had made the tour of the Australian Colonies." Here we have corroborative evidence of the reported donation of £1000, mentioned in the chapter on Norfolk Island.

"I took the opportunity to observe to the Cardinal Prefect, that as both his Holiness and himself had remarked, with apparent surprise, upon my youthfulness, I begged to observe that I had not sought the office, that it was imposed upon me, and that I was most ready to resign it. His Eminence replied that the report I had given was fully approved, that I had worked the Australian soil a good deal, and that I was not to suppose there was any dissatisfaction. His Holiness also directed that I should receive the diploma of Doctor of Divinity."

"As Cardinal Weld had invited me to Rome, he gave me a cordial welcome. . . . The next day the Cardinal was taken ill . . . and in the course of a week he died. His departure caused universal regret. His great piety, his charity, and his edifying and recollected demeanour, so marked on all occasions, had drawn towards him a very high degree of respect. Besides the solemn *Requiem* at his funeral, at which the Pope himself assisted, Lord Clifford [the Cardinal's son-in-law] had a *Requiem* celebrated at San Carlo in Corso, to which the English in Rome were invited, and at which Dr Wiseman read a long oration recounting the history of the Cardinal's life."

The following letter from Rome, written by Dr Ullathorne to Father Heptonstall, supplements the above account, and likewise gives some further information about Australia, received from Dr Polding: the difficulty about support for the clergy had been got over, and Father Therry had at last been restored to the ranks of officially recognised chaplains. There is again reference to the despatch of new priests, and the possibility of securing the services of others highly recommended to him. The reference to Dr Morris is, as it stands, cryptic. The explanation is, that an Italian

priest, suspended by him for atrocious misdemeanours, in order to satisfy his spirit of vengeance, delated the Bishop to Propaganda. Dr Morris's letter of exculpation miscarried or was withheld by an enemy, and as a result of his seemingly contemptuous silence he was recalled. He retired to England where he lived till 1872, well known in the metropolis, ever ready to help Cardinal Wiseman, and Archbishop (afterwards Cardinal) Manning.

"San Calisto, Rome,
13th April 1837.

MY VERY DEAR CONFRERE,—I received your letter to-day, and have to thank you warmly for your attention to my affairs. Of Mr Bretherton we had already heard from Father President. I grieve to say that good Cardinal Weld died on Monday after only a week's illness. We dined with him a fortnight ago to-day, and to-morrow he is buried at St Marcellus, the church of which he is titular. When the Pope heard he was dead he refused to take his usual ride. What a loss is this, my dear Friend.

"You mention that Dr M[orris] refuses anything to our agent. He is himself to be recalled. Do not repeat this. It is a sad business. It is providential, and I thank God that we of N. S. Wales shall be able to show some little at the Holy See, to help to wipe off the disgrace brought on the Body by two successive Bishops.¹ Mr Birdsall has been written to by the Cardinal Prefect. His Holiness sent the other day for Cardinal Castracane on the affair of the M[auritius]; he is himself enquiring into it. Mr Collier did all he could to stem the current of feeling until the case proved indefensible.

"The votes about the Catholic clergy are all right! £500 added for the Bishop's salary, and £150 for Mr Therry will make up the sum mentioned, including the votes for the additional clergy. In case you have any difficulty with the Colonial Office, you may show these papers, or, better perhaps, they may be in the newspapers, or in a copy of the

¹ This reflection on Dr Morris was, as has already appeared, unconsciously unjust, as he was, though really guiltless, the victim of an unworthy priest's vindictive accusations. The papers that could have exculpated him were lost in transit. Dr Ullathorne was judging only by what appeared on the surface, at the time.

Government Gazette, sent with the letters, or the Government may have received a Despatch.

"Now, my dear Friend, the great point is to get Mr Lovat off, and another with him, if possible. If Mr Comberbatch will do, and is willing to go, do, in the name of Religion and of the afflicted Colony, do all you can to get them off. Do not be at all fearful that I shall not be satisfied with your judgment and proceedings. I fear I must be longer than I anticipated, before I can possibly return. It will gratify you to hear that I was well received by the President, Secretary, and those of the members I saw, of the Council at Lyons of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith: that I wrote a letter for the next sitting, that I am to furnish them with a memorial for publication, and that I expect some money. This, however, will take me a week on my return. At present, I am writing, Mr Collier translating, and another good monk correcting my relations of the Mission. A long statement with an Appendix of Documents on N. S. Wales will be ready to-morrow for the Prefect of Propaganda: this will be followed by statements on Van Diemen's Land, on Norfolk Island, and on the aboriginal population.

"I think it not at all unlikely that I shall be obliged to go to Vienna. Are you aware that there is a society there also for foreign missions, to which all the American bishops go. If Propaganda will not give up the money of N[orfolk] Island—I hear they are very tenacious—after all I can say on the subject, I must seek out the original testator.

"I will see Monsignor Mai about Dr B[aines]. If certain D.D.'s knew the mischief they have done themselves here by their anti-regular spirit, they would be more cautious. I heard Cardinal Castracane express himself very unequivocally on that spirit in those persons, this morning. Take care, however, how you talk.

"If Mr Lovat goes, do not neglect to send them a stock of missals, vestments and Bibles, respectably bound for the people; Dr P[olding] wants them urgently.

"You will oblige me very much by writing to Dr Polding as soon as possible. Say what I am doing: that the delay of news from Sydney has been an obstacle: that the Holy See is disposed to be much gratified with our progress; that I do not propose being *interviewed* before His Holiness until my reports are all in, when I have no doubt of a very kind reception. That as I am here I shall apply for the Indulgences granted in England on the festivals. That New Zealand is under the new bishop who has gone out to the

Islands. There are two—one for Eastern and one for Western Polynesia. That Abbé Du Bois tells me two missionaries are to proceed to New Zealand, and that he was about writing to us to obtain for them the protection of Government, etc. Above all, my dear Friend, get a priest, and *if possible, two* off immediately for N. S. Wales, at whatever cost of trouble. And believe me to be your very affectionate and obliged confrere,

WM. B. ULLATHORNE.

"I will not neglect your questions. Mr Collier desires remembrances. Rome is wonderful! How is your eye? All kind friends, etc., remembrances. I will write again and tell you what I am doing. [Added on 15th]. Just received a letter from Mr Dillon of Paris. He has secured me a valuable subject, a Mr Bourke, a Dominican, a discreet man who has been Confessor for six years to the Sisters of Mercy. He is to be in London in May to await orders, and put himself at my disposal. I shall write to Mr O. M., who will write to Mr Bourke, and I shall refer him to you in case I do not return in time; lose no time in hastening his departure. Abbé Du Bois has secured me a French priest of whom he speaks highly, and only waits my return to Paris. I believe now I shall not go to Vienna—this uncertain. Pray write all this to Dr Polding. Cardinal Weld was buried yesterday in great splendour. The Pope—an unusual circumstance—attended in state, and pronounced the absolution after the Mass. The good Cardinal's loss has caused a universal lamentation. His charities here were very great. I rely entirely upon you to get at least two priests off."¹

"There was one Cardinal" further wrote Dr Ullathorne, (and his name occurs in the foregoing letter), "whose kindness to me, a young stranger, ought not to be forgotten. Cardinal Castracane not only took a great interest in all my proceedings, but called on and presented me with a valuable painting, which he said had been bequeathed him by another Cardinal: an 'Assumption of the Blessed Virgin,' supposed to be by Guido Reni. This picture I gave to the Sisters of Charity whom I took out to New South Wales."

"On the invitation of the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda,

¹ *D. A.*, J 391.

I stayed at Rome for the festival of Corpus Christi, and witnessed the great procession at St Peter's, which impressed me more than anything I had seen, with the religious grandeur and resources of Rome. At my farewell audience the Sovereign Pontiff gave me words of encouragement, and recommended me to learn to speak Italian before my next visit to Rome."

Dr Ullathorne now set his face homewards, travelling by Turin to visit the Institute recently founded by Rosmini, and then by Einsiedeln. Having tapped all other likely sources of missionary vocation with but small success, he now determined, in order to make up his numbers, to cross St George's Channel. As he writes:¹ "I then went to Ireland, and met its Bishops assembled at Maynooth, who took such an interest in the wants of Australia that several of them promised that if any of their young priests were willing to offer themselves, they would account every year served in Australia as two towards obtaining a parish, in the event of their ultimate return. Several bishops invited me to visit them at their homes; but from none of them did I obtain more earnest co-operation than from Archbishop Murray, of Dublin, and Bishop Kinsella, of Ossory. I also received very great assistance from Dr Montague, the President of Maynooth, a remarkably shrewd man, who possessed a surprising knowledge of the character of every priest in Ireland, and who could point out where the most devoted men were to be found. Nor must I forget the extreme kindness that I met with from all the professors of the College. Dr Gaffney, the Dean of Discipline, was of special service in recommending students to me, and at his request, I gave a spiritual retreat to the students in preparation for ordination.

"At the time, the Irish prelates were seriously thinking of founding a College for educating priests for the British Colonies and foreign settlements; and the Primate, Archbishop Crolly, asked me to draw up an estimate of

¹ *Autobiography*, pp. 133 seqq.

the probable number that would be required. This I did and gave it into his hands." As a result, the first beginnings were made by Father Hand, which at length took shape on 1st November, 1842, in the College of All Hallows. From this College many priests went out to Australia, having been there educated on funds provided by Dr Polding. A mass of correspondence between Dr Heptonstall and Father Hand exists in the Downside Archives, but no item of sufficient interest therein, demands insertion here. Dr Ullathorne then goes on :

"I also made the intimate acquaintance of the Franciscan Fathers of Dublin. . . . Two of the Fathers volunteered for the Australian Mission, Fathers Geoghehan and Coffey, the first of whom went out with me, and the latter later on."

Passing over merely personal experiences, many of them amusing enough, we learn from Dr Ullathorne's Autobiography, that while in Dublin he "arranged with Mrs Aikenhead, the Foundress of the Sisters of Charity, for a filiation of five Sisters to accompany [him] to Sydney, for which the approval of Archbishop Murray was readily obtained. . . . But it was Bishop Kinsella, of Ossory, who took me strongly by the hand. . . . He gave me the run of his Seminary, with leave to take as many young men as offered themselves for Australia. I selected one priest and five students, who afterwards turned out valuable priests."

Then came Dr Ullathorne's evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the subject of Transportation, dealt with fully elsewhere.¹

¹ The *Catholic Magazine* for 1838, thus records the fact and comments on it, showing the impression Dr Ullathorne's evidence had on the public.

"Dr Ullathorne.—the evidence given by Dr Ullathorne, Vicar General of the Right Rev Dr Polding, before the House of Commons, on the moral state and condition of the inhabitants of Sydney, and New South Wales, was received with merited attention. We may afterwards revert to that interesting subject, so well worthy the attention of the Christian, the philosopher, and the statesman." [p. 255.]

"At this time Sir Richard Bourke was attacked in certain letters to the *Times*," says Dr Ullathorne, "to which I wrote a reply that was well received in New South Wales. I had one curious bit of correspondence with Lord Glenelg, the Secretary for the Colonies. I had applied for a stipend, passage money, and outfit for a priest for Norfolk Island. This was granted. . . . What, then, was my surprise when I received no more than £100 for passage and outfit of the priest for Norfolk Island, whilst for each of those sent out to New South Wales, I received £150. I at once paid the priest appointed to that penal settlement £150, and sent him on his way. I then wrote to Lord Glenelg, told him what I had done; represented the much greater sacrifices that awaited him, besides his having to undertake a second voyage; and added that unless the additional £50 were paid I should have to beg it of friends, and that I was sure it was not the intention of Government that I should fit out the servant of Government with the beggings of charity. The result was that the other £50 were paid. Having occasion to call on Sir George Grey, who was then new in the office of Under Secretary, I was received with an amusing check. Instead of waiting to hear my business, by the time I had reached his official table he had pulled himself up into what some people would call great dignity, and said: 'We never interfere between a priest and his bishop.' 'Pardon me,' I said: 'I am well aware of that. But I call as the representative of the Catholic Bishop of Sydney, and am known to Lord Glenelg, with whom I have had several transactions.' He then entered into business."

What that business was may with some confidence be surmised. As Dr Polding had written to Father Heptonstall on 1st May 1836,¹ he had memorialised Sir Richard Bourke for an increase in the number of Catholic Chaplains, and in urging his plea, had written: "I have great reason to confide that the labours of a resident clergy among the Catholic population will be followed by a considerable

¹ *D. A.*, J 142.

diminution of public crime, and, consequently, by a proportionate diminution in the expense of convicting and punishing crime. Out of the number of public criminals of the Catholic religion executed during the last four years, it has been remarked that not one had seen a clergyman, so as to receive the rites of his Church in this country, until after he was apprehended and lodged in gaol. The remark may be extended to the 450 Catholics at Norfolk Island, amongst whom scarcely any are to be found who had attended, even once, to their religious duties, from the time of their transportation to the period of their reconviction. All, with an uniformity which cannot be deemed the chance of coincidence, attributed their continuance in the career of guilt principally to the absence of clerical care, guidance and support." He therefore prayed for an increase of grant for six extra chaplains, and "looking at the facts brought to light by the Bishop's memorial," says the historian, Flanagan,¹ "as well as the general condition of the Colony, and the paucity of clerical assistance that had always prevailed, it must be admitted that this number was not too large."

This was one of the main objects of Dr Ullathorne's journey to Europe, to secure more priests, and, concurrently, to ensure their adequate support by having them accepted and salaried as Government Chaplains. We can now add another passage from the *Autobiography*.² "I must here mention that I had obtained the services of the Rev Francis Murphy, then senior priest of St Patrick's, Liverpool, who, having been educated at Maynooth, went over to that College, and there induced several young priests to join him. I obtained their passage and outfit, and they proceeded at once to Sydney." In illustration of this statement, the following official letter may be quoted from the Appendix A. No. 16, to the *Report from the Select Committee on Transportation*.

¹ *History of N.S.W.*, vol. I, p. 514.

² p. 141.

No. 16. Lord Glenelg to Sir George Gipps.

“Downing Street, 22nd December 1837.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you, that the four Roman Catholic Clergymen whose names are mentioned in the margin [Rev. Fras. Murphy, Rev. John Rigney, Rev. John Fitzpatrick, Rev. John Lynch] having been selected by the Rev. W. Ullathorne, and having produced satisfactory testimonials, I have intimated my readiness, on their being prepared to leave this country, to authorise the Colonial agent to issue to each of them the sum of £150, on account of his outfit and passage to New South Wales. I have, etc. GLENELG.”

Some light is shed upon this correspondence in the accompanying letter to Dr Brown, showing that Dr Ullathorne's final triumph about passage-money was attained only after more correspondence than officially appears. The statistical news from the Colony shows the steady progress there being made, and the other references to Father Francis Murphy and the courses of sermons in Lancashire with their monetary results explain themselves in the light of previous statements.

“42 Ranelagh Street, Liverpool,
10th January 1838.

MY DEAR CONFRERE,—I hope my letters are not too frequent, too troublesome, or too expensive. I write now, because I have gratifying intelligence to communicate; and a question of some little importance to ask.

“A young man [Maurice Reynolds] arrived last week from Sydney, on his way to Douai, wrecked during the voyage at Bahia, where he lost everything. He was accompanied by a second, a convert of Dr Polding's, and of respectable family: both intending to study for the priesthood, and return. He brought me letters from Dr Polding, and one I believe for yourself. The progress of religion in Sydney with so small an aid is almost miraculous. 1100 communions in St Mary's Church from 1st January to 12th June, 1837. Of 1400 Catholic convicts who had gone through the routine of the 10 days' retreat on arrival,—whereas formerly the gaol used to be crowded with new comers,—only three have found their way into it, and these were acquitted. In 1836 the Bishop himself prepared nine for death and 20 Catholics suffered the extreme penalty in that year. In the first half

of 1837 only one Catholic suffered, and he for an offence of three years' standing. There are about thirty communions weekly in Sydney, one half and more consisting of returning inveterates. There are some anecdotes added of a very horrid and touching nature, which I think I shall send to the *Edinburgh Monthly*.

"I am happy to state that Mr Murphy,—a priest of six-priest power—sails with five others immediately. I insisted on good sense and humility in the selection, and he writes to me: 'the young men are all my heart could desire: full of zeal, piety, talent, humility. At Maynooth the professors say the very flower of the College have volunteered in this glorious undertaking.'

"I have had a little contest with the Colonial Office. Lord G[lenelg] made an attempt to cut down the allowance for passage etc.; but having justice on my side, I beat them and saved them the disgrace of compromising the faith of Government; for which I hope they are grateful. I shall be compelled next Sunday to close my preaching; the amount received in about 10 Sundays will be £500, for which, however, I have worked hard, and have scarcely given my nerves and constitution fair play. The clergy, both secular and regular, have most cordially co-operated: they have generally flung in their own half-sovereign, and believe it has been no small benefit to their people. . . ."¹

Another matter that pressed heavily on the mind of Dr Polding was the supply of teachers for the schools. The number of persons in the Colony, qualified to impart instruction, or in whom confidence could be placed by the clergy, were, in those days, extremely limited. The only possible chance for the rising generation was to procure reliable and trained teachers from England and Ireland. The inducements to emigrate were certainly attractive, and a prospect of advance in life was offered to those who would devote themselves to this truly apostolic work. While in England, Dr Ullathorne sought for candidates for the posts awaiting them, and, better still, urged on Government the propriety of granting them an allowance from the public funds for passage and outfit. The following correspondence will make clear the steps taken

¹ *D. A.*, K 2. The rest of the letter is about the evidence he gave before the parliamentary Commission, already fully dealt with.

by him, and the success that attended his application. It would seem that the Colonial Office was astonished at the modesty of his demand; but taking him at his own small estimate of the cost, granted the sums per head he had asked for, and for the number—ten—for whom he had petitioned. It looks as if, had he made his figures higher, he would have been equally successful.

No. 22. Lord Glenelg to Sir George Gipps.

“Downing Street, 19th December 1837.

SIR,—Referring to the measures which have been adopted for aiding the increase of schoolmasters for the instruction of the poorer classes of Colonists in New South Wales, I have the honour to transmit to you copies of a correspondence with the Rev. W. Ullathorne on the subject of an application which he has made for the grant of an allowance for the passage to the Colony of a limited number of Roman Catholic schoolmasters.

“I have further to acquaint you that Mr Edward Hawkesley having produced satisfactory testimonials as to his character and general competency for the office of schoolmaster, has received an allowance of £40 on account of his outfit and passage, being the amount applied for by Mr Ullathorne.

I have, etc.

GLENELG.”

Enclosure I.

Rev. W. Ullathorne to Lord Glenelg.

“London, 51 Edgware Road,
3rd August 1837.

MY LORD,—I beg leave respectfully to state to your Lordship, as directed by the Right Rev. Dr Polding, that considerable difficulty has been experienced in forming, in New South Wales, those elementary schools for the children of poor Catholics, supported by the Government, owing to the difficulty of finding in the Colony a body of teachers who are competent, and at the same time willing, to give themselves to the task; and that it is deemed advisable in consequence, as well by the Right Rev. the Catholic Bishop as by his Excellency the Governor, that such teachers should be obtained from the mother country; Sir Richard Bourke having also expressed himself, in answer to Dr Polding, as

being confident that your Lordship would not object to sanction the advancement of pecuniary means for the conveying of these teachers to their destination.

"About six male teachers and about four females, more particularly required for the orphan school and large female schools in Sydney, would be sufficient numbers to meet the present demand for their services.

"The passage of these to the Colony, including preliminary expenses, could not, I am of opinion, be arranged under £40 each person, but this would not amount to much more than the salaries and allowances given to teachers by the local Government for the same period of time.

"I most respectfully solicit your Lordship's approbation of this proposal, and your sanction to the advancement of what may be deemed a sum adequate to carry the proposal into effect.

I have, etc.

W. ULLATHORNE."

Enclosure No. 2.

Sir George Grey to Rev. W. Ullathorne,

"Downing Street,

6th September 1837.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Glenelg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd ultimo, in which you represent the expediency of sending out to New South Wales some Roman Catholic Teachers for the instruction of the children of poor Catholics in the schools at present existing in the Colony for their education, and you request that some pecuniary allowance may be granted to enable those teachers, about six male and four female, to proceed to their destination.

"His Lordship is happy to have it in his power to comply with your request, by directing an allowance of £40 to be made for the passage of each of the ten persons who may be selected for this purpose, subject, however, to an understanding, that in the case of any of them failing, on their arrival in the Colony, to fulfil the purpose for which they are intended, the allowance made to such person or persons shall be refunded, unless such failure should be occasioned by death or illness.

"It will be necessary that the qualifications of the parties selected should be carefully ascertained; and on their being recommended to Lord Glenelg as fit and proper persons for

the duties which they will be called on to perform, they will be authorised to receive the proposed allowance, on an intimation from yourself that they have engaged a passage, and are about forthwith to proceed to their destination.

I have, etc.

GEORGE GREY."

The priests and teachers thus secured, approved, and salaried, were despatched to Dr Ullathorne's great satisfaction: their departure was thus chronicled in the *Catholic Magazine*:

"On Monday, the 19th (March) the following gentlemen took their departure from Gravesend, per *Cecilia*, for the mission of Sydney, viz.:—the Rev. Francis Murphy, (the director of the party,) the Rev. Messrs John Rigney, John Fitzpatrick, Michael O'Reilly, Michael Brennan, John Lynch, Thos. Slattery, and Edmund Mahony. The following teachers accompanied them, viz.:—Mrs Davies, Miss Fisher, Mr Edward Hawkesley, of Nottingham, and his wife. All these go out under the auspices of the Government. Any enquiries relative to the passengers may be obtained from Messrs Devoy & Co., ship agents, 77 Lower Thames Street, London, who will receive letters from them in the course of their voyage, and who, we are authorised to say, will be most happy to answer all enquiries respecting these interesting voyagers."¹

The following letter from Dr Ullathorne to Dr Brown, the Prior of Downside, will show how he was pursuing his various plans, and employing his time. The reference to Father Brady recalls the fact that in him Dr Ullathorne had secured a future Australian Bishop; and "Mr Wilson of Nottingham" is, of course, the famous Dr Willson, first Bishop of Hobart Town. The difficulty of getting English priests is again touched upon. This letter corroborates a passage in the *Autobiography*.²

"I then gave a course of lectures on the Australian Mission, and the condition of the convicts, in the churches of Lancashire, which, as they had been preceded by my pamphlet on the subject published in Liverpool, awakened a great deal of interest. The churches were densely crowded,

¹ *Catholic Magazine*, 1838, p. 251.

² p. 142.

and collections reached a sum considerably beyond the average. Ladies occasionally put their jewels on the plates. In the course of six weeks I collected some £1500. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus were particularly cordial in co-operation. I then met the English Bishops assembled on their affairs at York. They took a kind interest in the Australian Mission, although they could not spare us any priests."

" 42 Ranelagh Street, Liverpool,
17th Sept. 1837.

MY DEAR CONFRERE,—Knowing the interest you take in the results of my Mission to England, I think it a duty to acquaint you with my progress. Government have allowed me £40 each for six schoolmasters and four schoolmistresses,—that is for the expense of taking them out. And the Society at Lyons has sent me 16,000 francs for which I made application to enable me to take out eight additional priests. Two priests, one of them, Mr Brady, who has been ten years at Bourbon, for whose services several Bishops have been contending, is a very valuable subject; one who unites to experience great piety and humility: his training is altogether French. He takes with him two students advanced as far as Rhetoric, one of whom is a nephew; these sail in a week or two. I am daily expecting them to pass through Liverpool on their way to London. I have likewise engaged as schoolmaster a very valuable person from Nottingham. I take him out as a schoolmaster, but hope to make something more generally useful of him. Dr Walsh has consented verbally to Mr Heptonstall to allow me a subject from his District, but feared to commit himself by writing, until he had consulted Dr Weedall and Martin. I visit his Lordship in the course of this week. I shall then meet Monsignor Acton. Mr Wilson of Nottingham has given me a letter offering his own services, but this I cannot hope that Dr Walsh will consent to. Poor Dr Polding is calling out most yearningly for aid, in a letter which reached me last week. He was about commencing three new churches and three new chapels, but without a priest to supply them. I received a day or two since a letter from Mr Collier. The cholera had completely dispersed the Romans and put a stop to all business. Mr Collier was at Subiaco. This explains the non-arrival of Dr Angelini, who had left Rome with the rest, and could not immediately be found. The quarantine regulations are a great stoppage to

egress from the country at present, and I must wait the time of Providence. As soon as I have seen Dr Walsh and secured, if possible, a subject from his District, I shall delay no further my Irish visit. I have not lost the time I have employed in the North: it has been usefully spent for the service of the Mission. Mr Brewer, who has been very kind to me, strongly recommends me to preach a course of sermons in Lancashire on my return from Ireland. As I foresee various causes of delay ere my business can be wound up, I think of doing so, if found feasible. As a sort of preparation Mr Brewer applied to the Vicar-General here for general faculties for me. The answer, to my surprise, in the kindest tone, limits my faculties to a month. I have heard no news yet of the Vienna fund. And the memorial on the subject of the seminary remains *in statu quo*, unanswered, though Lord Glenelg promised me an answer before I left London. I am not sorry. I will now endeavour to interest Mr Wyse and More O'Farrell before his Lordship has committed himself by an answer. If you think of anything further which may be of use to me in Ireland, pray write to me; at any rate, it will give me great pleasure to know how all men and things are at Downside. Pray give my kind remembrances to all good confreres. Pray for our mission, and for me, and believe me, your attached confrere,

WM. ULLATHORNE."¹

This letter was followed by others, referring to several matters already touched upon, as the securing of Father Francis Murphy—a future Australian bishop; his Lancashire course of sermons, and the publication of *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*.

The final reference is to a legacy of some £4000 each to Downside and Ampleforth from the estate of Mr Weld-Blundell. The will was disputed, and it was many years before Downside and Ampleforth were finally assured possession of their bequests. The money so bequeathed, was, in the case of Downside expended in enlarging the school accommodation, two sides of a quadrangle being built, since then known as 'the Quadrangle' or 'the 1856 block.' The mention of 'Davis' brings us into touch for the first time

¹ *D. A.*, J 453.

with one destined to wear the mitre in New South Wales
—Dr Charles Davis, Bishop of Maitland.

“ 42 Ranelagh Street, Liverpool,
8th November 1837.

MY DEAR CONFRERE,—Mr Sinnott has just been with me with your letter. I am exceedingly obliged to you for all your kind interest in our Mission. I should like to know more respecting Davis. Has he *vows*? I do not recollect him very distinctly. I am not surprised at your astonishment in finding me yet here. I may now, I believe, mention the reason. I have been securing the services of Mr Murphy of St Patrick's—a man in ten thousand. He sailed yesterday for Ireland to select three young men from Maynooth to accompany him. The matter is still a profound secret here; there will be a tremendous hubbub as soon as the affair is known. His own Bishop, Dr Cantwell,¹ has written very kindly to him, as also Dr Briggs, regretting his loss, but lauding his charity and disinterestedness most highly. Such a man is worth more to our Mission than six men of ordinary calibre. And he is acting from such pure motives—seeking in all things his higher perfection.

“I begin on Sunday my course of sermons for the Mission. Mr Brewer has been very forward and active in arranging this for me. Dr Briggs in answer to a long and urgent appeal which I addressed to his Lordship, has kindly allowed me to preach, and does not *oppose* my receiving contributions. I begin with the late Vicar General, and have a series of chapels arranged, taking two each Sunday. The following is the advertisement for next Sunday. ‘The public is respectfully informed that . . . two sermons will be preached by V. R. Dr Ullathorne, in the morning at Weld Bank, in the afternoon at South Hill. The state of the Catholic Missions in Australia will be explained, the horrors of transportation will be laid before the public eye, and the most destitute of God’s creatures beg to be heard by the mouth of their minister in their appalling destitution of religious aid.’

“I have completed a pamphlet of 60 duodecimo pages, entitled “*The Catholic Mission in Australasia*,” to assist in forwarding my views. I expect a hundred copies to-night from the printer for London, and will request Mr Heptonstall to forward you a few copies, requesting their distribution

¹ John Cantwell, Bishop of Meath, 1830-1866.

where they may be of use. I shall send a copy to Lord G[lenelg] to assist in awakening him from his sleep, if possible. I have already preached some charity sermons for chapels, by way of feeler, which have brought very crowded audiences, and convince me that the Australian Mission needs only to be known to find co-operation.

"I shall be happy to receive any remarks which my pamphlet may suggest to you, or which you may think of use towards forwarding my views. I am proceeding more slowly than I first anticipated, but, I trust, securely. I find it absolutely necessary to take time in order to secure my work as I advance, and to make the Mission generally known. I have now, not one, but several valuable friends and co-operators, and feel that I am rather commencing than terminating my undertaking. The delay is strongly against my inclination; you must know the restlessness of spirits which is engendered by such a wandering life of incidents and uncertainties as mine. To struggle against this is, however, one of my duties.

"In congratulating Downside and Ampleforth for their recent accessions of wealth—trusting it will prove for the benefit, not the bane of religion—I only congratulate myself. I would however, pray more fervently to be delivered from excess of wealth than from excess of poverty: that, however, has not yet come, I trust.

"Pray remember me most affectionately to all good Confreres. Pray for a poor wretch who is tossed about the world, he scarcely knows where, or how, and believe me,

Your most attached Confrere,

WM. ULLATHORNE."¹

Dr Ullathorne to Dr Brown.

"Blackburn, 29th November, 1837.

MY DEAR CONFRERE,—You will not expect to receive another letter from me so early. I trust the contents will justify its transmission. I yesterday preached in the morning at Brindle, here in the evening, and have my course of preaching arranged up to Christmas.

"I have experienced very great kindness indeed from Mr Brewer and the Confreres about him, and may mention in especial Mr Smith at Brindle. It will gratify you much to know that Mr Brewer and his Ampleforth Confreres, over most of whom he possesses great influence, are very anxious

¹ D. A., J 479.

to fraternise in every respect with Downside and the South Province. . . . It is gratifying to assure you that Downside is looked upon with great respect by those to whom I allude, and especially by Mr Brewer who is labouring to promote good feeling. They consider it as having always carried the palm in the most essential of all points—*piety*. . . . As it is understood you are in want of ecclesiastical students, Mr Brewer begs me to say that he could easily procure good young persons for you at small stipends; and if you will be kind enough to write to him mentioning the minimum stipend, he will be active in your service. The class of persons would be farmers' sons. He has lately sent 6 to Old Hall at £10 each per annum. If you will mention your minimum, say £10, £15, or £20, and the number required, I am confident Mr Brewer would do well for you. He is very active and generous in all matters where the interests of religion are concerned. If I have been imprudent, I hope not, in writing any of these things, I have only to request your pardon.

"Mr Murphy has found very kind co-operation in Ireland. He has, however, puzzled me a little. It seems he has attained *exceats* for some young men, highly recommended by Dr Montague, and Dr Murray requires my *dimissorials* for their ordination. Now I have not a book or a person to consult, and therefore have recourse to your charity. Can I give *dimissorials* before having inspected their *exceats*? May not the Bishops themselves do this, previous to delivering these same *exceats*, and give the *exceats* after ordination? What should be the *form* of these *dimissorials*? If my power is not specified, can I at all give *dimissorials*? You will greatly oblige me, by considering me totally ignorant of the matter without a book to consult, and by instructing me accordingly at your very earliest convenience. Begging an affectionate remembrance to all Confreres, and apologising for this hasty scribble,

I remain,

• Your sincerely attached Confrere,

WM. ULLATHORNE."¹

On 1st June 1838, Father Collier sent Dr Ullathorne word from Rome that the money from Canon Schmidt of Vienna was being placed to the account of the New South Wales

¹ *D. A.*, J 491.

Mission Fund. It amounted to close on £1250. This letter is followed by one from Dr Ullathorne to Father Hep-tonstall, quoting to him at length from one received by himself from Father Barber, in which his hopes of help from his Benedictine brethren were finally dashed to the ground. Dr Ullathorne bewails this decision and sadly states the results it would entail—results which have, as he foretold, inevitably come about. As a consequence of this, he foreshadows his own retirement from the work of the Australian Mission at no distant date. To those who in later years so well knew his high monastic ideals and aspirations, this decision of his religious superiors would be understood as being able to lead to no other ending as regarded himself.

Dr Ullathorne's last letter from England was addressed to Dr Brown, then Prior of Downside, giving particulars of the party travelling with him; of his latest movements and literary activities in Ireland, (already chronicled from his *Autobiography*); and he again refers sadly to the consequences of the refusal of Dr Barber to send out any monks to Australia, and his own return to labour in England at no very distant future.

Father Collier to Dr Ullathorne.

"Rome,
1st June 1838.

REV. AND DEAR CONFRERE,—Your favour of 18th ult. has just come to hand, and before you receive this letter, I hope you will have received a much more satisfactory reply to the principal object of your enquiries at Messrs Wright & Co. On the 14th April I sent in a letter directed to Dr Brown, who has acknowledged the receipt, £633, being part of the Vienna fund, to be placed to Dr Polding's account. By paying the money to Mr Clifford here in Rome, I saved all expenses of having it sent through the hands of bankers. On the 31st ult. I sent you another sum of £412 7s. 10d. from the same quarter, and these will be transmitted through Torlonia's bank to Wright & Co; the remainder amounting to about £200, in the course of a few weeks. You will remember that the name of the donor is *Schmidt*, and that he is entitled to the prayers of the good bishop and clergy of Australia. Dr Angelini does not come

with me to England. On his part nothing is wanting, but his friends have made such an outcry against his leaving Rome, both at Propaganda and to the Cardinal Vicar, that the latter, whose subject he is, has given him an order to remain, which neither Dr Angelini nor myself after three visits to his Eminence, succeeded in inducing him to revoke. . . . I have been to take leave of his Holiness, and I related to him your interview with a committee of the House of Commons, the subsequent abolition of transportation to N. S. W., and all that I thought would interest him about that Colony. He was extremely gratified, and was in a very cheerful good humour. I yesterday communicated to the Cardinal Prefect the contents of your last letter with which he was much pleased. I distinctly asked him if anyone had made any complaint on the part of the British Government about the number of Irish clergy sent to the [Colony], and he assured me that no such complaint had ever been made. I daresay the V. A. of London has heard that some one *intended* to complain, and has magnified the matter into what you heard. . . ."¹

Dr Ullathorne to Dr Brown.

"Dublin, 4 Capel Street,
11th July 1838.

MY DEAR CONFRERE,—The following is the letter I have received from Mr Barber, in answer to mine.

—However much my heart and its best affections are moved by your tender appeal to me, my judgment so deliberately formed must not be guided by human feeling. Finding myself as Provincial hampered on every side for want of proper subjects, I am sorry I cannot, in consequence, yield to your request. Dr Marsh assigns no reason whatever for his consent to your views. For my part I know what the feeling of brethren in general is, and of the Chaptermen in particular, as to our sending our useful subjects abroad; and this alone, when a General Chapter is so near, would prevent my acquiescence, had I not more powerful reasons, until we have met. So pardon, my dear Confrere, my firm adhesion to my first views on this point. I am confident that you will not set it down to any other than the best of motives. My affection for you and Dr Polding would compel me to sacrifice anything to your apostolic views, save duty. Our missions here are confided to my care, and I must

¹ *D. A.*, K 62.

attend to their necessities.'—So far respecting yourself. I fear this letter must be considered as decisive. A petition to Chapter, I know, would be utterly useless: those of the old school would never yield. It is a subject to me of very deep regret: the failure will have much to do with my own future destiny. With all this failure in England, the Colony will become, of course, an Irish mission, and perhaps ought to be so. I shall most likely leave the Mission myself in the course of three years, for under [these] circumstances, I should probably be an obstacle to the Mission's advancement, and should content myself with forwarding it in England. I speak this after serious deliberation, and have advised with more than one wise head on the subject. To do anything Benedictine in the Colony is now out of the question, and I see not amongst stronger reasons of utility to the Church, why I should secularise myself."

[Then he speaks of his arrangements to leave London for Sydney early in August—4 or 5 young men going out with him, and 5 Sisters, and probably another female. States that he is still uncertain about securing the services of the Christian Brothers.]¹

Same to same.

"London, 63 Paternoster Row,
2nd August 1838.

MY DEAR CONFRERE,—After congratulating *Alma Mater* on your consent to continue in office, my object in writing is to inform you that I am on the eve of departure. I arrived in London on Friday night, and on Saturday morning completed arrangements for sailing in the *Francis Spaight*, which positively leaves Gravesend on the 15th of the current month. She waits beyond her time on our account. I have in my company three priests, four divinity students, and five Sisters of Charity. Eleven priests, two students, and four teachers have preceded me; and one priest, I hope also the Institute of Christian Brothers, will follow shortly. The clergy are particularly eligible persons. I have now had some practice in the art of refusal and rejection.

"The Sisters of Charity are some of the very best and most experienced members of the Institute. Mrs Cahil, the Superioress, has been in the Institute almost from its commencement in Ireland; and Mrs O'Brien was with Miss Bodenham in Paris. Mrs Aikenhead has made a great

¹ *D. A.*, K 77.

sacrifice, and made it nobly. So has Archbishop Murray by his counsel in the case.

"Before leaving Ireland I wrote, at request of the Irish Secretary, a small pamphlet *The Horrors of Transportation, briefly unfolded to the People*, to be distributed gratis. Its object is to show the difference between Transportation and Emigration; and as it develops the Summary Laws, and is filled with facts rested on high authorities applied to the popular mind *stingingly*, I hope it may be of some little service towards removing a monstrous delusion.

"I last night received a packet from the *Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi*; they have printed my memoir of the Mission, including a chapter on the curious natural products and aspect of the country, not in the pamphlet, in the July No,— No 59. They inform me they have struck off 60,000 copies in French, 11,000 in German, 3000 in Dutch, and the remainder, making a total of 80,000, in Italian. They have also, unsolicited, voted us a new grant of money for this year, to be paid at its close, which will amount to more than the last year's grant. . . .

"The reluctance of Superiors and Bishops in England, together with the turn of circumstances, has Hibernicised our Mission. I have much confidence in the piety and present good dispositions of all our new missionaries, but doubt much whether the Mission would work well, all the superiors being English, and all the subjects, nearly, Irish. The refusal of Mr Heptonstall by his Provincial, an act of which I have no right or title to complain, though I lament, has destroyed my prospect of Benedictinising the Colony—a plan I thought both feasible and desirable, as did Rome. I think it not at all unlikely under all circumstances, that, ere long, if my superiors will receive and employ me, I shall return. Not that I have lost one jot of zeal for the cause. I could now perhaps serve them better here than there, by watching their interests at home. A scheme is on foot, urged by Rome, for forming a Seminary, or adding largely to Maynooth, for the supply of the Colonies: and I see a disposition in one or two to bring the Colonies under the Irish Hierarchy. A Maynooth board might do much in this. In three or four years another supply of priests will be wanted, especially for the new Colonies forming. I should like much to snatch a day from cares and preparations and endless correspondence to visit you, but know not whether you are returned, or where you will be. If at home, pray let me know, and give my affections to all good confreres, Mr

Kendal, Mr Scott, etc., etc. Your affectionate and attached confrere,

WM. ULLATHORNE."¹

At last, Dr Ullathorne's stay in Europe drew to a close; he had wrung out of the Colonial Office, Bishops, Seminaries and Convents, every available concession in money and *personnel*, and was anxiously looking to recross the ocean and resume his apostolic labours in Australia. As he relates in his *Autobiography*:² "Having already sent two companies of priests on their way to Sydney, as well as several school teachers, three remaining priests, the five Sisters of Charity, and five ecclesiastical students assembled in London, and we embarked on board the *Sir Francis Spaight* towards the end of July,³ bound direct for Sydney without any intermediate stoppage. Among the reverend clergy whom I had engaged for the Mission were the Rev. Francis Murphy, who afterwards became the first Bishop of Adelaide; the Rev. F. Geoghehan, who became the second Bishop of Adelaide; and the Rev. T. A. Goold, O.S.A., who became the first Bishop, and afterwards the first Archbishop of Melbourne. . . . Dr Heptonstall, the Procurator of the English Benedictines in London, who had assisted the other priests at their departure, remained with us to the last moment. He was a most valuable friend, acting gratuitously as agent for the Australian Mission in London at all times. . . . On 31st December 1838, we reached Sydney, having been five months and a half on the voyage."

The exact date of departure was somewhat later than that mentioned by Dr Ullathorne, which is fixed by the accompanying letter sent by Mr Jones of Paternoster Row to the *Catholic Magazine*. As will be seen, it was the middle of August.

¹ *D. A.*, K 85.

² p. 143, *seqq.*

³ He dates his letter of farewell to Dr Brown from London, 2nd August, 1838, as printed above.

"Departure of Missionaries to New South Wales.

This event was announced to us in the following letter :—

'63 Paternoster Row,
1 o'clock, P.M., 17th August.

DEAR SIR,—I have just now seen the party of Missionaries and Sisters of Charity, embark on board the *Francis Spaight*, for Sydney ; and it is not easy to conceive a more interesting spectacle, or one more calculated to produce in the reflective mind mingled feelings of joy and sorrow ; of joy, to see so many holy and devoted servants of the Most High quitting their native country, parting for ever from friends and connections they hold most dear, to spread the light of true religion and virtue in far-distant regions ; of sorrow, to see so much of worth and goodness taken and removed away from us who remain at home. The party consists of the Very Rev. Dr Ullathorne, Rev. Messrs Butler, Geoghehan, and Marum, 3 or 4 young gentlemen not yet in Holy Orders, but preparing for that state, and five religious of the Sisters of Charity. I have had the happiness of seeing these good religious, and certainly, I believe, I shall always retain the holy impressions which their serene and pious countenances have produced in me ; they have but one heart and one soul, and one object ; that is, to glorify God, and to do good to their fellow-kind. May Almighty God prosper their voyage, is the sincere prayer and hope of,

Dear Sir,

Your very faithful servant,

THOMAS JONES.'"¹

As a result of Dr Ullathorne's labours, the number of clergy, actual or prospective (*i.e.* ecclesiastical students) and teachers was largely augmented, and the first community of religious women of the Irish Institute of Sisters of Charity, established on Australian soil.

By way of illustration, some facts, figures and names may be here inserted, preserved in the pages of Judge Burton's *Religion in New South Wales*, wherein are to be found some very valuable tables and summaries.² Only those items which are of interest to Catholics are here reproduced. In

¹ *Catholic Magazine*, 1838, p. 561.

² Appendix No. XII., p. lxxvi. a, b, c, d.

1836, when Dr Ullathorne left the Colony for England, the population of New South Wales was estimated at 77,096. At the end of April 1839, it had risen to 101,904. In 1836, the population of 77,096 was made up of 54,621 Protestants, 21,898 Catholics, 477 Jews and 100 Pagans. To meet the spiritual wants of these different denominations, there were in the Colony in 1839, 64 Protestant clergymen, *i.e.* 33 of the Church of England, 23 Presbyterian Ministers, 6 Wesleyans and 5 Baptists, while there were 20 Catholic priests. The Chapel room at the same period is stated to be 6,750 for the Church of England, 2,140 for Presbyterians, 2,954 for Wesleyans, 400 for Independents, 400 for Baptists, 150 for Quakers, and 3,860 for Catholics.

The total annual charge on Colonial public funds for Protestants of all denominations was, for the year 1838, £20,944, 19s. 9d.; whilst the grants for the Catholic establishment came to £4,265, 18s. 2½d., including contributions towards building, in sums equal to the amount of *private subscriptions*: to Sydney Cathedral £350; to Parramatta, £121, 7s. 6d.; to Campbell Town £19; prayer books for prisoners £34, 13s. 10d. For the same year Government grants, etc., to the Liverpool and Parramatta male and female orphan schools amounted to £6,703, os. 11d., while the one Catholic orphan school received only £800. Church of England day schools during the same year, as also Presbyterian schools and the Australian School Society between them received £11,370, 8s 1½d., while the grant to Catholic schools was £1,123, 2s. 6½d.

The following table is of interest, as it gives the names of clergy and the stations which they were serving.

| | |
|--------|--|
| Sydney | Right Rev. Bishop Polding, O.S.B. |
| | Rev. John M ^c Encroe, Attending Sydney gaol; officiating at Parramatta. |
| | Rev. J. B. Sumner, Attending Parra- matta Factory. O.S.B. |
| | Rev. Ch. Lovat. |

376 BENEDICTINE PIONEERS IN AUSTRALIA

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Sydney</i> | Rev. Fras. Murphy. | Attending Sydney Gaol, officiating at Parramatta <i>viz</i> Father M ^c Encroe. |
| | Rev. J. B. Spencer, O.S.B. | Attending House of Correction. ¹ |
| <i>Liverpool</i> | Rev. H. G. Gregory, O.S.B. | |
| <i>Campbell Town</i> | Rev. J. J. Therry. | |
| | Rev. James Goold. | |
| <i>Appin</i> | | (Served from Campbell Town.) |
| <i>Wollongong</i> | Rev. John Rigney. | |
| <i>Goulburn</i> | Rev. John Fitzpatrick. | |
| <i>Yass</i> | Rev. Michael Brennan. | |
| <i>Windsor</i> | Rev. John Brady. | |
| <i>Maitland and Newcastle</i> | Rev. T. V. Dowling. | |
| <i>Patrick's Plains</i> | Rev. John Lynch. | |
| <i>Norfolk Island</i> | Rev. John M ^c Encroe. | |
| | Rev. H. G. Gregory. ² | |
| <i>On leave of absence in England</i> | Rev. W. B. Ullathorne, D.D. | |
| <i>Maitland</i> | Rev. Edmund Mahony. | |
| <i>Bathurst (N. & S.)</i> | Rev. Thomas Slattery. | |
| | Rev. Michael O'Reilly. | |
| | Rev. P. Geoghehan. | |
| | Rev. R. Marum. | |
| | Rev. T. Butler. | |

The schools then opened, with their staffs, thus appear :

| | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Sydney</i> — | | |
| St James's | James Cosgrove. | Ann Cosgrove. |
| St Philip's | W. S. Walsh. | Mary O'Brien. |
| | David Fitzpatrick. ¹ | |
| | Edw. Hawkesley. | |
| St Andrew's | John Conway. | |
| St Lawrence's | Edward Boyle. | Elizabeth Davis. |
| <i>Parramatta</i> | James Hayes. | Eliza Hayes. |
| <i>Campbell Town</i> | James Hayburn. | Eliza Smith. |
| | Patrick Hynes. | |
| <i>Appin</i> | David Fitzpatrick. ¹ | |
| | John Murray. | |

¹ He was not then a priest.

² Note how Judge Burton counts the same priests *twice*, to swell their number, and to inflame prejudice.

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>Liverpool</i> | . . | David Fitzpatrick. ¹ | |
| <i>Windsor</i> | . . | | Esther Cassidy. |
| <i>Maitland</i> | . . | Thomas Lynch. | M. A. Lynch. |
| <i>Wilberforce</i> | . . | Peter Cooke. | |
| <i>Richmond</i> | . . | Thomas Levett. | |
| <i>Wollongong</i> | . . | Thomas Fowler. | |
| <i>Unattached</i> | . . | W. A. Duncan. | Mrs M. E. Davis. Mrs O'Brien. Miss E. Fisher. Miss Carter. |

In these tables gathered from the pages of one of the Church's most inveterate enemies in the Antipodes, we have the answer to the final appeal which ends Dr Ullathorne's remarkable pamphlet *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*.²

"And now," he writes, "having given an outline of our mission and our labours, permit me to say a word upon our wants, which are very great.

"Over the vast range of New South Wales, there are at present only seven missionaries. Sydney alone would require three, and yet the Bishop is sometimes left alone, with its duties added to his own. There are vast districts, such as that of Bathurst, covered with Catholics, and without a single priest. Van Diemen's Land requires seven priests at least, and has only two. Two are demanded for Norfolk Island, for one alone would be a thousand miles from a brother priest. The south and western colonies, stretching along a line of 2500 miles, have never seen a priest. The aboriginal population, covering the vast interior, are under the shadow of death. The Government is prepared to pay the expenses of a few more priests for New South Wales, but not of an adequate number; of one for Norfolk Island—of none at present for Van Diemen's Land. Without some such institution as the Sisters of Charity, from the mother country, it seems impossible to do much effectually with the female convicts. A seminary is required for the education of youth, and for the gradual formation of a body of native

¹ At Appin, 1st January—28th February. Liverpool, 1st March—30th April. Sydney, 1st May—30th September.

² pp. 49, seqq.

clergy and schoolmasters, for which we are without means. We have four buildings raised and closed in for service, but not one ceiled or plastered. We are commencing several others, but our present fund for their completion is hope. The Government is disposed to proportion a contribution to the gifts of the faithful; but, with us, the great proportion are prisoners without a penny. Our few wooden altars are naked of ornament—we have scarcely a crucifix to put upon them. The priests who go out will be without vestments or chalices. Books of prayer and of instruction are at an unlimited demand; we are obliged to give one to every poor prisoner who arrives and who can read.

“How the Catholic prisoner clings to his prayer-book given by his priest! How he clasps it, when everything else is gone! How ingeniously he preserves it through every hazard! In the remote wilds it is to him in place of priest, and altar, and sacrifice. We need means for the temperate defence of our doctrines, for a great portion of the Australian press has recently flooded us with the old calumnies. And indeed, what do we not need? We need the fervent prayers of the faithful.”

THE COLUMBIAN

TO VIND
ABROUAD



VERY REV. WILLIAM BERNARD ULLATHORNE, D.D., O.S.B.,
Vicar-General of New South Wales
(afterwards First Bishop of Birmingham, and titular Archbishop of
Cabasa).

CHAPTER X

FROM DR ULLATHORNE'S RETURN TO AUSTRALIA TILL DR POLDING'S FIRST VISIT TO EUROPE

THE year 1838 ended joyously for Bishop Polding with the arrival of his beloved Vicar General accompanied by a notable accession to the ranks of the Bishop's spiritual workers. The year 1839 consequently saw redoubled activity of all kinds. As we have learned from Dr Polding's letter already quoted, the Sisters of Charity, whilst arrangements for their permanent housing were being completed, stayed with his Lordship at Woolloomooloo. Father Geoghehan was, for a while, attached to the district of St Benedict, and, as Dean Kenny says, may be said to have formed that mission. The Rev. Richard Marum was placed at Liverpool, near Sydney, but unfortunately he soon succumbed, being of a delicate constitution. The Rev. T. Butler, after a short stay in Sydney, was despatched by the Bishop to Launceston in Van Diemen's Land.

The Bishop, as is clear from the letter referred to, was overjoyed at the arrival of the Sisters of Charity, realising what an inestimable help they would prove to him in labouring for the up-raising of the most degraded and hardened outcasts of their own sex. Dean Kenny in *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*,¹ quotes the words of the Bishop in reporting on their work in the account of his Mission which he sent to the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith. This is Dr Polding's description :

"The locality at Parramatta in which we intended to place them not being prepared when they arrived, they

¹ pp. 162-163.

remained for some time in the residence of the Bishop. After the space of three weeks they were able to enter on the battlefield of their labours; and immediately were their efforts blessed by the most consoling results. There is an extensive Factory in Parramatta in which these females are confined until they have been assigned to employers in the interior; and some prefer to remain in the establishment that they may not be exposed to temptation. There are sometimes 1200 of those unfortunate women in the Factory at the same time, and usually about one half of these are Catholics. Your Eminence [the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda] will judge how necessary it was to introduce into such a place the sweet and consoling instructions of the Sisters of Charity. The Governor immediately granted the Sisters permission to visit that asylum of crime and misery, and to do so whenever they thought fit. . . . In the Lent succeeding the arrival of the Sisters of Charity a general preparation for the Sacraments was proposed to those who were confined in the Factory. Nearly the whole of them availed themselves of the invitation. The Bishop, Vicar-General, and two other priests attended to hear the confessions; and the result of this combined force was clearly discernible in the improved conduct of the inmates; the officials of the prison candidly acknowledged this to be a fact. Those who had not been confirmed received the Sacrament of Confirmation. In the meanwhile, the edifying and assiduous exertions of the Sisters caused a great many Protestants to apply to them for instruction, and every week persons were led to the Faith and sanctity of life. Besides the duties of the Sisters in the Factory, which they fulfil at least twice a day, they visit the hospital of the town as well as the infirm. Further, they have charge of a large school, and give instruction when required. Our Orphan School also, is placed under their superintendence. The Omnipotent God in His goodness has blessed them, and by inspiring the young with a vocation to a religious life, they have been enabled to undertake their duties with an increase of their number. Four have entered into the convent since the arrival of the Sisters; one of them is a convert from Socinianism. They have obtained a house and garden which have been secured to the Institute for ever. We are indebted for this in a great measure to the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, for which we cannot be sufficiently grateful."

This account was, of course, drawn up when Dr Polding

was making his visit *ad limina* at a subsequent date; but the reference to vocations recalls an anecdote given by Dr Ullathorne in a *Lecture on the Conventual Life*,¹ which is sufficiently quaint to merit insertion here. Speaking of the spirit of bright cheerfulness which alone qualifies a candidate for admission into a community, as opposed to the fanciful Protestant notion that nuns are sad, morose women, who have suffered love disappointments in the world, he says:

“When in the year 1838, I introduced a community of Sisters of Charity into New South Wales, I was called upon the morning following their arrival by a young lady, a stranger to me, who told me she had come on the part of another young lady who wished to enter the convent. Suspecting something a little romantic, I asked if the young lady was a Protestant, my visitor being evidently one herself. She replied: ‘My friend is a Protestant, but I assure you she is quite prepared to enter a convent. She has had no less than three disappointments.’ I could only answer, although kindly, that I feared she would have a fourth.”

Dr Ullathorne besides speaking of the nature of his own work at this time, naturally refers to the Sisters and their labours. He says:—

“By desire of the Bishop I took up my abode at Parramatta, as well with the view of building a church there, establishing a school, and forming a mission, as to take charge of the Sisters of Charity, who were placed in a house and garden purchased by Mr William Davis expressly for them. I went over to Sydney at least once a week to attend to the correspondence and other business with the Government. . . . We had business with the Colonial Office; with the Surveyor-General’s Office, for grants of land; with the Auditor-General’s Office, for payment of stipends; with the Treasury, with the Superintendent of Convict’s Office; and with the military authorities, for attending the troops. I left all this correspondence docketed in pigeon-holes, but I doubt if it has been preserved. Liverpool was attended from Parramatta,

¹ 1868, 2nd Lecture, p. 23.

² *Autobiography*, pp. 152-4.

and I had a young priest [Rev Richard Marum] to assist me. At Liverpool, Mass was still said in the convict hospital, as we had no chapel there yet. A curious incident, the effect of imagination, occurred to this young priest, on one of his first journeys. He was new to the Colony; and riding one night to Liverpool, to officiate next morning, darkness came on, and with the darkness, an unaccountable fear that the blacks were around him. He backed his horse under a tree, and there he sat all the night in the rain, expecting every moment that the blacks were coming to spear him. I saw on his return that he was very pale and worn; and then the story came out. Yet there were no natives about; it was entirely the effect of imagination.

"Besides the school, the principal work of the Sisters was in the great female prison, called the Female Factory. This was the head quarters of all the female convicts. They were assigned to service from there. They were returned there for punishment. There were commonly as many as 1500 women in this prison, distributed into three wards or classes. The first class consisted of those who were ready for assignment; the second of women sent in with illegitimate children when they had no nurse; the third class was of those who had to undergo severe punishment, and who, on their entrance, had their hair cut off, an operation not unfrequently attended with the most violent scenes. As there were generally some 500 Catholics among these unfortunate women, the Sisters went to instruct and influence them five evenings in the week. They sat on chairs in the midst of one of the yards, and the women sat on the flags in groups around them, except private interviews were required, when they resorted to rooms assigned to their use. It was sometimes difficult to prevent these poor creatures from making a complete confession to the nuns. They wanted to unburthen their minds, and said they would as soon speak to a nun as to a priest. The reverence with which the Sisters were regarded by all these women was quite remarkable, and the influence which they exercised told, not only in the prison, by the greater order and the easier management of these numerous and excitable women, but after a time it was felt throughout the Colony, and was repeatedly expressed by the magistrates from the bench. The whole establishment was bettered by their influence. . . .

"It was my duty to say Mass for the Catholic women once a week, and to hear all whom the nuns had prepared and sent to me. Although this work was very beneficial, and

changed the habits of many a poor soul, the labour, which was long, and took more than one day in the week, often left me completely sick and exhausted. Another duty in the Factory was of a singular character. When convict men obtained their ticket-of-leave and a permit to marry, or got their freedom, some of them would come to the female prison, exhibit their papers, and ask for a wife. This was made known to the women of the first class, who were ready for assignment. Some of them would present themselves in the room where the man was waiting. After taking a survey of them, he would beckon one to him. The two had a private conversation, and, if they agreed to marry, which was commonly the case, they were married by their own clergyman on the spot. It is a fact that many of these marriages, especially if they went to live in the country, turned out well.

"On one occasion, however, there was a great disturbance in the Factory, of which I was the unconscious cause. The long room in which I was giving the Catholic women an instruction was only separated by a wall from another long room in which the second class were nursing their children. Quarrels often rose among them about little things concerning the wants of their offspring. Suddenly there arose such a clamour and a swearing and cursing among these women, that it pierced the walls and put the women I was instructing into a state of excitement. They murmured, groaned, drew long sighs, and expressed their feelings aloud. I seized the occasion to improve it. I told them they need not affect to be horrified, but had better look at themselves in this conduct, for that when my eye was not on them they did much the same at certain times of excitement; and there I left them. Somehow they got the notion into their heads that the disturbance had been got up to insult their priest. That night they broke into the other ward and there was such a fight between the two classes of women that several of them had to be carried on shutters to the hospital, seriously injured. The matron told the whole story to me, and the women told it to the nuns.

"Sir George and Lady Gipps showed their appreciation of the Sisters by repeatedly calling upon them, when at their country house at Parramatta; sent them presents from their garden, and would have invited them in a quiet way to their mansion, only they received hints that it would be against their Rule. And here I may mention that, on their arrival, the Governor expressed to me his readiness to allow them pensions; but as they refused to accept their passage and

outfit from the Colonial Office, to the great surprise of Lord Glenelg, so they declined the offer of the Governor, thinking it best to keep themselves independent."

Cardinal Moran¹ mentions that "the occupation of the Factory women hitherto was breaking stone and sawing wood. The Sisters represented to the Governor that such toil served to harden rather than to subdue the convicts. At their suggestion, laundry work was introduced, and needlework was taken in from the public for their employment. So happy was the change soon effected in the Factory, that a portion of the amount received for the convicts' work was allowed to the poor inmates as wages. The Governor, Sir George Gipps, and his lady, showed every attention to the Sisters, and endeavoured to forward the charitable work in which they were engaged. Several other Protestant families also showed them the greatest respect and courtesy, although at first they thought it strange that the Nuns should refuse to spend the evening with them, and to join in a quiet dinner party."

A few days after the arrival of Dr Ullathorne, on Sunday, 6th January 1839, a great meeting of the Catholics of Sydney was held in St Mary's Cathedral, over which Dr Polding presided. Its object was to raise funds for the completion of the Cathedral, and also to extend a welcome to the new arrivals. The subjoined account, taken from Dean Kenny's pages,² shortened where feasible, it would be wrong to omit, as we learn so many details not elsewhere preserved to us. Dean Kenny evidently procured his account from one of the journals of the day, though he does not mention the fact.

"We know not when we were more agreeably gratified than we were on entering this splendid structure, and in being present during the service which preceded the meeting. The whole roof had been completed. The grandeur and general appearance were well supported by the delicate minuteness with which the detail of ornament, peculiar to the style adopted, had been carried out. And we beheld the Bishop standing before the altar, under the canopy of an arch,

¹ *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*, p. 961.

² *Progress*, etc., pp. 149-161.

beautiful in the simplicity of its form, and enriched in a manner peculiarly striking and novel by the introduction of stained glass into the ornamental spandrils, surrounded by the ministers of religion in their various gradations. The recently arrived priests made their obedience to the Right Reverend Bishop, and were formally received into the number of the clergy. . . . A most instructive discourse was delivered by the Rev. Mr Geoghehan, one of the clergy who lately arrived with Dr Ullathorne. The Sisters of Charity, we observed, occupied the first bench in front of the altar."

The description of bishop and architecture may be a little mixed ; but the reporter records the effect produced upon him with complete vividness.

After the Mass, the public meeting was held, and Dr Polding having taken the chair, read the following pastoral :

"John Bede, by the grace of God, and the appointment of the Holy See, Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, to the faithful of Sydney and its vicinity, greeting :

"DEARLY BELOVED IN JESUS CHRIST,—Two years and a half have elapsed since we first invited your co-operation and assistance in the completion of the structure in which we are now assembled. Then the bareness and nakedness of the walls, its roof just sufficient to protect the altar and the congregated multitude around it from the elements, its generally desolate appearance by reason of its unfinished state, served as arguments most cogent and irresistible to influence you to take up the sacred cause with vigorous generosity. Blessed be God, that space of time has not elapsed unproductive of the effects we wished to see realised. The building, commenced by that good pastor whom Providence selected to watch over and protect His infant Church in these countries, has now grown up by your efforts into a structure, without and within, goodly and pleasant to behold, well suited to its noble purpose. Cast your eyes around, survey the work of your hands, the result of your zeal, and you will take part in the joy of holy David, when having adorned, according to the extent of his means, the resting-place of the Tabernacle—the mere type or emblem of our church—he exclaimed, 'Lord, how have I loved the beauty of Thy House, and the place of Thy habitation? I

will adore in Thy holy temple, and I will praise Thy name." Not one amongst you now repines for that his contribution has been large and frequent, not one has been visited by distress in his own family because he has given generously to the Lord.

"In referring to the means we used for the purpose of regulating the donations of the faithful, so that the contributions might flow in channels easy of access to all parties, it will be recollected we instituted a society of persons who engaged to pay a sixpence per week towards the completion of the Cathedral, and also of those who zealously engaged themselves to collect the sums so contributed. Amidst the labours of our ministry, it was gratifying, it was consoling, to observe how energetically you exerted yourselves to obtain the means of completing the material structure which best might represent that spiritual edifice of faith, and of hope, and of love to God and man, which, with our beloved clergy, we were engaged in raising among you. In the lapse of time, however, various circumstances, as might be expected, have broken in upon the harmonious working of that society, and have clogged proceedings; so that, though the goodwill remains, the results of that good-will do not substantially appear. The consequence is, the channels no longer bring in their wonted contributions, the treasury from which the current expenses were discharged, has become entirely empty. We are in debt. We think it right to state the fact in its plain simplicity. Upwards of £2000 have been paid to the contractors, Brodie and Craig; several hundreds—the exact amount cannot yet be ascertained—remain to be paid. We cannot proceed to complete the Cathedral unless our treasury be again replenished by the contributions of the faithful.

"We require an immediate supply to meet the demands now due, we must provide for the future, so that the work may proceed uninterruptedly to its completion, unencumbered by the great evil of accumulated debt.

"To effect the first of these purposes we propose that an immediate subscription be commenced. Several gentlemen have already signified their willingness, and have evinced their sincerity by the payment of their subscription, others most laudably have engaged to pay annually considerable sums until the completion of the work. Thus encouraged we unhesitatingly call upon all to contribute of their substance to this great work. The Lord loves the cheerful giver; and

¹ Ps. 25.

that which shall descend into the general fund for erecting a temple to His name, which shall in some sort be worthy of its object (like the waters which have passed to the ocean, return from the clouds to the earth with a fertilising power) the divine blessing will again restore to you with an hundred-fold increase.

“But this will not be sufficient. Who would not regret the cessation of the work before completion? Yet this must be the case; even the sanctuary, the place most solemnly consecrated to the divine service, must remain in an unfinished state, unless we have steady supplies on which we can safely calculate; and these we do not doubt we shall have. To secure these supplies we propose that a society shall be formed having for its object the procuring of funds for the completion of the Cathedral. This society, like the former, to consist of those who will contribute monthly at least one half-crown to the funds, or a sixpence for each member of the family; and of others who will engage to collect these sums from the faithful. We do not doubt, after the proofs we have received of the devotedness and zeal of very many of our flock, that this association for the completion of St Mary’s Cathedral will accomplish the glorious object for which it has been formed.

“We cannot dismiss the subject which has principally urged us to assemble you, before we have expressed our sincere heartfelt gratitude to the Author of all good for the unbounded mercies He has been pleased to bestow upon us in the interval of time to which we have alluded.

“The mission of our beloved Vicar-General has been attended with the most beneficial results. His zeal, activity, and piety have created an extensive sympathy in our favour: Zealous, active, and pious labourers in the Lord’s Vineyard have beheld our wants, and have hastened to come to our succour. Our people are no longer as sheep gone astray in the absence of pastors. The cry of our little ones for bread—the bread of eternal life—will not be in vain, there are those now who will break it unto them. The Spirit of God hath filled with courage, not belonging to their sex, excellent ladies, who, deeming all things of small account to gaining souls to Christ, have, fearlessly traversing the ocean, come amongst us to consummate their sacrifice of charity on these shores in the abodes of sorrow and guilt. What return, dearly beloved in Jesus Christ, shall we make to the Lord for all He has done to us? Shall we refuse to devote a portion of our wordly substance to His service? Impossible!

That part of the sacred edifice destined for the use of the people we behold completed; now we are called upon to adorn the Sanctuary of our God, in which He loves to dwell with the children of men. The donations we now request are more directly consecrated to Him. Dearly beloved, on this auspicious day, when we commemorate the oblations which were offered by our forefathers in the faith—the Wise Men to the Infant Saviour—let us offer our gold as a testimony of our grateful homage unto Him who has given us to enjoy in the light of the true faith all its concomitant blessings. On this day when you behold, encircling the naked unfinished Sanctuary, those who, to administer within its sacred precincts, have left all things—who have given their very lives for you—let the munificence of your present subscription, the energy of your future exertions in the completion of the Cathedral of St Mary prove that you gratefully appreciate the sacrifice made by those apostolic men for your sakes.

“The Grace of God our Saviour be with you all. Amen.”

The first resolution, engaging the people to subscribe towards the funds for the completion of the Cathedral was moved by the Rev. Francis Murphy, and seconded by Captain Carter.

Mr Therry, Commissioner of the Court of Requests, moved the second resolution of thanks to Dr Ullathorne for his exertions, and an expression of congratulation and grateful esteem for him and the clergy lately arrived. In doing so he said it was natural that, on such an occasion they should offer their warmest acknowledgments and the assurance of their grateful esteem to Dr Ullathorne, for all the toils and travels he had undertaken, both by sea and land, solely for their interests, and in their service. In the supply of the numerous and efficient clergy he had induced to visit these shores—some preceding, some accompanying, and others yet to follow him—he had given proof of the zeal, ability and energy with which he fulfilled the mission entrusted to him. They had for many years experienced his zeal while he was present amongst them; but they had now manifestation of it whilst he was absent; and the only question they had to determine respecting him was, whether absent

or present his anxiety for their welfare was the more assiduous, persevering and serviceable? It must be gratifying to Dr Ullathorne to see the edifice in which they were assembled, which he had left in a roofless and unfinished state, now rapidly advancing towards completion—and to see the Catholic religion, which was but as a speck on the horizon when he first touched upon these shores, gradually enlarging in size and strength. On such an occasion it was impossible to be unmindful of the services and the name of the founder of that church in which they were met—the Rev. Mr Therry—a name that could not be blotted out from the page of the religious history in the Colony nor erased from the tenderest and most grateful endearance of its Catholic inhabitants (Applause). Besides the congratulations with which they had welcomed Dr Ullathorne and his associates, they owed him a large debt of gratitude for the success of his exertions in the mission, which was not undertaken in the pursuit of any personal advantage nor to advance the wealth of the Colony, already accumulating wealth beyond any British Colony, nor to promote its commercial or agricultural interests. While in England, he would venture to say, his Reverend friend had not once enquired how wool sold in Garraway's, nor into the state of the oil market. (Laughter.) There were a sufficient number already engaged in these pursuits. The object of his mission was quite a different one—to cause those to be remembered who were forgotten, to relieve the wants of the depressed and deserted, and to place a limitation to their distress, to attend to the neglected—these were the high and meritorious objects of his mission, so that his voyage, like that of the illustrious Howard, may be said to have been 'a circumnavigation of charity.' The presence of the numerous clergy assembled on that day was the best argument in favour of the resolution, as it furnished proof of the zeal and services of Dr Ullathorne, and the sympathy he created in their favour.

Dr Ullathorne then addressed the meeting in the following speech :—

“ My Lord, why should praise and honour be given to me ?

Praise and honour be only to God, and to Him I give back that which you, dear friends, have given to me. In your heart, my Lord, my heart lives. I have been but the organ of your spirit. For as Samuel about Eli, so was I brought up about you, to serve the temple; as Paul before Gamaliel, so was I brought up at your feet. I am but, as it were, an excrescence upon the large heart which God has given to you for great purposes. I have long since lost my personal identity, which has been merged in yours, because I saw that yours was merged in a great cause, and that cause is not less than the planting of the Church, and the planting in its primitive fervour, in a new world. I have had no other will than yours, for in yours I have always been accustomed to see the will of God. You spoke and I went forth; you breathed into me your spirit, and that spirit prevailed. Let me expand in gratitude to God who sent His angel to accompany me and made all my designs to prosper. You, the beloved flock whom I served, judge of my joy at being again amongst you. If the brother rejoices at the return of an absent brother, if the mother's heart yearns over the children whom she sees again after a long absence, and if the guardian angel receives enlargement of happiness at the sight of those received into heaven over whom he has had long care, judge how full is my soul, who am at once your brother, your parent, and your guardian, because your pastor. I left you, not for any personal object, but that I might serve you the more. My friend, Mr Therry, has well remarked that I never once, whilst in Europe, mentioned the price of wool or of oil, though I was doubtless often asked the question. 'Well,' it would be asked of me by various persons, 'how is land selling in New South Wales?' 'Really,' I would reply, 'I have been so much occupied with the cultivation of sheep, that I have not paid much attention to mere land.' 'Well, then, how is wool selling?' 'Why, you will think it very strange, but though my flocks are very numerous, they don't bear wool; and if they did, we would not fleece them.' (Laughter.) During my long absence you were ever in my heart; I lived but for you. On the trackless seas you were my care; amongst the icebergs of the Horn, in a most severe winter, my prayers were constant for you. I landed in England; and wherever my steps fell, in public or in private life, I spoke of you and of your wants. I passed over to Ireland and pleaded your cause; I entered into France, and it was sufficient to know you were Catholic, and in want of aid, to obtain the co-

operation of the faithful in that country. I crossed the snowy Alps, descended upon the plains of Lombardy, passed through the innumerable States of Italy: and when I stood before that venerable man, on whose mitred brow a trinity of crowns is pressed—the load of the spiritual—I thought I saw Peter and all his successors. I saw the halo of 1800 years gathered on the august temples of Gregory XVI; and in my person you all did homage to the Prince of pastors, to the Corner-stone of Unity, to the Successor of Peter, to the Vicar of Christ. Many, and kindly affable, were his enquiries about you, and deep the interest he showed in this remote portion of his universal charge.

“When I stood in the noblest temple the world ever saw, an emblem of our religion in its universality, I beheld from its centre how to every quarter of the world it expanded an arm, and how, above all, its vast dome seemed to enclose heaven as well as earth; and how it seemed to have gathered to itself all the richest materials of the earth, mystically arranged in order to express the profusion of spiritual treasures which it emblematically represents. This did not most interest me; but I went down beneath its marble pavements, and stood upon the porphyry floors of that elder church which Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, and Pope Sylvester had raised more than 1500 years ago. I entered the silver sanctuary, where side by side lie the bodies of Peter and Paul, the dearest remains which are left us—for the body of Christ arose and ascended to heaven; yet was that sacred body with me there in another manner, as it was on the altar to-day, and upon the altar of that tomb you were then in my heart, and I offered up the Eternal Sacrifice, that the Apostolic spirit in its first fervour might descend upon Australia.

“And when on the feast of the Pasch I mingled with the 150,000 men of Rome, who blended with the 60,000 strangers gathered together from every spot of the earth within the arms of that vast portico, which seems to invite and embrace the world, and when that venerable figure of the Sovereign Pontiff arose with uplifted arms to bless the city and the world, you then knelt in me and prayed through me that, ‘as the odours of a full field,’¹ so might the blessings of God come down in their plentitude upon you.

“In short, whoever knew me said that I seemed to live and breathe but for your cause. When I arose in the pulpits of England and Ireland, of you only could I utter a word,

¹ Gen. xxvii. 27.

and of your wants and claims. In whatever I have said or written of you, at home or in foreign lands, I had but one object,—to deter poor, weak, ignorant men from crime, and to arouse the zeal of good men to hasten with their help to the fallen. For this I had but one resource, to spread before their eyes a picture of what my eyes had seen—of the miseries in which my heart had mingled. I know of no politics, for I am set apart to religion, I know of no parties or party views—except to lament the disunion and uncharities which grow out of them—for I am a minister of peace. I care not for the temporal interest or material happiness of any man or class of men, when these strike against interests antagonistic to the interests of a higher and more widely spread order. My motto in such matters is that of the illustrious Bishop Milner, 'I know of no politics but those of religion, and no party but the Church.' What man then in any place on this petty globe shall dare to rise so far above the respect he owes himself, as a member of our common humanity, as sharing the same flesh, blood, soul and spirit with myself, as having part in the common fall of our nature—though he may have a trifle of the elevation—who shall presume to say, that I, who as a man cannot be insensible to the miseries of any of my fellow men, who as a Christian should bring health to every wounded spirit, and a refreshing cordial to every troubled heart; what man dares so far to depart from himself as to say that I may not use the truth in order to arouse the zeal of men, and to deter from crime by painting the bitter miseries of its punishment?

"What changes have I witnessed in the mission of this country? It is not six years since I landed a solitary stranger; I found but three priests, zealous ones indeed, but what were these amongst so many, and these so widely spread? This building now so magnificent, was more like a ruin than a temple; the walls of two others, only commenced, were hastening to decay; I have seen strange invisible things as though they were visible. I have seen circumstances and events follow and combine with each other in such numerous and strange ways, independently of human will in our regard, that I can no more doubt the finger of a special Providence over our affairs, than if I saw it incarnate before me. I have done nothing, I was but the empty capacious vessel of reception for the gifts of God as they unexpectedly came from many quarters. Ireland, as of old, supplied her saints, and England gave her money; the Continent even claims a share in the good work, and France, Italy,

Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and many other parts of Germany, contributed each their mite to enable me to complete the good work. The history of our mission is known not only to our countrymen at home, but 75,000 copies in the languages of Europe have made it familiar to the faithful of the Continent, from the peasant to the prince, from Paris to Vienna, and from Constantinople to the Baltic. We have now twenty priests engaged in the mission, besides the provision for Van Diemen's Land; eight divines under your own eyes, my Lord, are preparing soon to enter the field of our labours; three others are equally making their preparations in the College of Douai. Schools are increasing; our missionaries are men on whose brows are stamped the character of holy experience, our young men all fresh in their fervour from the altar of their vows. The institutions of the Church are being completed; holy women have forgotten the delicacy of their nurture and the tenderness of their bringing up, they have closed their senses to the blandishments, the fascinations, and accomplishments of the world; they have made themselves deaf to the siren-cry of kindred and friends; they only know that here was much crime and misery. Why do the angels of God visit this earth? Because in Heaven there is no misery, and the God they love is merciful and compassionate; and they saw the Son of God come down to our poverty, to heal our sorrow by labour and sufferings. And these, His daughters, saw also in Australia the Cross was lifted up, and Christ upon it in bitter suffering; like the Maries they thirsted to be near Him in His agonies. Wherever human miseries are greatest, there also will they be found; they will seek the bruised, they will bind up the broken heart, they will pour in oil and wine and balm—the oil of mercy, the wine of charity, the balm of heavenly consolation. I am ashamed of myself when I think of their heroism. One word let me address to the particular object of this meeting, and I have done. It was the glory of our forefathers in faithful ages, whilst they lived themselves in holy guise, to consecrate all the best gifts of God to the honour of His worship. They thought nothing too good for the God of goodness, who gave them all. Let us rejoice to be like them. Remember that you are not building for yourselves only, but leaving the best legacy, the noblest and most lasting monument of yourselves, to your descendants. It is here your minds are unburthened in their sorrows, here you receive pardon for repentance; from this altar the mingled streams of celestial fire and celestial blood will flow

for your spiritual strength and animation. Here will your children be purified at the font, here will they receive the light of heaven, here will they be united in holy bands, here will be brought your greatest sorrows, that you may leave them, and hence you will carry your greatest joys. And when the grave closes over your bodies, when every other monument and remembrance of you have decayed and disappeared, the children of your childrens' children will be praying in this place and enkindling the fervour of their religion by that spirit which, whilst it animates with life this temple, will recall the piety and self-sacrifice of those ancestors who, through many difficulties raised it up for the service of the Living God.

"My Lord, may I express in conclusion my confident hope that at the end of your labours (may they be very long), the crown of brethren with whom you are encircled—I have added fifteen to the number—may still be yours, enriched with the load of their labours; may you be able to say with Christ: 'of these whom Thou gavest to me I have not lost one.' At the terrible account (may it be far distant, and may I pass away first), may the thousands of your people be always with you, and the words which the Almighty put into the mouth of the Prophet Ezechiel will be your own, and presenting them to the Son of God, you will say, 'these came to me from the north, and these from the south, and these from the Austral Land.'"

J. R. Brenan, Esq., J.P., next moved a resolution of thanks to the Members of Parliament who helped them by their advocacy, and to the Bishops of Ireland for surrendering their students to devote themselves to the Australian Mission. This was seconded by Mr Coveny, and then Dr Ullathorne supported it in the following words:

"My Lord, to the enlightened Hierarchy of Ireland we are under very great obligations. Wherever I met those venerable men, whether assembled or individually, I found but one sentiment in our regard. I went before them a stranger, they received me as a friend; I went amongst them as an Englishman, they received me as though I had been an Irishman; I went amongst them unknown, they saw but my cause, and gave me their respect and unanimous co-operation. I had but one brief word to say, 'My Lord, our people were once your children, and the good Father never forgets his

children, our mission is but an appendage to the Church of Ireland.' To particularise where all were so willing and ready, is almost invidious, and yet I cannot avoid mentioning the names of two prelates whose sacrifice of their best subjects was most generous: the Most Reverend Dr Murray, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Right Rev. Dr Kinsella, the Bishop of Ossory. To another ecclesiastic of eminent dignity in the Church we owe a peculiar tribute of remembrance. He it was who by letter urged my visit to the Holy See, and entertained much care for us. I arrived but in time to console him with the intelligence of our progress and prospects, for a few days afterwards I stood on the outskirts of the assembled princes of the Church, as they knelt round his dying bed. The illustrious Cardinal Weld was our protector before the Holy See; as he was a saint on earth, so he, doubtless, is now a protector before the throne of God. Yet are we not left without a successor to his kindness. There are several, and one in particular—a distinguished member of the Sacred College—who will look with a vivid interest for the particulars of our progress: the illustrious and princely Cardinal Castracane.

"To many of the members of the Legislature we owe a debt of gratitude for their solicitude in our behalf. You are aware, my Lord, and no one more so, how difficult it is for a stranger, amidst a crowd of applicants, to obtain ready access to her Majesty's Ministers without the aid of influential members of the Legislature. Here, again, I feel it almost invidious to particularise, but there are names which the burthen of my gratitude urges me specially to mention. Of the members of the House of Lords we are most particularly indebted to the noble Lords Clifford and Stourton, and to the noble Earl of Fingall. Of the members of the House of Commons we are specially indebted for their zeal in our behalf to Daniel O'Connell, Mr Moore O'Farrell, Mr Lynch, Mr Shiel, the Honourable Mr Langdale, and to that personification of indefatigable zeal and benevolence in the cause of religion, Mr Philip Howard, who seemed to live but to serve us."

A resolution was then moved by the Rev. Mr Geoghehan, seconded by Mr Davis, to solicit further aid from the Government towards the completion of the Cathedral; and Mr Therry recommended that a largely signed petition should be presented. After the customary votes of thanks,

and an exhortation from Dr Polding, the meeting concluded, a collection amounting to £130 having been made.

The vision of unity and harmony and gratitude here displayed was rudely shattered by the forces of self-interest outside the Catholic body. In Dr Ullathorne's first eloquent speech there is a not covert allusion to the opposition that was even then beginning to manifest itself, when he asks: "What man dares so far to depart from himself as to say that I may not use the truth in order to arouse the zeal of men, and to deter from crime by painting the bitter miseries of its punishment?"

The first note of disapproval that reaches us was struck in July 1838 with the arrival of the *Cecilia* when the *Government Gazette* stigmatised its freight of priests as "being the first fruits of Dr Ullathorne's pamphlet, at a cost to the Colony, which he has calumniated and injured, to the extent of only £1200!"

Dean Kenny, elsewhere in his book¹ testifies that the pamphlet in question, the famous *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, "caused the greatest consternation in the Colony of New South Wales, especially amongst those who wished transportation to be continued, considering it the mainstay and support of the agriculturists and the owners of sheep and cattle, for they had the labour of the convict for nothing, comparatively speaking, and thus amassed wealth by overstrained muscles and sorrows unceasing, unpaid-for toil of degraded humanity, without attempting to lay before them the sanctions of religion to reform the unhappy men; whilst they made it appear by their representations that the lot of the prisoners was far from being an unhappy one, and that they had every comfort and consolation that could be allowed them. But the testimony of this pamphlet, as well as the evidence of Dr Ullathorne before the Transportation Committee in London, and the writing and evidence of others, dispelled for ever from the public mind this delusion." Dean Kenny, in order to be scrupulously just,

¹ *Progress, etc.*, p. 129.

concluded by saying "It is fair to state that some employers of convict labour in those days (but they were the exception) were kind and compassionate, and tried to reform those who were under their charge."

We gather something of the nature of the storm that now burst, partly from Dr Ullathorne's *Autobiography*,¹ and partly from the correspondence of that date in the Downside Archives.

Dr Ullathorne writes :

"I had scarcely landed a day when I found myself the object of universal indignation, not only in the Colony, but in other penal settlements. Several other officials from the Colonies had given evidence on the convict system as well as myself, including the Chief-Justice, Sir Francis Forbes : and they had spoken in language as plain as mine. But I was selected by the newspapers as the scapegoat for all. Then, besides my plain evidence, there was the little book on the Australian Missions which had been given, according to the wont of hostile newspapers, in garbled extracts with sinister comments. They concluded, however, falsely, that I had abused the system of assigning convicts to private service, for my own purposes, and with a view to obtaining assistance, in which they proclaimed that I had succeeded, at the cost of the Colony. It must be remembered that the Australian press was to that of England, in those days, what Australian was to English society. There was no mincing of terms. I had deeply wounded both Freeman and Emancipists in two most sensitive points—in their pride and in their pockets. I made the degraded state of things widely known, not only at home, but throughout Europe. I had exposed the vicious results of the assignment system, yet others had gone further than I. The land derived its value from the number of convicts placed upon it ; the settlers got work without paying wages ; and the more criminals, the more wealth. Moreover, trades, manufactures, and even domestic service, depended upon the same resource.

"After the evidence given against it, the system had been vigorously attacked by Parliament and by the British press, and its reformation was already looming in the distance. In the Colonial Legislature the subject of the evidence was

¹ pp. 149, seqq.

discussed before my return ; and my dear old friend, Attorney-General Plunkett, expressed his regret at my vivid style ; and as he was a man of the highest character, and the only Catholic in the Assembly, this did not mend matters. As my pamphlet had been much misrepresented, the Bishop had had a thousand copies of it printed at Sydney with the view to correcting these false statements by its issue ; but as the assault grew more furious, he did not venture to put it out, and I found all the copies carefully stowed away in a store-room.

"My landing was the signal for the storm to burst out anew, and for some six months I had about half-a-dozen columns of abuse allotted daily to my share. No one defended me. The Bishop and the clergy were dismayed ; all held their tongues—and so did I—except that one of the senior clergy, whom I had sent out, told me that they would never have peace so long as I stayed in the Colony. Only Mr Judge Therry, who was more versed in the criminal history of the Colony than any other man, solemnly declared to me that every word that I had uttered was true ; and that if I retracted a syllable of it he would never forgive me. I had another curious testimony in my favour. Going one day upon a steamer, a settler, a stranger to me, came up and said : 'Sir, we shall never forgive you.' I asked ; 'Why not ?' 'Because all that you said is true, and it will ruin us. We could have dealt with a pack of lies like the Major's.' This referred to a man who had published an infamous book in England, libelling the most respectable persons in the Colony.

"One step, however, we took, which resulted in great advantages to the Catholics of the country. Hitherto the Catholics had supported the *Australian*, a paper written by a clever barrister, the son of Judge Stephens. But this paper attacked us more malignantly than the rest ; even than that edited by the notorious Dr Lang, the chief Presbyterian minister, a violent politician. Stephens went so far as to attack our Bishop and to hold him up to ridicule as well as myself. In consequence of this I went to the office, in company with another priest, to let them know that if they continued this policy we should establish a newspaper of our own. 'I,' I said, 'am fair game, but you have no right to attack the Bishop ; what has he done to offend you ?' They evidently did not believe that we could establish a newspaper. An apology appeared for the attack on the Bishop ; but they adopted my words, that 'I was fair game.' But the Catholics

would stand this no longer. The leading laymen met, put down a sufficient sum of money, and a Catholic paper was started, and was edited by Mr Duncan, a keen-witted, clever convert from Presbyterianism, whom I sent out as a schoolmaster, and who ultimately rose to be Commissioner of Customs. He gave them blow for blow; and the chief value of this was that the Catholics had now an organ and a voice which exercised a considerable political influence."

Judge Burton preserves for us a slight reminiscence of this bold move in his *Religion in New South Wales*.¹

He says: "The following extract is taken from the first number of the *Australasian Chronicle*, published at Sydney, on the 2nd of August, 1839. 'The primary objects,' of that paper, are stated in the Prospectus published in the first page to be as follows: 'To explain and uphold the civil and religious principles of Catholics, and to maintain their rights.'"

Having thus far quoted Dean Kenny and Dr Ullathorne to place the reader in full possession of the facts dominating the situation at the commencement of 1839, we are free to fill up gaps by having recourse to the letters written home at this period. In Dr Polding's letter of 12th January, 1839, already drawn upon for an account of the arrival of Dr Ullathorne and the nuns, we learn of the need for help; of the meeting already fully described, and of the return to England of Judge Burton, fraught with future consequences not then, of course, foreseen. Dr Polding's strictures on Dr Lang, though severe, were not unmerited. This letter was followed by another as an after-thought, three days later, showing again how he meant to provide for the maintenance of the Sisters of Charity, and giving details about the establishment he was preparing for their reception at Parramatta. The letter concludes with a most harrowing account of the death of a poor Catholic convict, the result of the cruelty of the treatment meted out to these unfortunate men. One can see how the tender-hearted Bishop's feelings were wrung by the incident he relates.

¹ Appendix xvi, p. cvi.

"Sydney,

12th Jan., 1838 (must be 1839).

" . . . *Au reste*. I shall have more reason than I ever had to bless the gracious Providence which has taken me by the hand as a child, and superintended the course of events, if I can pass this year without becoming encumbered by debt. The burden of supporting my Seminary, of course principally devolves on my scanty means. In addition to my former number, I have now to provide for three additional *strapping* students. The bill of £2,000 odd has been set aside for the Nuns. It came to hand just as I was revolving in my mind '*Unde panis ut manducentur hae?*' God bless you for sending it. I want the charitable assistance of my friends more than ever. The Bench Rents of the Cathedral have hitherto been devoted to its completion. I shall take a part of these at least for my Seminary. A copy of our proceedings, last Sunday, you will receive by this ship. I regret I cannot send the same made up in a pamphlet for distribution amongst our friends. I will by the first opportunity, and it is possible they may come to hand before this. Judge Burton, our bitter enemy and ceaseless contriver of mischief, proceeds home in the *Eweretta* with the Colonial Treasurer Biddell, a man of neither ability nor of any other quality which should merit £1000 per annum save the luck of being a Scotchman. Dr Lang also goes home, and there I sincerely wish all three would remain. The zealous exertions of all our parliamentary friends will be required to counteract the mischievous designs of these men. The two first are the decided foes to all liberal measures, to Sir Richard Bourke's views, because the power of our Tory knot of politicians—a worse set of men than ever made Ireland feel the atrocity of Orangeism—would be thereby curtailed, and ultimately made of no account. Dr Lang knows no respect for himself or for truth where our religion is concerned. Dr Ullathorne tells me that we are indebted to the expressions of Dr Lang respecting the prevalence of disaffection and Whiteboyism amongst the Catholics, for the deluge of Scotch and North of Ireland men with which the Colony has been inundated. A quieter people the sun sees not in his travels. Elliot, the agent for emigration, should be looked sharply after. Again, it has been said that the Irish emigrants are not liked in the Colony—nothing more false. Let proper care be used in the selection, and they will be received with equal if not a warmer welcome than any others.

" Good Mr Brady is still labouring with the zeal of an apostle in his immense district. He is stationed at Windsor. . . . I send you some pamphlets; if Mr Jones can dispose of them it will be well, or if you can procure some assistance from the Catholic Institute in the shape of reward to Hawkesley for his meritorious exertions. He has silenced the parson who expected no one of less rank than your honourable servant to appear in the field against him. Great, then, was his mortification when he found his bare back under the rod of the pedagogue. The sale, however, of the pamphlet here will scarcely pay the printing. We are not yet a literary people. Wool and oil—these must appear—to render print interesting. . . . Love to all,

✠ J. B. P."¹

" Sydney,

15th January 1839.

MY DEAR CONFRERE,— . . . The £2,000 Bill has been deposited at 10 per cent. interest: it can be taken up at ten days' notice. The interest of this I propose to allow the Sisters of Charity for their maintenance, till otherwise provided for. Towards their establishment, which will be a very complete thing when finished, I have in hand £700, and I have reason to expect as much more. I will give you a rude sketch of the house which will save me trouble.

(a) Church of St Patrick, 73 feet long, 40 wide, built.

(b) School, 75 feet long, 38 wide, built.

(c) Convent, to be built, 60 feet long, 26 wide, including verandah over which will be rooms.

(d) Nuns' Choir.

(e) Sacristy.

(f) Garden.

(g) Reserve of 12 acres in front which must always be kept open, unbuilt upon, square.

Humble me by showing this to our dear Sisters of Hammersmith, who will be enabled to form some idea of the situation of those to whom they were so kind as they passed through London. They move to their New Habitation in a retired part of the Town about 100 yards' distance from the Church, on Friday. I shall feel so lonely without them! They have all been sadly tormented by the mosquitoes, especially Mrs Cator, and Mrs O'Brien has suffered no little. Yesterday was a most oppressive day on

¹ D. A., K 158.

account of the heat. The thermometer rose as high as 143°. One poor prisoner of the name of John Gannon fell down senseless at his work, pulling along a cart of stone. He entreated his overseer in vain to change his work, for he was old and weak; to let him use the spade or pick; in vain. He was carried to the Barracks, and died almost the instant he entered. Five others were nearly as bad. Even the *Gazette*, unfeeling as it is, a few days since remonstrated against the cruelty of keeping the men under our hot sun, fed on salt meat, and unprotected, from six in the morning till five in the evening. The Governor has made this law to satisfy the wretched pampered theorists, who maintain that this sort of treatment will reclaim the convict. Would to God they were condemned to endure for one day what their own flesh and blood have been doomed to toil thro' for years. Another monstrous regulation from the same source is that men must remain in Barracks 6 months before assignment, where they become thoroughly steeped and perfected in crime. These theorists are the ruin of the world. With respect to this poor man. He finished his General Confession with me on Saturday last, received the Holy Communion on Sunday morning, was confirmed in the evening. I celebrated Mass for him this morning in the presence of the prisoners, whom to the number of 110 we have this week in retreat, and made them a little exhortation on the occasion. Poor creatures! never was the wish of the prophet uttered with more sincerity: 'May my last end be like unto his,' and I care not how soon when once prepared! This I believe was the sentiment which pervaded the whole assemblage. His death, it was evident, was quite a subject of envy to the survivors. It was happy, I trust. . . . Most affect. and cordially yours,

✠ J. B. POLDING."¹

In a letter written by Dr Polding to Dr Murray, the Archbishop of Dublin, early in 1839, we get a vivid and affecting account of the good work being done by the Sisters of Charity among the degraded female convicts. The change wrought by them was instantaneous, for it must be remembered that the nuns only began their pious labours towards the end of January, and Dr Polding's letter is dated the 5th of March!

¹ *D. A.*, K 161.

"Sydney, 5th March 1839.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,—By the ship which conveys this, your Grace will receive a resolution of thanks on the part of the Catholics of this country for the truly paternal interest you have evinced in their spiritual welfare.

"I have in an especial manner to discharge this duty, for the burthen which had become almost intolerable has been largely alleviated. The clergy have been located some weeks, and are working zealously and successfully. The good Sisters of Charity remained with me some weeks after their arrival. They then took possession of the house which I had engaged for them, previously to their landing, at Parramatta. It is near the Factory or penitentiary for females which generally contains upwards of 600 inmates, two-thirds being Catholics. This, of course, has become the first object of their attention. I did not write earlier to your Grace, that I might be enabled to form an idea of the effects of their labours, and the probability there might be of bringing about a cure in a case which has hitherto been deemed hopeless. Their success has gone beyond my most sanguine expectations. A change which appears almost miraculous has taken place. Where, heretofore, all was noise and ribaldry and obscene conversation, you may now see the quiet of a well-ordered family. Not an oath nor curse nor brawling word is heard; and a general desire to frequent the Sacraments prevails. I, with one of the clergy, am occupied each Monday and Tuesday in hearing confessions, chiefly general, in order to lessen the duties of Dr Ullathorne, the resident clergyman. Upwards of 200 have confessed. Many have received the Holy Communion. The piety and fervour of the Catholic party has communicated itself to the Protestants, who have become amended and are willing, at least in a much greater degree, to attend to their own service. But many who called themselves Protestants return to the faith of their childhood from which they have been allured. The hospital for females is also in this town. This they visit and do much good. The ladies are very much respected by all parties, and I feel convinced their practical illustration of our religion in their lives will be of the greatest service in confuting the idle stories of the bigot and hypocrite respecting our creed.

Your Grace will receive letters from them respecting their pecuniary affairs. With these I decline meddling, assured as I feel of the rectitude of the decision which may be made.

"If our means open sufficiently, I am confident there will

be no lack of subjects. Mr Marum's sister is now an inmate of the Convent, and two other excellent subjects are prepared to join them if we had the means of their support.

"Dr Ullathorne's health, I regret to state, is very delicate. With the deepest sentiments of gratitude and veneration,

I have the honour to be,
My dear Lord Archbishop,
Your Grace's very humble and obliged servant,

J. B. POLDING."¹

The *Catholic Magazine*² enshrines a few jubilant sentences from a letter written at this time by Dr Polding to his friend Mr Howard of Corby, showing the gratification he experienced at the good progress being made.

"Extract of a letter from the Right Rev. Dr Polding to P. H. Howard, Esq. M.P., dated Sydney, 6th March 1839. 'It will be gratifying to you to learn that religion continues to progress rapidly. The vast accession of strength we have derived by the arrival of the clergymen brought by Dr Ullathorne, has been of incalculable advantage. Still there remain vast districts—Port Macquarie, Port Phillip—to say nothing of South Australia, without a priest. My Seminary is on the increase; it now contains twenty-two students—one half for the Church. These are nearly supported on my own slender means. The Sisters of Charity are comfortably situated at Parramatta, and are bringing about a moral miracle in the change which is taking place in the Factory or Female Penitentiary. It generally contains about 600 inmates, two-thirds of whom are Catholics.'"

Dr Polding's next letter, to Dr Heptonstall, dated 14th March, 1839, though it chronicles 'hard times' through drought, with graphic instances, nevertheless shows him in a mood of eloquence, as he well might be, over the good already effected in the Factory at Parramatta through the ministrations of the Sisters of Charity, about which so much has already been culled from other sources. In a few telling sentences we are given an insight into the process: the nuns breaking up the hard ground by their gentle and

¹ Moran, *History*, p. 301.

² 1839; p. 832.

spiritual influence: then the advent of the Bishop and his clergy with their persuasive exhortations, the whole crowned by hundreds of these hitherto abandoned women being brought to a sense of the heinousness of their crimes, and thence to the Tribunal of Penance, there to be restored to grace and to a good resolution of amendment of life.

“Sydney, 14th March 1839.

“ . . . This will indeed be a hard year for me. I do not wish to touch the Capital you sent out. Hay is selling at £21 per ton, and horse corn at 10/- per bushel. Potatoes 16/- per cwt, and other things in proportion. The country is in a dreadful state in the want of rain. A sufficient quantity has not fallen for three years. The ponds and creeks are dried up. The skeletons of fish, 40 pounds in weight, are not infrequently found in the mud of holes, perhaps ordinarily 12 feet deep in water. The creek at the end of my garden is like the rest, for the first time since my arrival. In the hole under the bridge were taken, when the water became low, several eels. One weighed more than four pounds. They are just like those at home, only thicker and more bulky. Very providentially, by digging we have come to a fine spring only five feet from the surface. This is a great blessing. Water is selling in Sydney at 4d. per bucket, and if this weather continues it will become still dearer. In the meanwhile each week brings us loads of Emigrants. Many of them go up the country; but numbers, and amongst them are the helpless and infirm, remain in Sydney, and our streets are beginning to fill with paupers. Many unfortunate women with little children are left by their selfish husbands, who go elsewhere, rid of the encumbrance of supporting them. When I first came, a poor person was not seen begging in the streets: now it is very different. It has been a great oversight in the Emigration concern that whilst this was promoted by devoting to it the sale of the lands in the Colony, a reserve was not made to meet this exigency. As it is, the rich landholder has all the advantage of the scheme. He takes to his farms the healthy, young, unencumbered man; whilst the helpless—and in such numbers there must of course be many helpless—are left to the mercy of private charity in Sydney; and a grievous burden in addition to our calls they become. They find their way to me in the first instance; and were my means tenfold greater, they would not suffice to give each one a

little. . . . The good they [the Nuns] are doing is incalculable. The Factory, or Penitentiary, under their zeal is becoming an altered place. We are giving it a thorough cleansing. Each week I, with one or more clergy, pass two days in it, hearing the general confessions of those whom the Sisters have prepared. This has been our Lenten duty. We have heard about 400 general confessions since we began. After we have thus placed them, as we trust, on a secure footing, we hand them over to Dr Ullathorne, whose immediate duty it is to attend to them. . . . Now we have reason to hope that the same good effects which have resulted from pursuing the same plan in regard of the male prisoners on their landing—effects perceptible and acknowledged throughout the Colony, will be made visible in the reform of the unhappy females, who hitherto have not been so trained, for we had neither time nor place nor proper persons to attend to them. Yet I fear not. It is impossible for pen to describe the dangers to which the unfortunate female convict is exposed in this country. Her reform is almost hopeless. Bad as the Factory may be, I would infinitely prefer her remaining there to her assignment to private service. There, too generally, master and man, bond and free, alike conspire to overthrow her good resolutions; and the fatal bait, a glass of liquor, the pretence whereby she has so often forgotten for a time her degradation, is at hand. The men we can fence about and protect: the women are too generally the hapless victims of the most hateful system of slavery the world ever beheld: a system could not be possibly devised more directly adverse to moral reformation. . . . May God bless you and all friends.

I am, my dear Mr Heptonstall,

Very affectionately,

Yours truly obliged in J. C.,

✠ J. B. POLDING."¹

The progress of the Sisters of Charity and the steady advance of Catholicity are attested in a strange manner by one of the attacks to which Dr Ullathorne was now so constantly subjected, and the evidence comes to us from the pages of Judge Burton's *Religion in New South Wales*.² A scribbler using the pseudonym of *Philanthropos* addressed the following letter in the Protestant bigot's best style to the *Sydney*

¹ *D. A.*, K 190.

² Appendix No. xvi., pp. civ. seqq.

Herald: this effusion Judge Burton thought sufficiently important to incorporate in his book.

"SIR,—Yesterday morning I attended the Roman Catholic Chapel in this town, on the occasion of a novice taking the vows of a *Sister of Charity*. It is not my intention to enter into the details of the ceremonies, it is sufficient to say on that point, that the whole proceedings were so grossly absurd, and to all but the blind votaries of superstition so nauseating and disgusting, as to fill all unbiassed witnesses with pity for those who are weak enough to be misled by imposition so monstrous, and to excite the utmost indignation against those who resort to arts so despicable, to delude the ignorant multitude.

"Premising merely that Dr Ullathorne, in his discourse to the new Sister on the occasion, assured her that she had now become '*like unto the angels in Heaven*, and had entered the band of one hundred and forty-four thousand virgins who are *espoused to Christ*,' I come at once to the point which has induced me to trouble you with my present letter.

"Dr Ullathorne, in his discourse from the altar, repeated again and again, that the Church of Rome is the '*Church of Australia*.' If anything were wanting to exemplify the arrogance, and show the dangerous designs of the Roman Catholic Priesthood, this mendacious and insolent assertion supplies the *hiatus*.

"But this is not the first occasion that I have been an eye and ear witness to the bold assumption of this presuming priest. It is but three or four weeks ago that I heard him denounce Protestantism from the altar as a gross delusion. He held in his hand the translation of the Scriptures as used in our Church and asserted in the face of his hearers, among whom were many Protestants, that so far from being a correct translation of the inspired writers, it contained only what was intended to serve the interested purposes of the three translators. From this he deduced the inference that ours is not the Religion of Christ, but of three men whom Protestants blindly follow, and whose *dicta* we receive as the Word of God. He also, in fact, avowed the doctrine that none who are not of the Church of Rome, can be saved. All this, too, was advanced under the pretence of giving lectures on Christianity, without entering into controversial matters.

"It is, indeed, time for Protestants of all denominations 'to

be up and stirring.' The cloven foot, which Jesuitical cunning for some time endeavoured to conceal, is again put forth,—the tyrannical and exterminating spirit of Popery again rears its head—now, viper-like, insidiously stinging those whose too great liberality and charity have restored to the serpent its venomous fangs,—now again boldly trampling under foot all that resists its blighting progress.

"It is time, I repeat, for all Protestants to unite in arresting the spread of this pestilence. If we continue our supineness much longer, it may overrun the land, and subject it to the same ignominious debasement as benighted Ireland. For supineness and sloth are not the characteristics of the Popish Priesthood. Their whole time and energies are devoted to their vocation. They are indefatigable in propagating their mischievous doctrines, and strain every nerve to work out their own ends.

"This town seems to be fixed upon as the centre-point of their operations. From two to four or more priests and six Sisters of Charity are labouring day and night amongst us. Upon whatever side we look, these holy Brethren and *Sisters* are seen making their 'exits and their entrances,' diffusing, in all directions, the subtle poison which lurks under a fair exterior. The Female Factory, and the Hospital, are rarely free from their visits. Of their proceedings at the former place, circumstances have been bruited abroad which ought to be enquired into, though probably enquiry would be of little avail, as we know that the pitiable and ignorant victims of this superstitious creed would be prevented by secret threats of damnation from disclosing aught militating against the propriety of the proceedings of their spiritual guides.

"My present object, however, is not so much to expose the proceedings of the priesthood, as to draw attention to the necessity which exists generally, and in this town particularly, for the establishment of Protestant schools, and for supplying increased opportunities of attending public worship. *We have at present, only one Church, which is not capable of containing one half the number of persons who would gladly attend. Many members of the Church of England are therefore compelled to omit public worship, or to attend other Chapels, which many do; some from curiosity, others from an objection to allow their families to grow up in the neglect of these public observances.* The Roman Catholics and Wesleyan Methodists are daily rapidly extending their influence, whilst that of the Church of England is rapidly retrograding,

owing to the supineness which so generally prevails amongst its members. Yet, it can scarcely be denominated supineness, for all that is wanted is some person to take the lead, and put the machine in motion, which, when once fairly started, will not be a laggard in the race. I am, Sir, Your's, etc.

PHILANTHROPOS.

Parramatta, April 10th 1839."

The writer must have felt much relieved after throwing off that portentous indictment and diatribe; but with the astounding obtuseness of his kind, he was unable to perceive that the fear underlying his venomous generalities was a tribute and a witness to the earnestness of those he was attacking, as well as being an indictment of the indifference of his co-religionists.

The charitable-minded 'Philanthropos' is identified with Judge Burton himself, from a remark in Dr Ullathorne's *Reply to Judge Burton*!¹ The bitter animosity of his hatred of everything Catholic as evinced in his *Religion in New South Wales* is thus accounted for. He went back to England hot with his indignation against the 'insidious wiles' of the Priests and the Sisters, and poured out his venom in that book; but as we shall see, he met more than his match in 'this presuming priest,' Dr Ullathorne.

On 20th May 1839, a matter of much less moment was engaging Dr Polding's attention, showing clearly that the heavy stress of labour weighing down all the clergy was beginning to lift with the subdivision of labour rendered possible by the increase in the number of clergy. Dr Polding had always been a lover of music from his earliest years, and was anxious that the art of melody should occupy its proper sphere and exercise its proper influence in drawing souls to God. We have seen instances of the Bishop's solicitude in this regard before; the Cathedral Choir was being remodelled under the leadership of Dr Reid; it is not without interest to observe that, even thus early, the proverbial jealousies of singers were to be found in Australia, as at home! The history of the organ, too, is

¹ p. 69.

of interest ; and the first mention of the new instrument to supplant it, of which so much will be heard in the future, is made in the following letter to Father Heptonstall.

" Sydney,
20th May 1839.

MY DEAR CONFRERE,— . . . And now I suppose I may pass to Dr Reid. He is installed Director and Musical Composer to the Cathedral, with a stipend of £50 per ann., one half of which is paid in advance, as he stood in need of help at his first starting. He has the Choir entirely under his control, has practice three times each week. I have formed the Choral Society of the Cathedral of St Mary, and drawn up regulations ; it has already within its sphere upwards of fifty respectable individuals, who will be taught music scientifically, and who engage to serve the Choir in return three years, or as long as they remain in Sydney. A degree of enthusiasm prevails amongst them which ensures success. Many others wish to join, but the above is thought to be a number sufficiently large to be manageable. By the time the organ is out, it is expected that all of the members will be so far advanced as to be useful. Our chief difficulty has been to amalgamate the former Choir with the present. There does exist a degree of jealousy on the part of the former, who are chiefly what are called professional, which will lead, I dare say, to their secession. This cannot be helped. We never could have them behave properly in the Choir, and their example would be most pernicious to the new Choir, so that the loss of their voices—and some of them are magnificent—is counterbalanced by a great good. Spencer indulged them in the first instance ; and here I cannot but lament that the opportunity we had of establishing the Downside psalmody, so dear to me, is lost. I must now have chants from Ireland which I detest, from Scotland,—modifications of that Gregorian chant which I loved so much in dear Downside. As Dr Reid composes very prettily, I will see if I cannot have the style of that chant restored. . . . We have an organ in the Church, one Ellard, late of Dublin, brought out on speculation. It formerly belonged to Gardiner Street, Dublin, and was sold when they purchased Green's from the Westminster Festival. It is a weak, vacant, ill-toned instrument, for which the speculator has the modesty to ask 500 guineas. If he obtain one half, he will have double its real value. We have hired it for one half year, paying £20 for it ; the party lending being at the

expense of placing and removing. . . . [The new organ] will be a great ornament to the Church, and serve the object I have most at heart—after the propagation of religion, the diffusion of sound taste and a love of the fine arts. . . . I have great hopes of raising money by an oratorio or two. This is, however, uncertain, the tide of bigotry is so high at present that it is possible many families would not defile the foot by entering the popish temple. I think, however, curiosity to hear the monster will prevail. It must be an organ of astounding power. . . . The Builders are the very persons I wish to be employed, but I could not recollect their names. They produced the Redditch organ, which I admired greatly. . . .”¹

The following extract from a letter dated Sydney, 10th June 1839, appeared in the *Catholic Magazine*,² giving details about the first profession of a Sister of Charity in Australia, as also of the work and general progress of the Church.

“The first profession among the Sisters of Charity was lately solemnised in the Church of St Patrick, Parramatta. The lady who professed was Miss Williams, now Sister Mary Xavier, who came out as Novice with the other sisters. The ceremony was publicly performed, and attended by a large concourse, comprising many of the most respectable inhabitants of the vicinity. Dr Polding received the vows, and Dr Ullathorne preached an admirable sermon, containing much to edify all. The ceremony of Profession among the Sisters of Charity is particularly solemn, the vows being pronounced in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament and immediately before Communion. Our papers could not pass the ceremony without some remarks, less disrespectful however than from some preceding articles I was led to anticipate. The good produced by the Sisters in the Factory appears almost miraculous. Each morning they attend for an hour, from 6 to 7 o'clock; and each evening the same. Thus, good begins to be disseminated over the Colony, as letters, even from the most distant parts, inform us. Dr Polding has given Confirmation twice since the arrival of the Sisters,—once to about 80, and another time to 110 of the inmates. Usually from 40 to 50 received the Holy Communion each week. Besides the Factory, the Sisters superintend an Infant and a Girls' school: they

¹ D. A., K 211.

² 1840, p. 383.

likewise instruct the pensioners at Mrs Davis' boarding-school, attend the hospital and sick throughout the town, and have, daily, numbers of converts to teach,—so that their hands are quite full. Yet they are so happy; oh, it would be impossible for me to tell you how happy they are! One postulant, Miss Marum, has joined them; and another, Miss Gibbons, will be received in August. Their house, however, is too small, and I regret to say that, instead of having their convent, as the Bishop had hoped, half erected ere this, it is not yet begun. But, oh, my friends, what a country of bigotry and religious wickedness is this! Our good sisters, whom the rudest soldier ever respected,—whom the French Revolution spared,—here, by some of our papers, are maligned and traduced.”

A storm in a tea-cup here burst out, lashed into existence by Dr Broughton, the Protestant Bishop of Australia. It is so petty, that surprise is engendered at the thought that any man could have worried himself about such trifles in the face of the large and important issues involved in bringing religion before a body of men well nigh destitute of a belief in God. But so it was; Dr Broughton complained that Dr Polding was received by the Governor at his Levee “in the habiliments which are appropriate to a Bishop of the Church of Rome,” on the occasion of the Queen's Birthday, 24th May 1839. No doubt he had been stirred by the letter of ‘Philanthropos.’ It seems that this was not the first time his Protestant soul had been perturbed by such an outrageous defiance of Protestant ascendancy. Dr Ullathorne, in his *Autobiography*¹ thus refers to the earlier protest. “There is always a great Levee at Government House on the Queen's Birthday. The Catholic Bishop presented himself in rochet and mozetta. The next day the Protestant Bishop sent in a protest to the Governor against his having received Dr Polding in robes appropriate to a Roman Catholic Bishop. Sir Richard Bourke sent for me. He had evidently no personal objection, for he said the only thing that struck him was that it was a very pretty dress. But he was aware that the Bishop was backed in his protest by a party of zealous

¹p. 156.

Anglican officials, and as his protest had received but little attention he requested that it should be referred to the Home Government. Consequently, we sent a document to the Governor, in which it was stated that, properly, the robes in question were the domestic wear of a Catholic bishop, and so far from being *appropriate* to a bishop, they were worn by certain other ecclesiastics of lower rank, and even by canons. The two documents were sent home together, and in course of time the reply came from the Colonial Office, that as the Catholic Bishop had stated that the robes worn at the Levee were not appropriate to a bishop, there was no question to go before the legal adviser of the Crown." The clever plan adopted by Dr Polding of drawing the distinction between domestic dress and pontificals succeeded in getting a rebuff for Dr Broughton, and, probably, as a point of wisdom, after the second protest, as Dr Ullathorne remarks: "to prevent all further nonsense on the subject, the Bishop went henceforth to the Levee in coat and feriola." As Dr Polding committed the heinous offence in the eyes of the Protestant Bishop once more when Sir George Gipps was Governor, that magnate also received Dr Broughton's reproof for his dereliction of duty in overlooking or permitting such conduct. Dean Kenny commenting on this silly incident says that Dr Broughton took upon himself to reprove the Governor "for his indiscretion in receiving and recognising Dr Polding as a Catholic Bishop. Governor Gipps acquainted Dr Polding with the complaint of Bishop Broughton, and it was then that Bishop Polding sent a letter to the Governor in reply to the allegation made by Dr Broughton. The Protestant Bishop must have been very much chagrined when he did not obtain that redress which he expected. The complaint was by no means creditable to him, and showed plainly the spirit of ascendancy and exclusiveness by which he was actuated."

The case was laid before the newly created Catholic Institute of London for its advice; and the whole affair is set out at length in the following document, wherein we get a copy of Dr Broughton's letter to Sir George Gipps, Dr

Polding's letter to the same in reply to his communication enclosing the complaint of the former, and the opinion of the lawyers consulted by the Catholic Institute, vindicating and justifying Dr Polding's use of a certain dress, as legal, being the regulation Episcopal Court costume.

No action could better illustrate the littleness of the adherents of the "Established" Church. This episode was only one of the innumerable incidents occurring also in England, showing the inherent weakness of the Anglican position which needs bolstering by the State to enable it even to hold its own, putting aside any idea of dominance.

"Catholic Institute, 14 Soho Square,
January 1840.

Statement directed by the Committee of Grievances to be transmitted to the Peers and Members of Parliament, being Vice-Presidents of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.

"On the 4th September, 1836, a Circular issued from the Colonial Secretary's Office, at Sydney, in New South Wales, of which the following is a copy:—

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Sydney, 4th September 1836.

Religious Establishments.

[Here follow 9 Regulations to be observed by the R. C. Bishop, when making application for help towards the building of Churches, Presbyteries, Schools, etc.]

By his Excellency's Command.

ALEXANDER McLEAY.

"Appended to this Circular were certain Schedules, inserted for the purpose of carrying out the objects of such Circular.

"Connected with the foregoing Circular, another printed Circular, being an official estimate of the expense of the Church Establishments, forming a charge on the Treasury of New South Wales, for the year 1838, was issued; in which, after estimating the expenses of the Church of England and Presbyterian Establishments, an express estimate was made in respect of the Catholic Church Establishments, in the terms following:—

'Roman Catholic Clergy.

| | | | |
|--|-------|---|---|
| The Right Reverend the Roman Catholic Bishop | £500 | 0 | 0 |
| The Vicar-General | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| Five Roman Catholic Chaplains, at £150 each, per annum | 750 | 0 | 0 |
| To provide salaries for additional Chaplains, expected to arrive in the year 1838 | 450 | 0 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £1900 | 0 | 0 |
| Allowance to Chaplains for travelling expenses | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| Towards erecting Chapels, and Ministers' Dwellings, on condition of an equal Sum being raised by private Contributions | 1400 | 0 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 1600 | 0 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £3500 | 0 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |

"The Right Rev Dr Polding was, at the time when the correspondence hereinafter stated took place, and he still is the Vicar Apostolic of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, and he has exercised his high ecclesiastical functions as such; and provision has, from time to time, been made, by the Government of the Colony, for the maintenance of his Lordship in his ecclesiastical capacity, and of the Catholic clergy under his Lordship's charge.

"Dr Polding had been in the habit of attending the Levees of his Excellency the Governor, in the costume referred to in his Lordship's letter of the 2nd of July 1839, hereinafter stated, and he so appeared at a Levee holden on the 24th May 1839.

"On the day following, Dr Broughton, who is the Protestant Bishop in the Colony, addressed and sent a letter to Sir George Gipps, the Governor, of which the following is a copy:—

'Sydney, 25th May 1839.

SIR,—Having yesterday had the honour of attending your Excellency's Levee at Government House, for the purpose of paying my respects to your Excellency, on the occasion of Her Most Gracious Majesty's birthday, I witnessed the public admission and reception of the Right Reverend

Dr J. B. Polding, wearing those habiliments which are appropriate to a Bishop of the Church of Rome. On a similar celebration, in the year 1837, a corresponding occurrence took place; and I then addressed to Governor Sir Richard Bourke, a letter expressive of my sentiments, a copy whereof I have the honour now to enclose.

'This letter I at that time withdrew, upon receiving from Sir Richard Bourke an assurance that such appearance of Dr Polding at the Levee was unforeseen by him, and that it would not be repeated, unless the practice in that respect, at London or Dublin, should be altered. It appears to me, however, that no discretion now remains to me: but that having witnessed the renewed endeavour now made to obtain from your Excellency a recognition of Dr Polding as a Bishop within the dominions of Her Majesty, and thereby of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, within this realm, I should be guilty of a neglect of duty, approaching perhaps, to a high crime and misdemeanour, if I forebore to notice and oppose it.

'I have the honour, therefore, to request that the letter now enclosed, and which was originally addressed to Sir Richard Bourke, may be considered as expressing my present views. I have further to request that the same may be transmitted by your Excellency to Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, with an application for a legal decision of the question, how far such a public reception of a Roman Catholic Bishop, avowedly and visibly in that capacity, is reconcileable with the Statute Law of England, and with the Oath of Supremacy especially, which civil and ecclesiastical functionaries in general, within Her Majesty's dominions, are required to take.

'In addition to the above statement, I will, with submission, intrude upon your Excellency with the expression of my hope that in making such a representation and remonstrance, I am acting wholly upon public grounds, and not with a design—which, indeed, I expressly disclaim—of manifesting any personal disrespect towards Dr Polding. I have, etc.

(Signed), W. G. AUSTRALIA.

His Excellency, Sir George Gipps, etc., etc.,'

"It is not considered necessary to refer to the complaint of Dr Broughton, made in 1837, further than to state that it was to the same effect as the one made by his letter of the 25th of May, 1839.

"His Excellency the Governor having communicated to

Dr Polding the complaints of Dr Broughton, Dr Polding on the 2nd of July, 1839, addressed to the Governor a long letter on the subject, from which the following are extracts:—

'In the case as stated by Dr Broughton, my appearance at the Levee, and your Excellency's reception of me, could only be construed as a testimony of respect paid by a foreign prelate, an alien, to the representative of Her Gracious Majesty, in the manner deemed by him most fit to testify respect—and your reception of him, nothing more than the courtesy a stranger bearing his character would assuredly receive from your Excellency. It is not easy to discern in this transaction, the Statute Law, or the Oath of Supremacy, or the Act of Settlement has been infringed. I proceed to the facts of the case.

'I did attend on the occasion alluded to, as became the head of one of the recognised religious denominations in the Colony, and was received by his Excellency; but I did not attend, and of course was not received by his Excellency, in the appropriate vestments of a Bishop of the Church of Rome. I have never attended (I should deem the exhibition unseemly and indecent) any secular solemnity, in the appropriate vestments of the Episcopal Order. If by pontifical ornaments be meant the cross I wore on my breast, and my ring, these I received on the day of my consecration, to remind me of my vocation and its obligations; these I have worn ever since, in every place, at every time, in the dining and drawing-room, as in the church and condemned prisoner's cell; and never till now were they made matter of offence—with what propriety, by one bearing the character of a Christian prelate, I leave your Excellency to judge.

'So far as regards the Levee of 1837, with feelings of extreme pain I proceed to notice the second allegation, because it rests on the personal testimony of the Right Rev. Dr Broughton. The Right Rev. Prelate declares that he witnessed the public admission and reception of myself, wearing the habiliments appropriate to a Bishop of the Church of Rome. Truth compels me to place my solemn denial of the assertion resting on the personal testimony of his Lordship, in contra-position to that assertion and that testimony. I deliberately deny the correctness of the statement offered to your Excellency—at the same time, aware how easily an error in judgment may be formed on this subject, I do not ascribe to the Right Rev. Prelate, an intentional misstatement of fact.

'But when the Right Rev. Dr Broughton proceeds from erroneous judgment on fact, to gratuitous imputation of intention;—when he ventures to take the range of my mind, and to assert that I thus appeared for the purpose of obtaining a recognition as a Bishop from your Excellency, —I feel that a liberty is assumed in my regard, which I can find no palliating circumstances to excuse. Such intentions never entered my thoughts. It is not by an appearance at a Levee, in a dress tolerated, or not censured, that I would accept a recognition of my sacred character by the Government your Excellency represents. That there is a recognised Roman Catholic Bishop in the Colony, the legislative enactments of the constituted authorities bear evidence: the Church Act in its clauses—the Church Act in its regulations—the Legislative Council in its regulations and decisions: and does not the entire body of your Excellency's official correspondence in reference to the Roman Catholic Church in the Colony—that of your Excellency's predecessor from the month of October, 1835—give testimony, that I am the individual honoured in the recognition of that name? Permit me to mention, that before I acquiesced in my nomination, foreseeing the difficulties that might arise, I required, that the Government at home should be consulted. The Right Rev. Dr Bramston, who usually transacted business with the Colonial Office, in reference to the Roman Catholic Church in the Colonies, applied to the Secretary of State, to ascertain the feeling of the Government. Not only was consent given, but the extreme propriety of appointing a Bishop to govern the Roman Catholic community in this Colony, was distinctly expressed. It was with the formal approbation of the Government at home, that I departed from England.—To support my Episcopal character and dignity, the Honourable Legislative Council made a provision immediately after my arrival.—No, Sir, I did not attend the Levee of your Excellency in pontifical vestments, or habiliments, or ornaments, to endeavour to obtain from your Excellency a recognition of myself as a Bishop of the Church of Rome. I repudiate the charge,—and deem myself aggrieved, that an act, and intention, unworthy of my station, should be groundlessly imputed to me, by the Right Rev. Dr Broughton; for no one in the Colony ought more accurately to appreciate the pure and exalted motives which should influence a Bishop in all the transactions of life.

'Having thus noticed the case *de jure*, and the facts on which that case has been raised, I might close this letter.

Certain observations of the Right Rev. Prelate, however, will justify me in a further trespass on your Excellency's time and patience. His Lordship states that he withheld his first letter to Sir Richard Bourke, on an assurance given him by his Excellency, that no such appearance of mine would be repeated. Sir Richard Bourke certainly did speak to me on the subject—and mentioned that some person had taken offence, not specifying the name or station of the individual. He did not inform me that the Right Rev. Dr Broughton had interfered, and remonstrated, considering that appearance of mine as an inroad on his jurisdiction. Had I been in possession of this information, I assure your Excellency, that before your arrival in the Colony, with the permission of your predecessor, the letter of the Right Rev. Prelate, with my reply, would have been laid before the authorities at home.

'His Excellency Sir Richard Bourke is moreover informed, that the anxiety impressed on the mind of the Right Rev. Prelate on the subject of his letter, was widely diffused among the Protestant portion of the community. Of the existence of this widely-diffused anxiety, till I received the communication from your Excellency, I was entirely ignorant. I am honoured by a not unextensive acquaintance in that community—many particular valued friends, holding influential rank, are in it; a word expressive of offence taken by themselves or by others, was never conveyed to me: and I rely so firmly on their interest in my welfare, as to be certain, that if they had heard that anxiety expressed, they would not have permitted me to remain in ignorance of it. The public papers—some of which were incessant in their attacks on the Roman Catholic community, and habitually using every plausible pretext for censuring the acts of the late Governor, passed over this cause of widely-diffused anxiety without a remark.

'I cannot refrain from adding my conviction, that considering the purport and context of the two letters of the Right Rev. Dr Broughton—the question at issue regards not vestments and habiliments, crosses, and rings—but something of infinitely higher importance;—whether each religious denomination is to enjoy freedom of conscience on the footing of perfect equality—or whether a hateful exclusiveness is to be introduced and established;—whether one whom the Right Honourable Lord Glenelg has distinguished as the Bishop of the Church of England, in Australia, is to be the only recognised spiritual head in the Colony—or whether each religious

denomination recognised by the Government in its head and its members, looking up to Her Gracious Majesty as a common protector and friend, free from all unseemly jealousy and contentious bickering for exclusive favour and domination, shall be recommended on the distinctly avowed basis of perfect equality, to cultivate peace and social love.'

"Dr Polding having done the Catholic Institute the honour of transmitting to it a statement of the facts, in order, as his Lordship expresses himself, that its influential members may 'interfere in the affair, so far as may be necessary,' a meeting of the Committee of Grievances was held on the 18th of January 1840, at which it was resolved to submit the case to Messrs Addis, Bagshawe, and Cooke, Barristers-at-law, members of such Committee, for their opinion as to the legal bearings of it; and the following is a copy of the Report of those gentlemen:—

'It having been referred to us, the undersigned, by the Committee of Grievances of the Catholic Institute, to consider the legal question arising out of the correspondence and other documents relating to the affair of the Right Rev. Dr Polding, Catholic Bishop and Vicar-Apostolic of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, we certify that we have taken the matter so referred to us into our consideration; and we are of opinion that, even if the Right Rev. Dr Polding had, as alleged in the letter of the Bishop of the Church of England in Australia, appeared at the Levee of His Excellency the Governor of Sydney, in the appropriate vestments and pontifical ornaments of a Bishop of the Catholic Church, (called, in the letter of the Protestant Bishop, 'the Church of Rome,') that his Lordship would not have violated any law in force; for we are of opinion that, in point of law, the prohibition against the public wearing of the pontifical and priestly vestments, appertaining to the bishops and clergy of the Catholic Church, which is embodied in the 26th section of the 10th Geo. IV. c. 7, (the Emancipation Act), does not extend to the Colonies.

'We beg to draw the attention of the Committee to the fact of the constant appearance of the Catholic Prelates of Ireland at the Levees of the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin, wearing the precise ornaments stated in the letter of the Right Rev. Dr Polding to the Governor of Sydney, dated the 2nd of July 1839, to have been worn by his Lordship, with the addition of the purple Episcopal cassock. We also beg to draw the attention of the Committee to the fact of his late Majesty, King George the Fourth, having, on the occasion of

his visit to Ireland, received the Catholic Bishops in a costume similar to that worn by Dr Polding.

'We are also of opinion that if the case of Dr Polding required to be strengthened, the public sanction of his Lordship's ecclesiastical rank and functions, by the Government of Sydney (especially by the printed circular issuing from the Colonial Secretary's Office), dated the 4th of September 1836, would not only justify the appearance of his Lordship at the Levee of the Governor in the dress, and wearing the ornaments, appearing to have been worn by him, but would render it a breach of State etiquette if his Lordship had appeared on such an occasion in any dress that did not, in some manner indicate his officially acknowledged rank and functions. Dated this 22nd day of January, 1840.

HENRY R. BAGSHAWE,
JOHN ATHANASIVS COOKE,
CHARLES ADDIS.'

"It has been subsequently resolved by the Committee to submit this case to such of the Vice-presidents of the Catholic Institute who are Peers and Members of Parliament, in order that they may lay the facts (if they should think proper so to do) before the Colonial Secretary in England.

JAMES SMITH, *Secretary*.

"The correspondence above referred to, is in the possession of the Secretary of the Catholic Institute."¹

Judge Burton in *Religion in New South Wales*,² preserves for us a full report from the new Catholic daily paper, the *Australasian Chronicle*, of a great meeting of Catholics on Sunday, 14th July, 1839, in which allusion is made by Dr Polding to the incessant attacks being made upon the Catholic body in general, and Dr Ullathorne in particular, and during which Dr Ullathorne availed himself of the opportunity of meeting the malignant and stupid charges contained in the letter written by 'Philanthropos.'

"THE CATHOLIC MEETING

"A General Meeting of the Catholics of Sydney and its vicinity was held in the Cathedral Church of St Mary, on Sunday the 14th ult., after the celebration of Divine Worship:—The Right Rev. the Bishop in the chair. His Lordship

¹ *D. A.*, K 327.

² Appendix xvii, pp. cvii, seqq.

was supported by the Very Rev. the Vicar-General, the Clergy of Sydney, and the gentlemen composing the Committee of the Cathedral. The proceedings were opened by the following

PASTORAL ADDRESS

“John Bede, by the grace of God, and by the appointment of the Holy See, Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of New Holland and Van Diemen’s Land. To the Beloved Clergy and People of Sydney, Health and Benediction.

“From the earliest period of the Christian Church it has been deemed advantageous to religion, that the clergy and people should meet the Bishop at stated times, to deliberate and to resolve on matters temporal, appertaining to the common good.

“The last occasion which assembled us was indeed of the most joyful character. We welcomed amongst us, venerable co-operators in the work of the ministry; holy virgins also, to whom the Almighty disposer of hearts gives a sublime vocation, to preserve the innocent from perversion, to reclaim the impenitent. The good which already results from their labours has gone beyond our most sanguine expectations. Our responsibility is alleviated by the consideration of the efficacious assistance Divine Providence hath sent us.

“Since we met, schools have been opened in various places, and in most instances, with great success. The preparations required by the Church Act for the permanent establishment of the clergy, have been arranged at Yass, Goulburn, East Maitland, Windsor and Wollongong.

“We have reason daily to rejoice in the numbers of our flock, who, under the all-healing influence of Divine Grace, through the zealous and unceasing labours of our beloved clergy, are returning to the practice of their Christian and religious duties. May the Lord continue the good work until His Church amongst us shall be to Him a spouse without blot or blemish.

“Since, however, we last assembled, the Almighty has afflicted us, [by the death of one of the young ecclesiastics, Mr MacPhillips, nephew to Rev. J Brady].”

“We regret to find that misrepresentation of our doctrines and of our practices has not yet ceased. We did hope that the peaceful course we have chosen would at length obtain tranquillity, so that the various denominations of our Christian brethren would with us co-operate in renovating the face of the land, in inculcating the duties of our common Christianity,

in encouraging the arts and sciences which improve and adorn social life. How preferable is it to be thus employed in these things rather than in misrepresenting each others' doctrines. Why widen the breach between Christians, which each good man must lament to exist, and give food to the jeer and the sarcasm of the scoffing infidel? Of misrepresenting either the doctrines, or motives, or actions, of our Christian brethren, we deem ourselves guiltless; nor are we aware that such a charge can be brought with justice against any of our communion.

"We are, however, charged with aiming at advancement, and struggling for superiority, and our clergy are marked out as a body to be particularly opposed. In what respect, may we ask, can these allegations be sustained? What facts can be adduced in proof? Our aim has been, and will be, to mind our own business, to fulfil the end of our ministry, that so we may render a good account to Him who has called us unto it, to labour unceasingly for the salvation of souls committed to our pastoral charge, and to encourage our clergy by word and example in all that is good. Other advancement than that which may by such conduct be attained in the estimation of the unprejudiced reflecting part of the community, we disclaim. Other superiority than that, which a more strict accomplishment of the law of charity and truth, the better gifts which St Paul exhorts all to pursue with a holy imitation, we absolutely renounce. With worldly ascendancy and worldly superiority we have no wish to be connected. How can we in a country, where, happily for us and our posterity, the principle of religious equality, a principle not invented by man, which, whilst the social relations remain intact, man cannot infringe by penal enactments and be just, that principle of religious equality has been acknowledged to exist, has been adopted as the basis of legislative arrangements.

"And whilst we disclaim all desire to obtain ascendancy and superiority, it becomes us as we value our religious liberty, and the transmission in peace of this the most valuable of earthly blessings to succeeding generations, to watch over its preservation with jealous care, and to repel every attempt that may be made to establish a privileged denomination of Christians amongst us. And whenever indications clearly justify suspicion, we deem it a sacred duty to remonstrate; satisfied that the harmony of our social relations must be endangered, if in the love of peace we permit the attempt to remain unnoticed.

me. But I have not even referred to these. The aim and end of the lecture referred to, and of every portion of its composition, went but to demonstrate that the Protestant as well as the Catholic rested upon some authority more than the Sacred Scriptures themselves, at least upon the testimony and erudition, and therefore upon the authority of *the*, not *three*, translators,¹ for the fact of their possessing the Sacred Scriptures themselves in the English translation; and that a translation is in its own nature nothing more or less than an interpretation. I wished to show, that those who accused us of taking another authority besides the Bible, did the same thing. This is the length of my offending on this topic. I am accused of having practised, and of having directed the practice of, a most base and degrading system of proselytising. To proselytise is to go round soliciting those of other religious communions to desert their creed and adopt yours. 'They compass the world,' says our Saviour, 'to make one proselyte.' Now, this is an imprudence of which neither I nor any other Catholic clergyman was ever guilty. Our knowledge of human nature, and that *traditional discipline* upon which, *after the ancient wisdom*, we are formed, instructs us, that to invite anyone where there is no volunteered manifestation of a predisposition of mind, is to make a hypocrite who will sooner or later disgrace our cause. No person can show that a Catholic Priest was ever so absurd; it is our custom always to delay until we are solicited; we first diligently search the motives of the party. We put ourselves into no hurry; and it is only after we begin to feel assured that there is an earnestness, not prompted by any material or temporal interest, that we commence giving our instructions. I know, indeed, of parties who have obtruded themselves upon the members of another denomination—who have forced a way for themselves and their tracts into the houses of the helpless poor—who have harassed the beds of the sick, and thrust themselves, despite the will of the husband, into the chamber of the dying wife, regaling her in her last miseries, with insults and representations of her belief, and with caricatures of her sacraments, her pastors and other instructors; I could even name times, and places, and persons, but I forbear: these persons were not Priests or even Catholics. Is there a Protestant in this Colony who, however closely he may have observed

¹ *cf. ante*, p. 407.

our course, can say that, of his own knowledge, he ever knew an instance of our having obtruded either ourselves or our doctrines upon any one person, still less of our having insulted, derided, or misrepresented the professors of any other belief? That the whole of our course has not been eminently peaceful? That we have ever stepped beyond defence against aggression? That we have not borne calumny upon calumny, and one misrepresentation after another, until we have been compelled at length by the very spirit of peace, to show that we are neither the degraded slaves, nor the impious idolaters, nor the domineering bigots, unfit for all human converse, our enemies toil to make us appear? A few years ago, and where was the man in society, or the pen in the press, which did not deplore the want, and invoke the aid of a Catholic Clergy, to instruct and amend the Catholic people. We have left all things—we have come, our exertions are beginning to show a good result, and this is our reward. What is our crime? we have mingled in no party strife or political contention, we have not sought to make ourselves a property, we have taken none of our time, or of our small means from our people to ourselves,—acts which are readily excused in the clergy of other creeds; we have not even sought the gratifications of social intercourse. No, a Priest passes from his daily toils amongst the sick in body and diseased in mind, from amongst the wretched and degraded in every degree of misery, from gangs, and prisons, and hospitals, and sick chambers, from quelling drunken insolence, and reconciling domestic feuds, from long and weary contests with vice and crime, he passes to his retirement, his prayers and his books; he asks but a little time to calm and strengthen his heart before God, to prepare him for his renewed war against human passions, for a little leisure to refresh and repair his mind for new efforts; and even this one consolation of his life it is denied he shall possess in peace. Again I ask, what is our crime, but that we have laboured and striven to present our people to the Government better subjects, to employers more faithful and trustworthy dealers, to masters more orderly and better servants, to society better men? If we have failed in this attempt, whom have we injured? If we have at all succeeded, where is our guilt? It is well to say that a few nameless hirelings are our revilers. Every man who continues to receive the slander encourages it, and every man who pays for it sanctions the slander by his act, whilst

he cherishes the slanderer in his guilt. The resolution speaks its own sense. It appeals to the free and independent mind of every communion. Freedom of conscience was proclaimed in the Sermon on the Mount—'Judge not, that ye may not be judged,' and by St Paul—'Why judgest thou another man's servant; to his own master does he stand or fall.' There was a time when States saw but one religion amongst a people; when religion gave her sanction, her consecration, and her strength to the throne, whilst the sovereignty returned her countenance, her support, and something of her earthly majesty to the enforcement of religion. And what would States give could they have it now? From how much care, trouble, and legislation would it relieve a Government? But at present there is not one religious community which does not form a minority, whether in the British Empire, or in the British Colonies. The powers of Government, say the doctrines of the time and of her statesmen, are derived from and represent the entire community. For the State, then, in these times, to recognise and ally herself to the religious sense of one minor section is a practical absurdity and a political contradiction. I have great pleasure in saying that I strongly express my own conviction in proposing the following resolution:—

'andly—That we have observed with pain, expressions used, and efforts made by individuals, indicative of a disposition to disturb this equality, and to obtain the recognition of one religious denomination of Christians as the Established Church, having superiority and privileges not to be possessed by other denominations. Apprehensive of the evils, the destruction of our peace, and the ruin to the Colony, which must sooner or later inevitably follow, if the state of things contemplated by these individuals be accomplished,—we, in the name of the Roman Catholic community of New South Wales, hereby declare that we will never cease to remonstrate against these attempts. The desire of ascendancy imputed to us, we disclaim. Our desire is to maintain peace; we seek not superiority. Perfect equality amongst all religious denominations is our sole object, and that we are determined to uphold.'

"Captain Carter seconded this resolution which was carried unanimously.

"The third resolution, moved by Adam Wilson, Esq., seconded by Roger Murphy, Esq., and carried unanimously, was in these terms:—

'3rdly—That this meeting, feelingly and practically convinced that so long as the Head of one denomination of Christians is privileged to sit in Councils of the Colony to legislate, and to judge upon and direct the execution of the laws, even such as regard the ecclesiastical affairs of other denominations of Christians, those other denominations cannot enjoy perfect religious freedom, still less, religious equality, do adopt and approve of the following memorial, praying the removal of the Right Rev. the Protestant Bishop from the Councils of the Colony, that the principle on which the Church Act has been established, may be carried into practical effect—the principle of perfect religious equality amongst all denominations of Christians.'

"To the Right Honourable Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies the Right Honourable the Marquis of Normanby, etc., etc., etc.

"The humble Memorial of the Catholic Inhabitants of New South Wales.

Respectfully sheweth—

"That Her Majesty's Catholic subjects in New South Wales constitute, by the census, one fourth, but, in fact, one third, of the entire population of the Colony.

"That after many years of most grievous destitution of the means of receiving the religious instructions and the rites and sacraments of their Church, and of giving their children some education without fear of the corruption of their religious tenets, they, at length, under the enlightened Government of Sir Richard Bourke, and the encouraging sanction of the Home Administration, began to enjoy all the advantages of the exercise of their religion, and of being educated, from which has already followed a visible and marked improvement in public morality and decorum.

"That in spite of the letter of the Right Honourable Lord Glenelg, of 30th November, 1835, strongly approving the 'equity of the arrangement proposed by Sir Richard Bourke, in his letter to Lord Stanley, of the 30th of September 1833, of giving equal encouragement to the three principal Christian Churches in the Colony,' the Church Act was, by the Honourable Legislative Council of the Colony, passed in the year 1836, giving her Majesty's Catholic subjects equal means of receiving religious instruction, and of being educated in conformity with their tenets, relatively, not indeed to their numbers, but yet to their property, with the principal Protestant denominations of the Colony.

"That though we are sensible that in this we only enjoy after long delays, a right grounded in *equity*, to use the words of Lord Glenelg, we nevertheless feel ourselves bound in eternal gratitude and are 'thus taught,' as Sir Richard Bourke, in his letter to Lord Stanley, anticipated we should be, 'to look up to Government as our common protector and friend, securing us to the State as good subjects, and to society as good men.'

"That after this preamble of facts, your memorialists entreat the attention of your Lordship to the anomaly which exists to the prejudice of the religious equality established amongst them by the Church Act.

"The head of one of the Christian denominations in the Colony, the Right Rev. Dr Broughton alone, enjoys a seat in the Legislative and Executive Council.¹

"In the Executive Council the details of all Ecclesiastical arrangements, connected with the Government, are received and judged upon; though your memorialists do not assert undue influence has been used to their prejudice, yet they cannot forget that the Right Rev. Prelate first disturbed the Colony with religious controversy respecting them, in the year 1833. That he gave them just reason to complain of misrepresentation of their tenets, whilst opposing the general system of education in 1836.

"That if the colonial press gave correct information, the same Right Rev. Prelate, on a public occasion, with

¹ To this correct statement, Judge Burton thought it well to append the following note: 'The Petitioners overlook the circumstance that the Attorney-General, who is a Roman Catholic (Mr J. H. Plunkett), and also a member of their Lay Committee, is the legal adviser and therefore in the Councils of the Governor and is also a member of the Legislative Council, they cannot be said, therefore, either to be unrepresented or without influence in the Councils of Government.' Prejudice, and the desire to make out a case, could alone have blinded the legally acute intelligence of the Judge to the difference between the two cases. Bishop Broughton had his seat on the Council precisely because of his religion: he had no other *raison d'être* there, except as Protestant Bishop; whereas it was a mere coincidence that the Attorney-General happened just then to be a Catholic. In the one case there was official fixity of tenure for the holder of the See; in the other, religion had no influence in the position, and the death or resignation of Mr Plunkett might, and probably would, be followed by the appointment of a Protestant.

measured phrases, but in a spirit which cannot be mistaken, pointed the zeal of his clergy against our Communion by name, and against our Rev. Clergy, as persons who are aiming at, and struggling for, superiority, although it is well known their efforts have been exclusively directed to the moral improvement of their own congregations; they have not meddled with any other thing, and they have hitherto borne these reproaches in silence. Moreover, we hear with astonishment that proofs will ere long reach, if they have not reached your Lordship, of an attempt made by the same Right Rev. Prelate on the most frivolous and vexatious grounds, which are unfounded in fact, to destroy the civil existence of our revered and beloved Prelate, the local head of our Church, in his Episcopal character, that the Right Rev. Dr Broughton alone may be recognised as a Bishop in Australia, to rule over the consciences of men, one third of whom do not acknowledge his jurisdiction over them, whilst our Presbyterian brethren, with many other denominations, a large proportion of the remainder, reject it.

"With these proofs of the spirit which animates the Right Rev. Dr Broughton in our regard, we are convinced that your Lordship will deem that we have reason to feel aggrieved that he should be a member of a Secret Council which adjudicated on matters appertaining to our Church, a Council in which we have no representative, in which there is no member of our creed [*ex officio*].

"And that your Lordship may more clearly apprehend the nature of the grievance of which we complain, we beg respectfully to state, that before any aid can be obtained under the Church Act, it is required that there be laid before the Honourable Executive Council:—

1stly. An account of all monies collected.

2ndly. A declaration signed by the Right Rev. the Catholic Bishop of the sources whence these monies have been obtained, whether in the Colonies or elsewhere.

3rdly. The names of the parties subscribing.

4thly. The names of the Trustees.

5thly. Plans, specifications, estimates, and a variety of other particulars.

"That, in consequence of this, your memorialists are subject to the intolerable grievance, a grievance they have hitherto borne in silence, hoping that the contemplated changes in the Councils of the Colony would ere this have removed its pressure, the grievance of being compelled to disclose the whole of the temporal concerns of their Church,

and the arrangement of its external ecclesiastical government to the head of another denomination of Christians to whom we belong not.

"That, urged by the pressure of all this grievance, your memorialists cannot withhold this solemn declaration to your Lordship, as the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty's Government, that under this present mode of administering the Church Act, we are subject to an inquisitorial control, directly at variance with the principles of Religious Freedom, and with the principles of the Church Act itself.

"That your memorialists, following the example of their brethren of the Presbyterian denomination in the Colony, in their address to your Lordship's predecessor, respectfully pray, that Her Majesty's Government would be pleased in their wisdom to provide that the affairs of their Church may not be made subject to the Legislative Authority, or to the Executive power of the head of another denomination of Christians.

"And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

The Rev Francis Murphy moved, and Mr Coyle seconded the fourth Resolution, carried unanimously, which ran thus:—
'4thly—That whilst we respect the conscientious feelings of the various denominations in the Colony, differing from us in religious belief, we claim as a right that our freedom of conscience be respected. In this spirit, we fully anticipate from a just Government that no Board of Education will be formed in which we cannot be duly represented; no principle established as the basis of an educational system which will exclude us from a participation in its benefits.' Father Murphy in his remarks pointed out that Catholics were not opposed to the reading of the Bible, but to an indiscriminate use of it as a class-book, allowing every child to interpret it for himself. Dr Ullathorne in supporting the resolution said: "Permit me to add one fact more to those adduced by the Rev. Mr Murphy, to show that the Catholic is no enemy to the circulation of approved versions of the Sacred Scriptures. I once had the curiosity to ask a Catholic publisher in Dublin, Mr Coyne, of Chapel Street, the number of copies of the Douay Bible he had sold, and he assured me as a fact, that he had himself, in the course of ten years, as a private speculation, published and sold 50,000 copies of the entire Scriptures, besides Testaments, each book containing the printed approbation of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. But there are many reasons why a

Catholic parent cannot send his children to a school where the perusal of the Protestant version of the Scriptures is a leading feature, and constitutes the sole religious instruction. The principal of those is, that by so doing, he gives up his Catholic principles and surrenders the whole ground of controversy between the two Churches, practically admitting that his child is capable of understanding the creed embodied in the Scriptures without the aid of any teaching authority, or the interpreting voice of any Church. In the educational system to which the attention of the Colony has been lately drawn, the teacher is left such a scope of discretion in questioning and examining his pupils as to the sense of the sacred text, that he could never fail, even despite of himself, to impress on all his pupils the sentiments of his own peculiar denomination. The school would be of the religion of the teacher, against all precautions, and the parents of children of other denominations would never feel at rest. The facts and moral sentiments of the Sacred Scriptures are used by us in our schools to a great extent. Catechism, and histories, and extracts of the Sacred Scriptures are amongst our most favourite school books. But many, even Protestants and Church of England men, have powerfully developed in their writings the mischiefs consequent on degrading the sacred volume itself into a mere book for school exercises."

Resolutions to transmit the memorial to the Secretary for the Colonies and to pray the Governor and Legislative Council to help towards the completion of St Mary's Cathedral, and the usual vote of thanks brought the great meeting to a close.

It suffices here to state that, in the main, the Catholics got what they were seeking.

Dr Ullathorne, in his *Reply to Judge Burton*,¹ reminds him, as regards his own judicial conduct, in the flagrant Maloney case (about which no further details need be here furnished), that "the sanction of the judicial character has been made the instrument to injure us in our dearest right—our religious equality. The influence which that sacred office confers on its possessor has been employed to awaken against us the prejudices, armed with the passions, of our

¹ p. 90.

countrymen in the remote land of our origin. False arms have been forged for the use of our enemies. A magazine of this dangerous munition has been fitted and supplied to the hands of those wild declaimers and reckless bigots who rise out of every corner of our native land, to stir dissension and wrong the rights of religious justice. We Catholics have been wronged, grievously wronged, and by one whose appointed duty it is to protect our rights. That name and character of a British judge which were given by the hand of power for our use, have been turned against us to our abuse. You have

“Struck us with your tongue,
Most serpent-like, upon the very heart.”

“You have for years industriously picked up the stories told against us, gleaned gross falsehoods from time-serving newspapers—which your length of public life should have taught you how to value—you have carried them in your bosom, you have embalmed them in your dislikes; you have gone to England, you have scattered the devices of our enemies over the high places of influence and power, endorsed them with your name, and with the seal of your judicial character have stamped the falsehoods true.

“This is not the first occasion you have given us to fear your especial presence on the bench. The Catholics of the Colony remember your commonly reported connection with that vile production of short-lived existence, the *Sydney Standard*, which was not inappropriately designated the High Church and Burton paper, inasmuch as such of its columns as could be spared from insulting us were devoted to your particular opinions in politics. The writer of that paper has been lately removed from the gaol in Sydney to the gaol in Newcastle, that he may exercise no influence in our society.”

Dr Ullathorne, without specifying dates, nevertheless plainly refers to this period in the following passage in his *Autobiography*.¹

“The assaults of the Press still went on, and every new

¹ p. 157.

piece of intelligence that reached us from England, whether of reform recommended in the transportation system, or of discussions on the subject in Parliament, awakened anew the animosity of which I was the object. A certain Miss Byrne arrived in the Colony from Ireland, professing to be the niece of a priest, and was taken under protection by an anti-Catholic party, and employed in lecturing on the horrors of Popery. To her lectures I gave a public reply. It so happened that two ruffians, looking out for plunder in the neighbourhood of Parramatta, met with this woman and attacked her on the road where she was walking. Fortunately, they were caught. My adversaries in the Press seized the occasion to associate me with it, and one flaming article was headed 'Dr Ullathorne and Blood.' So great was the excitement caused, that when these men were brought before the Supreme Court the judge thought it expedient to warn the jury that I was in no wise connected with the case, before the trial proceeded."

The reader must already have gathered that Dr Ullathorne's health was not as good as his friends could wish: the anxieties of his European tour had prostrated him, as Dr Polding wrote, almost immediately after his return to Sydney. The constant bitter attacks to which he was thenceforth subjected, however little they affected him outwardly, undoubtedly greatly disturbed him. The conviction grew upon him that, as one of the clergy had told him, "they would never have peace so long as he stayed in the Colony."¹ He got an attack of "nerves," not allayed by the anxieties incident to his official position as Vicar-General. Dr Polding, as a missionary, was superlatively good; as an administrator, evidently he had much to acquire. The two rôles are, perhaps, almost impossible in one and the same individual. They would seem to be incompatible, if not mutually destructive. And the reason is not far to seek. A missionary has to be ever on the move, ever seeking lost sheep, ever meeting unexpected duties, ever ready to strike out at a tangent as new opportunities present themselves. The administrator, however, whose work is cast in the groove of routine, has to be much at his desk, regular in

¹ *cf. ante*, p. 398.

keeping accounts, sitting in his office with his papers and documents ready to hand at a moment's notice, accessible to all who come to him for advice, or to receive orders, or to report. Dr Ullathorne had taken most of the administrative work off Dr Polding's shoulders, and left him free to labour at those duties in which his pre-eminence was unrivalled and which were congenial to him : but there was a residue of work of which he could not relieve him. This was always in arrears and in confusion, consequent on his frequent and prolonged absences up country. The methodical Vicar-General was so despairing of ever getting all things into the order that was so necessary, that in the lowness of spirits into which he fell consequent upon the press attacks, he resolved to quit the Colony altogether. Dr Ullathorne makes no mention of this in his *Autobiography*, but the following letters from Dr Polding to Father Heptonstall of 1st October 1839, and from Dr Ullathorne to Prior Brown of Downside of 18th October 1839, put the facts beyond dispute.

Dr Polding at length saw the point of view of his Vicar-General, and consented to a redistribution of forces, whereby Dr Ullathorne was given a free hand to remodel the administrative working of the Mission, and to evolve order out of chaos.

"Sydney,
1st Oct. 1839.

" . . . My Vicar-General has, I fear, made up his mind to leave this country. On my return to Sydney I found a letter from him, requesting my sanction to this measure, written in the most earnest terms. How much this grieves me, I cannot tell you. I had, as I thought, arranged everything to his satisfaction. Parramatta had become uncomfortable to him, and the labour was too great. I had brought down Mr Brennan to be there for a time at least. Dr Ullathorne was to be the President of the Seminary, to transact the business of the Diocese as Vicar-General, and to go to the Sisters of Charity once in the week by the steamer which returns the same day. I had arranged all, as I thought, so that I could visit my people without uneasiness. Thus I am disconcerted. I know not what I shall do. Poor

Ullathorne's health is indeed sadly shattered, and his spirits have become affected. The savage calumnies heaped upon him by our wretched press, have alienated his mind from the country, and he imagines, I am sure groundlessly, that there is existing against him a general prejudice. The good he did this Mission in England you on the spot may perhaps more distinctly know than we at a distance: by the fruit we know that good. But since his return his services in the cause of religion have been beyond all praise. He has formed the House of the Sisters of Charity; his labours have made the Factory the abode of penitence. Almighty God has sent me many trials; this is, of all, the most severe. May His holy will be done. May not you, upon his return, obtain permission? Gregory at Norfolk Island, Ullathorne away, I am alone; not one of my own near me. Pray for me, my dear friend, that God may enable me to do His will. Ever most affectly.,

✠ J. B. POLDING."¹

"Sydney,

Feast of St Luke, 18th October 1839.

MY DEAR CONFRERE,—I have delayed writing to you until I could furnish you with something definite. The mission is, on the whole, doing well and vigorously, We are much straitened by want of missionaries. Twelve good active men would be a great relief to us. And the Christian Brothers in Sydney we cannot do without, so I suppose you will send them. Our recruits are doing beyond all expectation well. For a new mission, give me young men in their first fervour with an old head over them. They are placed two and two in the centre of large tracts of country with scarcely any control, and never trouble their heads with any one thing but their missions. The moral face of the country is showing a new set of features, though much desperate wickedness must of course continue to thrive. We have just had it promulgated from the Governor that the present system of transportation is to cease *instantly*, no more assignments, all convicts on arrival are to proceed straight to Norfolk Island, where a penitentiary system is to be established; after a certain number of years the prisoners are to come here in the enjoyment of tickets-of-leave, withdrawable on bad conduct. As I have had my small share in bringing about this state of things, you may be certain I am not very popular with the money-making leeches of the

¹ D. A., K 354.

Colony. On that score, and on the old one of being an inveterate promoter of Catholicity "*per fas et nefas*" they imagine, I have been since my return "the best abused man" on this side of the globe, O'Connell being the one on your side. The whole of the Press has been upon me; seven columns *per diem* is good allowance, especially when enriched with a republication of Dens. The *Sydney Monitor* has established a distinction between the old Gothic popish church and its abuses and the new modern reformed Catholic one, at the head of which he puts Dr Polding, who bears it, together with the honourable innuendo as to my headship of the old Gothic, in most amiable patience.

"*Entre nous*, my dear Confrere, I have had much to suffer from the Bishop's weaknesses. I have twice entreated permission to give up the Vicar-Generalship, and twice resolved to return to my Order. I had nearly completed my arrangements last week, and had actually taken my cabin; the fact that I am leaving is still uncontradicted before the public, and the Catholics are actually taking measures for a public meeting, an address, testimonial, etc. Dr Polding's penchant for the mission makes him neglect business; the Government correspondence is in a scandalous state; the duties towards the clergy and general business, done or put off or abandoned, according to impulse, the Bishop himself a continued prey to his own acute and morbid feelings, and his very house together with his person, so thoroughly under the despotic sway of the only two priests who do not cordialise with the rest, that it was painful for any priest, even myself, to go near his house. His eyes are at length open; he confesses it is only such a trial as I have put him to would have done it. He wrote me letter upon letter in most yearning language, and could not understand why I should leave him. I at length told him everything strongly, first by letter, next through Father Brady, a man I revere as a saint. He admits he has not treated me well, and that I am justified in my intention of leaving him; confesses he has not firmness enough to govern the Church; that if I go all things must be confused: that there is none to succeed me whom the clergy will look up to; and surrenders the management of all affairs into my hands. I have insisted as a basis of all arrangements, a statement of accounts: and that he live by himself, that all may have equal access to him: that he will conceal nothing from me in which the Church is interested. That when a thing is once deliberated upon and decided, it shall be committed to execution, and

not changed by the first fleeting whim or nearest influence. On these terms, at the public invitation of the Bishop and Clergy, I consent to remain for the present. I take in hand the young Seminary, and the general business of the Church, not one iota of which in its mechanical workings, shall be transacted out of my own official room. This will, I trust, set things on their legs again, and there are only one or two of our priests whose hearts will not be much lighter. One of these wants my place, but could never have it, for want of breadth of mind and freedom of temper, though otherwise a very good man and most valuable missionary. There will be much congratulation in the Church, and much sorrow among the bigots at the news of my remaining. Gregory has just arrived from Norfolk Island. There has been there a mutiny among the military; the Commander drew his sword, the soldiers refused obedience and handled their muskets. Major Bunbury told them they should march over his dead body, if they advanced. Gregory stepped forward and seized the first man's musket and was the chief means of restoring order: 160 of them have come up for Court Martial. Gregory is the same simple-hearted, affectionate, laughing soul he ever was, and a most valuable missionary. Sumner is a very weak man of especially small use. I have been obliged to be kindly firm in his regard since my return. He is under Mr Gould at Campbell Town. By the bye, Gregory will tell you my description of Norfolk Island is one of the most matter-of-fact things you ever read. My chief consolation in all my cares is my dear Convent of Sisters of Charity. I have had it all my own way from the beginning. It is a community of saints. I have had almost to recast the greater part of them; there is something radically wrong in Mrs Aikenhead's management, but she has most valuable subjects. I had more anxieties on the voyage out than I ever had in my life, and am only now recovering from the effects on my constitution. We have two novices. I believe the prayers of the Convent have brought things about more than anything else. It was the sense of the desolation of the Convent without a soul to know or understand them, which tugged most desperately at my heart and conscience strings, or I believe I should not now be here. What would I not sacrifice to have Mr Heptonstall along with the Bishop. I foresaw all this, and felt he would have been the means of preventing it. What would I give to live in the simplicity of obedience in St Gregory's. No one but who has experienced it, knows the pain of the evil effect on self, of

being obliged to govern and almost command your own superior and he a Bishop. God help me! See, my dear friend, what a confidential letter I have written to you. Pray for me, counsel me; a letter from you would be a good part of the hundredfold in this life. Understand me: the Bishop is doing vast good as a missionary, and is idolised by the people as he is beloved as well as pitied by his clergy; only God never made him to govern or transact business. Pray give my heartiest remembrance to Messrs Kendal, Scott, and all the Community, not forgetting George [Mazzinghi].

Your most affectionate Confre,
WM. ULLATHORNE.

"Had I come, I should have brought Mr Commissioner Therry's son to Downside; I fear we shall not soon find an opportunity to send him."¹

The new arrangement, at once put into working order, instantly told for the better on Dr Ullathorne's spirits, and six weeks later he was able to assure Dr Brown that Australian Church affairs were mending. The fury of the storm of invective had at length also spent itself, and in the recoil had engulfed many of Dr Ullathorne's traducers. On December 4th, he writes in a jubilant tone. "After my last lugubrious letter," he says, "you will be glad to receive a more satisfactory one." But, he was still determined to return to England at the earliest opportunity that presented itself, and had sent in his resignation, both to the Government and to Dr Polding. In this letter we get the first intimation of the idea of his being made a Bishop and also of the plan of erecting Van Diemen's Land into a separate Vicariate. He expected to follow his letter to England after a short interval; but as events proved, he had still work to do in Australia for another year, before he could put his intended retirement into execution.

"Sydney, 4th December 1839.

MY DEAR CONFRE, — After my last lugubrious letter, you will be glad to receive a more satisfactory one. Our new arrangements have worked admirably. The Bishop has got rid of that terrible indecision of mind which made

¹ D. A., K 275.

himself and his mission miserable, and tells me he never before felt his position. The Press which treated the Church with such unheard-of violence is ruined. *The Sydney Standard*—defunct. *The Sydney Gazette*, the oldest paper in the Colony, backed by members of Council and commercial influence—its Editor off to Port Phillip, and its materials, this day, put up to auction, and the best of these will be bought in by our own party; a third, *The Sydney Monitor*, one of long and steadfast standing, is terribly shaken and cropped of subscribers. Our own *Australasian Chronicle*, now in its second quarter, has already reached the largest circulation save one, and will have the first, in the Colony. You have here an Appendix to *De Mortibus Persecutorum*.

“The foundations of three churches will be laid within a fortnight, another in Sydney will soon follow, and three more are in course of preparation for commencement. We have filiated a part of the Convent to Sydney, and are about commencing a second Orphan School, to be supported by Government.

“I have taken the opportunity of the present promising and prosperous state of things to fulfil my intention of retiring. To save the pain of a long contest, after having had so many, I sent in my resignation yesterday to Government and Bishop at same moment. The Bishop, after a struggle with himself, has at length come in to my wish, says it is arranged by Providence for the greater ultimate service of the Mission, as he trusts I shall be allowed to have an eye to the general interests of the Colonies, etc. etc.

“I have, *entre nous*, succeeded at last in persuading the Bishop to separate Van Diemen’s Land as soon as possible, which it is impossible he can conscientiously attend to from N. S. Wales. I write this in case he should possibly seek for anybody for that Mission. Myself am out of the question. I am running away from a contemplated coadjutorship held out here, and I know of nothing that could induce me to go there. I write this, of course, in confidence. The next ship will probably bring me to England. Will you have the kindness to communicate this from me to V. Rev. Father President. I shall proceed at once to Downside, unless I find orders with Mr Heptonstall at London, and there expect commands.

“We have had four French clergymen here for a month, on their way to join Bishop Pompallier in New Zealand; they are of the Order of Mary, possessed of an admirable

spirit; they form part of a party of fourteen on their way to New Zealand and the Islands. I fear the good Bishop, who has done so much, will have a desperate task with those rapacious colonisers, who are selling the lands of a densely populous intelligent race in England ere they are surrendered. Gregory is with the Bishop and very valuable. Sumner is a clog. I wish, for the credit of the Body, he would return. I have advised him to do so. He will try to get some money first. I am poorer, I am happy to say, than when I came here. Pray give my affections to my confreres, and believe me,

Most affectionately yours,

WM. ULLATHORNE.¹

With a view to preserving every scrap of information tending to fix names and dates, the following passage from the *Catholic Magazine*,² copied from the *Australasian Chronicle*, is here reproduced. It really refers to the history of Catholicity in New Zealand; but the event of the arrival of a band of new missionaries having been joyfully celebrated in Sydney, entitles the notice to inclusion in the *Gesta* of Dr Polding's Vicariate.

"Sydney.—On Tuesday, the 22nd October last (1839), the *Australasian Packet* arrived at Sydney, having on board four French clergymen for the Mission of New Zealand, viz: the Rev. Messrs Petitjean, Ferron, le Comte and Grimond. The missionaries express themselves highly gratified for the kindness of Captain Nicholls, who showed them every attention during the voyage. On Sunday 28th October, a solemn Mass was celebrated in thanksgiving for the safe arrival of these missionaries. At the conclusion of Mass, the clergy, including the missionaries, chanted the *Te Deum*, which carried the mind back to other days, and must have warmed every heart present. We hope to see these solemnities often renewed. They have the best tendency, and admirably confirm Dr Johnson's remark, that whatever carries our minds into the past, the distant, or the future, advances us in the scale of rational beings."

We may well close our survey of the year 1839 with its "excursions and alarms" with an extract from Dr Ullathorne's *Reply to Judge Burton*,³ wherein he furnishes a very

¹ *D. A.*, K 289.

² 1840, p. 383.

³ pp. 67, seqq.

valuable synopsis of the work of the Catholic Church, and incidentally provides a table of the Missions with other most useful statistics. The precise cause—for which we should be grateful—that produced these details, was a most misleading tabular account of ecclesiastical work, taking up no less than 140 pages of Judge Burton's book, *Religion in New South Wales*, wherein he gave minute information about the missions of the "Established" Church, but slurred over those of the Catholics, when the information about them was equally accessible. Dr Ullathorne, therefore, supplied the omission. As he said: "The injustice done to the actual wants of the Catholic Church and to the comparative labours of her clergy could alone induce me to the task . . . of detailing more faithfully the real extent and amount of their labours." This he did by comparing them with those of the clergy of the Church of England. This aspect of the case is of no possible interest here and now; all that is here and now needed is the information respecting the Catholic Missions, which is, therefore, thus summarised.

SYDNEY.—The Cathedral Church.—Contains 2000 persons; attendance, first Service, 550; second Service from 1800 to 2000; afternoon, 700.

Two temporary Chapels.—In Kent Street, attendance, 70; in Abercrombie Place, attendance, 220.

Two Chaplains,—one for the parish of St James', the other for St Philip's. *N.B.*, these are the Protestant delimitations.

There are two services in St Mary's every morning of the week. The duties of the clergy on the Sunday commence at 7 a.m., and conclude at 5.30 p.m., with scarcely any intermission. On the week days they are occupied in church duties from 7.10 a.m; from 11-3 p.m. in the hospitals, institutions, and amongst the sick; at 4 come the burials; and night sick-calls are not infrequent. This by no means includes all or even the most tedious and responsible of their duties; add from four to five hours of church duty more than once per week in the evening. From Sydney is attended Longbottom, Brisbane Water, and occasionally, Port Macquarie. Total Catholic attendance at one church and two small chapels, at lowest average, 3340.

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|--|-----|
| Communicants in the month; St Mary's . . . | 575 |
| " " " Abercrombie Place . . . | 64 |

Dr Ullathorne remarks, by the way, that in the Cathedral "half the space is clear of seats, that the people may stand and kneel the more closely; and yet it is not infrequent to find some 200 persons outside, unable to obtain entrance."

PARRAMATTA.—A chaplain; Church contains 450 persons; attendance, 400. The clergyman attends five stations, at distances of from five to eight miles from Parramatta. Communions per month, including establishments, 235. Dr Ullathorne adds that "The Female Factory, the Hospital, and four large iron-gangs, in or about Parramatta, make the duties more than one clergyman can perform: for this reason, the Catholic chaplain stationed at Liverpool, a less laborious district, resides a part of the week in Parramatta, and gives a part of his labours, gratuitously, of course, to that district. This is, I presume, the origin of Mr Burton's dreams about there being 'two to four' priests always in Parramatta."¹

HUNTER'S HILL.—included in Parramatta district, and under the same chaplain.

LIVERPOOL.—A chaplain; Church not yet commenced, service performed in a room of the General Hospital; attendance, 200. Service also performed at four stations. At Irish Flats, 20 attend; at Kemp's Creek, 30; at Irish Town, 20; at Botany Bay, 20. Communions in the month, 24.

CAMPBELLTOWN.—A chaplain; Church contains 450 persons; average attendance, 300. Five stations attended monthly, at distances, severally, of 8, 30, 40, 35 and 54 miles; average attendance at each, from 100 to 250; 2000 miles travelled in the year. Communicants in Campbelltown, in the month, about 50.

APPIN.—A chaplain; Church in course of erection; attendance, 90; three stations at distances of 15 and 30 miles, attended by from 30 to 40 persons each; about 1040 miles travelled per annum. Communions per month, about 7.

NARELLAN.—Attended from Campbelltown or Appin.

MULGOA.—Attended from Penrith.

PENRITH.—A chaplain; Church in course of erection; service performed in Court House; attendance, 200; service also performed at Mulgoa, distance, 12 miles, attendance, 50; and at five other stations, at distances of 8, 7, 15, and two at 20 miles. Attendance, from 30 to 50 at each. 4500

¹ cf. 'Philanthropos' letter in *Sydney Herald*, ante, p. 408.

miles, at the very least, averaged per annum. Communions per month, 16.

WINDSOR.—A chaplain; Church nearly completed; contains 800; attendance, 600. The chaplain visits six stations monthly, each having small chapels, at distances of from 12 to 35 miles; attendance, from 60 to 120 at each. Until very lately, the Rev. Mr Brady had the Penrith district also under his sole care. His travels average 25 miles per day, or 8000 to 9000 per annum. Communions per month, 55.

PITT TOWN.—Attended from Windsor.

LOWER HAWKESBURY.—Attended from Windsor every month.

BRISBANE WATER.—Attended occasionally from Sydney; distant 33 miles by sea: a church to be commenced.

NEWCASTLE.—A chaplain, and a temporary chapel; attendance, 100. Chaplain visits Port Stephens. Communions per month, 8. There are a large iron-gang, a gaol, and a hospital.

EAST MAITLAND.—A chaplain; Church contains 450; attendance, 300; the chaplain attends six stations, each once in six weeks—at Richmond Vale, 10 miles, 30 attend; at Sparke's, 8 miles, 40 attend; at William's River, 15 miles, 50 attend; at Dungog, 40 miles, 80 attend; at Hinton, 5 miles, 40 attend; at Cooley Camp, 9 miles, 60 attend; travels 60 miles per week, above 3000 per annum. Communions per month, 30.

WEST MAITLAND.—A chaplain: Church about being commenced; a temporary chapel; attendance not given, but the number of Catholics is greater, considerably, than in East Maitland; visits the following stations:—Black Creek, 16 miles, each month; Patrick's Plains, 31 miles, quarterly; also, Jerry's Plains, 17 miles beyond; Merton, 15 miles further away; and Muswellbrook, 20 miles further—making a zigzag journey of 83 miles from Maitland; Upper Paterson, 25 miles, every six weeks, and Woolombi, quarterly; attendance at Jerry's Plains, 30; at the other stations, from 70 to 80 each, and more. The chaplain travels on an average, 10 miles a day, or 3200 per annum.

HINTON.—Attended from Maitland.

PORT STEPHENS.—Attended from Newcastle.

COUNTY OF MACQUARIE.—Attended twice a year from Sydney, 200 miles by sea, the clergyman paying his own expenses. Dr Ullathorne adds: "At this settlement is placed the penal establishment for all specials, or prisoners of the

educated class, invalids, and cripples. Mr Burton enumerates 102 specials, 338 invalids, 64 cripples, and 27 insane. There are a small female Factory, gaol, and hospital."

TOWN OF BATHURST.—Chaplain; Church in course of erection; temporary chapel attended by 90 to 100 persons. The chaplain attends twenty-six stations:—Weagdon, 40 miles from Bathurst; Cabee, 66; Mudgee, 90; Jungay, 140; Macquarie's River, 120; Summer's Hill, 30; a second station at six miles distance; Wellington, 100 miles; Murrumbidgee, 120; Dabbo, 130; Werry's Plains, 20; another station, 27; Grobington, 42; Lacklan, 60; Billibula, 60; Lacklan River, 80; Carryamy, 90; Orpan's Creek, 25; a second station, 30; Todd Walls, 35; Vale of Clwyd, 42; Mount Victoria, 52; Rose Vale, 40; Cherry Tree Falls, 70; and Bingan, 50 miles; each of which is visited quarterly, together with various small intermediate stations. "In a recent private letter, the Rev. Mr O'Reilly says:—'During my last journey, I was led to proceed on from one sheep or stock station to another, until I found myself 350 miles from home. I found no residence, but many stations and numbers of Catholics, who often came from distances when they heard of me. I received above 70 to the Sacraments.' A second clergyman has been also resident two years in this district without any expense to Government. Mr Slattery performs service at Bathurst when Mr O'Reilly is absent; and when he returns, Mr Slattery proceeds to visit some of the following eleven stations:—first station at 27 miles distance; second, at 60; third, at 90; fourth, at 60; fifth, at 35; sixth, at 25; seventh, at 50; eighth, at 35; ninth, at 32; tenth, at 40; and eleventh station, at 35 miles distance—these are all visited twice a year." Communions per month, from 35 to 45.

O'CONNELL'S PLAINS.—Attended from Bathurst.

MUDGEE.—Attended from Bathurst.

SUTTON FORREST.—Attended from Campbelltown or Appin.

BERRIMA.—Attended from Campbelltown.

ILLAWARRA.—A chaplain; Church in course of erection at Wollongong. Temporary chapel; attendance, 200; officiates weekly at Dapto, 8 miles, attendance, 120; at Yambaroo, 25 miles, monthly, attendance, 80; at Shoalhaven, 50 miles, monthly, attendance, 100; average travelling per annum, 3252 miles. Communions per month in the district, 45.

GOULBURN.—A chaplain ; a Church about being erected.

"The chaplain in transmitting his baptismal returns for the year, states that they were performed in five counties, whilst travelling over a space of 10,000 square miles. The chaplain's life is one of continued travel ; and, with a view of dissipating any impression made by Mr Burton's insinuation, which is all he has to say on the subject, that the Catholic priest of Goulburn resides at Yass, 60 miles off, I shall give an extract from the Rev Mr Lovat's report of his missionary duties for three months, merely remarking that they are the first I light upon, and that the rest of the year's labours are of the same tenor." This list is worth reproducing, to show the arduous life of a priest in those days : his bread was not eaten in idleness, nor was his scanty salary unearned.

"1839, 7th November, Goulburn, 125 miles from Sydney ; 9th, Ryan's, 10 miles from Goulburn, 20 or 30 persons attend ; 11th, Bungadore, 40 miles from Goulburn, 12 to 24 persons attend ; 12th, Gundaroo, 20 miles from Bungadore, about 12 persons attend ; 13th, Yass, 27 miles from Gundaroo, from 20 to 30 persons attend ; 14th, Fitzgerald's, 25 miles from Yass, about 12 persons attend. Same day to Jugion's Creek, Murrumbidgee River, 20 miles, or even more, from Fitzgerald's, about 20 persons attend ; 15th, to Yass, 40 miles ; 16th and 17th, at Yass ; 18th, to Goulburn, 60 miles ; 19th, to Mr Faithful's, and back, 20 miles ; 20th-23rd, at Goulburn ; 24th, Carey's, Lake George, 30 miles, 12 to 16 persons attend ; 25th, Bungadore, 25 miles from Carey's ; 26th, Molonglo, 14 miles from Bungadore, about 20 or 30 persons attend ; 27th, Queanbeyan, 12 miles, at least, about 20 persons attend ; 28th, Yarralumla, Limestone Plains, 10 miles, about 6 or 8 attend ; 29th, Yass, 40 miles, at least, from Yarralumla.

2nd December, Gundaroo, 27 miles from Yass ; 3rd, Goulburn, 45 miles from Gundaroo ; 6th, Bungadore, 40 miles from Goulburn ; 8th, Molonglo, 14 miles from Bungadore ; 9th, Queanbeyan, 12 miles from Molonglo ; 10th, Gap, Lake George, Carey's, 25 miles, at least ; 11th, Goulburn, 40 miles (about) ; 12th, Gunning, 30 miles from Goulburn ; 13th, Yass, 30 miles from Gunning ; 14th-15th, at Yass ; 16th, Goulburn, 60 miles from Yass ; 26th, Ryan's, 20 miles, there and back ; 28th, Gunning, 30 miles from Goulburn ; 29th, Yass, 30 miles from Gunning ; 30th, Gundaroo, 27 miles from Yass ; 31st, Ginnindery, Yarralumla, 40 miles from Gundaroo.

1840,—1st January, Yarralumla; 2nd, Queanbeyan, 10 miles; 3rd, Bungadore, 20 miles, and Goulburn, 40 miles; 5th, Macquirk's, in Georgiana, 40 miles from Goulburn, about 20 persons attend; 7th, Binda Vale, 12 miles further; 8th-9th, Macquirk's; 10th, to Hogono, to Richlands, at least 25 miles at Hogono, 12 at Richlands, 30 or 40 attend; 12th, Goulburn, 40 miles from Richlands; 19th, Gunning, 30 miles from Goulburn; 20th, Yass, 30 miles from Gunning; 21st, Geelong, Ryan's, E., 40 miles from Yass; 24th, Burrowa Plains, etc., 60 miles' journey, to and fro; 26th, Geelong, 25 to 35 persons attend; 27th, Mrs Russell's, 10 miles from Geelong, 12 persons attend; 28th, Fitzgerald's, 8 or 10 miles from Russell's; 29th, Jugion, 25 miles from Fitzgerald's; 30th, Gobaralong, on the Murrumbidgee, 12 miles from Jugion, 15 to 20 persons attend; 31st, Kilamacat, 15 or 16 miles up the Toomal, about 12 persons attend.

1st February, Bombala Plains, 15 miles at least; same day back again to Darbalara, about 25 miles, 6 persons attend next day; 3rd, Money-money Flat and Burburrowa, Canes, Port Phillip Road, 10 or 12 persons attend; Traffe's, 8 or 10 persons attend; 5th, Fitzgerald's, 35 miles; 6th, Yass, 25 miles; 10th, Goulburn, 60 miles; 17th, 10 P.M. to Molonglo, 54 miles from Goulburn; 18th, 12 noon, to Goulburn, 54 miles, arrive at 12 midnight; 19th, Bamballa in Camden, 30 miles from Goulburn; 20th, by Mr Barber, Mr Shelley's, to Goulburn, about 35 miles; 23rd, Carey's, near Lake George, 30 miles from Goulburn."

COUNTY OF KING.—Attended from Goulburn or Yass.

YASS.—A chaplain; church to be commenced; the chaplain's duties are of the same character, and to the same extent, as those of the chaplain at Goulburn; each takes the other's place when absent. Without this arrangement, such labours could not be performed. Mr McGrath has travelled as far as Twofold Bay. Communion in the two districts, in the course of three months, 102.

QUEANBEYAN.—Attended from Yass and Goulburn.

PORT PHILLIP (MELBOURNE).—A chaplain; temporary church; attendance, 700; three services on Sunday; two on week days. Communion average 50 monthly. A second clergyman, without Government aid, attends Geelong, etc."

Only such a report as that of the Rev C. Lovat can possibly bring home to us in these days, what missionary duties meant in those pioneer times. The details contained

therein may stand for the work of others besides Fathers Lovat and McGrath and O'Reilly, and represent the lives of Fathers Therry, Dowling, Dr Ullathorne himself, and the rest, and above all of Dr Polding, toiling for hours a day from station to station, in all weathers, in all seasons, on horseback or in dog-cart, carrying altar requisites, and at the end of a journey finding no time to rest from the fatigues of the road, but plunging straightway into the spiritual work that was their one object. And we have to realise, also, what journeying in those days meant. Few roads existed: it is plain to see that Father Lovat's travels were, for the most part, across country, through well nigh trackless woods, or over equally trackless plains; with rivers and creeks to cross, and with the danger ever present, though, it must be added, rarely experienced, of encountering bushrangers. When we faintly realise these obstacles, then, and then only, can we further realise the heroism and self-abnegation, and self-sacrifice of these early priests who spent themselves to serve their neighbours; then only can we realise the magnitude of the task undertaken by Dr Polding and his clergy; and the wonder is, not that they effected so much, but that they did anything at all with such scanty resources as they enjoyed.

CHAPTER XI

1840—TILL THE DEPARTURE OF BISHOP POLDING AND
DR ULLATHORNE FOR EUROPE

DEAN KENNY records in his book on the *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*¹ that "the Catholic Church made great strides during the years 1839 and 1840." We have seen how full of incident was 1839. The succeeding year was just as fruitful, but the events recorded have more reference to peace and expansion than to profitless if sometimes needful polemics. The Dean continued: "Sir R. Bourke's Church Act was now in full operation, and it was deemed advisable by the Bishop and his Vicar-General to take advantage of its provisions without delay. Through the strenuous efforts of the good Bishop and his clergy, churches and schools were erected in the most populous parts of the Colony, as a means most requisite for the advancement of religion. The Right Rev. Dr Polding was then in the vigour of life, and he did not spare himself in the labour of the Lord's vineyard. Whenever his clergy required him to lay the foundation stone of a church, or to promote any other good work, he was sure to be present at the time and place—in fact, it may be said he then worked almost night and day. There were no good roads in those days, nor trains, nor telegraphs, and in many places only bridle paths. He travelled with his clergy from place to place, through the thick forest, exposed to a broiling Australian sun, and

¹ p. 185.



VERY REV. JOHN JOSEPH THERRY
(The Pioneer Priest of Australia).

shared with them the terrible thirst, which sometimes there was nothing to quench but muddy water. Everywhere he was received by the people with joy and acclamation, and they bowed implicitly to his injunctions. The Bishop was an excellent horseman, who bore well the heat and brunt of the day, and often, at the end of a very long ride, was less fatigued than the young clergy who accompanied him."

We may here, under the leadership of the same eye-witness, take a rapid survey of the expansion effected during those last months before Dr Polding left his Vicariate to give an account of his stewardship to the Vicar of Christ. On 22nd of December 1839, the Bishop blessed the foundation stone of St Joseph's Church at the McDonald River, near Mount St Joseph in the Windsor district. The devoted priest was Father John Brady, who was in charge of some 600 Catholics, distributed throughout the district, and he travelled yearly some 8000 miles in visiting the six stations where he said Mass. Dean Kenny has preserved the address Dr Polding delivered on the occasion. It is worth reproducing here, as an example of the burning words with which he inflamed the hearts and encouraged the good resolutions of his scattered flock.

"Three years have elapsed," he said, "since from the height of yonder mountainous tract, I first beheld the lovely valley which extends its sinuous course on either side of us; through the morning's mist I discerned the sparkling waters of the river [Hawkesbury] which gives its name to your district, and the tracts which in the highest state of cultivation, fringe and border its course. As I descended the precipitous path by which you hold communion with the outer world, I said to myself: 'O, that my God may grant me strength, when the decrepitude of age warns me that ere long I must pass to my dread account, to creep to these quiet scenes before me, and whatever of worldly wealth I may possess shall be devoted to the erection of a church wherein I shall lift up my hands to offer sacrifice for my people; and the remains of a voice and of an energy almost extinct shall be consecrated to the instruction, consolation and support of the simple-minded inhabitants.' I thought that years, many and tedious, must elapse before a temple

unto the living God would be raised amongst you. How could I have lost sight of the consoling assurance from the pen of the prophet, that 'Every hill shall be brought low, every valley filled, every crooked path made straight, in order that all flesh may see the salvation of God,'¹—words not merely to be understood as pointing to the victorious influence of divine truth manifested in the destruction of the prejudices, machinations, and determinations of Paganism, but generally prophetic of the removal of every difficulty from the path of the gospel, its holiness and truth. Four months have not elapsed since I attended your invitation to commence an oratory which might also be used as a school, some few miles from here, and now we are assembled to erect a church, a temple to the living God. Does not this zeal confer honour on you? Your school has been supported entirely at your own expense. Yet you hesitate not to embark on an undertaking which will require considerable contributions. It is thus that 'He in whose hands are the hearts of men, models them to His own purposes'; it is thus as we expected, that your souls having become, by a holy life, the spiritual temples of God, your zeal would not be satisfied until the material temple, which is the Church, should be raised, wherein, after the wont of your forefathers, you might worship in spirit and in truth.

"A noble instance of disinterestedness, a gratifying proof that the right use of riches is not altogether forgotten, the Church we are about to found will record. The land on which we stand is given by Mr Watson, who also deposited £300 as his contribution. The Almighty has blessed his labours, and he deems it right thus to return a part to Him who gave all. Already does he see around him the rising families of children he and his excellent wife have adopted for their own. Placed by him on farms purchased by his own honest and well-deserved earnings, he enjoys the highest and most exquisite feast it is for man in his present state to make unto himself, in their happiness and prosperity. For their use and for the public benefit he devotes so large a sum for the erection of this Church. I may mention another circumstance which, in my mind, lessens not the value of the donation nor diminishes my estimation of the man. Thirty years ago, in a moment of thoughtlessness, that was done which has been the cause of great regret.

¹ Is. xl. 4, 5.

Is not this amply expiated and atoned for? Is the stain of such a fault to be made more enduring than the justice of God? Not so thought that Blessed Legislator, from whose code, as illustrated in His own example, we are accustomed to draw our rules of life. When the publican Zacchaeus, nay, even the chief of the publicans, by the adventitious circumstances sought, and succeeded, to see Jesus, was he not forthwith recognised by the Saviour, and desired to prepare to receive Him into his house, for that He intended to abide with him? What were the dispositions of Zacchaeus? 'Lord,' says he, 'I give one half of my goods to the poor, and if I have wronged anyone, I restore to him fourfold.'¹ Nor, when we see those who have followed Zacchaeus in his aberrations, imitating him in their return, striving by honest industry to raise themselves that they may see Jesus and merit to be recognised by Him who came to save the sheep that was lost, shall we hold in eternal remembrance the fault of one moment? It is not thus we shall prove ourselves the ministers nor even the disciples of Jesus Christ; never, never will be seen in the conduct of the true disciples of Jesus any symptoms of aversion and contempt for a large class of fellow citizens in which, if there be found the objects of punishment well-deserved, there are and must be, from the nature of human institutions, many victims of misfortune. I have not read to a fruitless purpose the history of Ireland for the last two centuries. I have not seen with my own eyes the misery of that once unhappy country, but now disenthralled, I trust, from the tyranny of besotted and heartless faction, the details and consequences which always result when the arm of power is stretched forth to uphold a party against a people, without coming to a conclusion which right reason suggests, which religion sanctions, which is exemplified and illustrated in the conduct of the Incarnate Wisdom of the Godhead. I cannot fasten my judgment to the ever turning wheel of fashionable opinion. I am not prepared to deem Joseph a degraded character, though sold as such by his malevolent brethren; nor to pronounce the Blessed Jesus guilty, though condemned by those leagued together for His destruction; nor to throw a stone at the bidding of every Pharisee. I regard not of what classes the settlers and cultivators of the soil are composed; but wherever I go, and I have largely traversed this country, I meet men of industrious domestic

¹ Luke, xix. 8.

habits, solicitous to give their children an education superior to their own. I perceive a deferential respect where respect is due; an attachment, combined with that proper sense of independence, which, in my mind, evinces a sense of propriety totally incompatible with vulgar or mean thought. Take for instance, this beautiful valley with its inhabitants! See those plains! How zealously has not the plough pursued its claims to the very mountain foot! Not a weed is visible amongst these families of corn plants which bend their deep green flags to the breeze—emblem, dear children in Jesus Christ, of your own state, who are the 'cultivation of the Lord.' How often have I not reposed when neither lock nor latch nor fastening protected! You support your school, you give proofs of the proper sense of the value of wealth and the purpose for which it is given, of which you may be justly proud. Such being your state and your disposition, why should the minister of peace make enquiries odious and uncharitable? Most willingly do I bear my testimony that in no part of England, and I have seen much of her rural population there, have I observed a middle class possessed of qualities more valuable, or who by their conduct were more deserving of estimation and of trust, than it has been mine to meet here and in other parts of the Colony, which, in the discharge of my pastoral duties, I have visited. But to return from this digression to the immediate purpose for which we are this day assembled. Let us not imagine that we have done a great thing even when we have bestowed our whole substance on charitable doings; we can claim no right to meritorious giving when we have none to possess. We cannot suppose that the Lord requires a temple built by mortal hands for His worship. The temple in which we are now assembled, in which the earth furnishes the flooring and the arch of heaven forms the dome, surrounded by creation, animate and inanimate, is the most becoming. Yet for man's accommodation God condescends to accept worship in a temple built by mortal hands; and He deems that which is given towards its erection as bestowed upon Himself. We think it right to offer publicly a proof of our approbation to the individual whose munificent donation we have before mentioned. In your name, dearly beloved, we present to him a treasure, the value of which money cannot reach, a copy of the written Word of God—the Book of Life, the Holy Scriptures—and we feel an especial gratification in thus publicly with our own hands presenting this most

Sacred Book to one of our beloved flock, because we are not without hope that the false idea which evil-minded men have spread abroad relative to unjust prohibitions and restrictions will be thus dissipated. The Catholic Church is said to be hostile to the distribution of the Holy Scripture. Would to God I could deposit a copy in the cottage of everyone disposed to read it with proper dispositions! No, the Catholic Church neither now nor at any other period prohibited her children from reading the Sacred Volume. Only when those wicked men, whose object was plunder and sensual gratification under the pretext of the reformation of religion, translated the Word of God in the Sacred Scripture and fashioned it to their own purposes to gratify their misdeeds and rebellion, when they transformed the truth into a lie, the Church warned her children against these poisoned fountains of error, and hence the outcry raised against her, hence the calumnious charge repeated a thousand times. Keep this book with reverence; let its laws be thy guide, its counsels thy support and consolation. When thou hearest its words or readest it, remember God speaks unto thee, and be as the Jews near the mount of Sinai or the devout St John near the Cross of thy dying Redeemer."

We can learn, occasionally, at first hand what Dr Polding thought of the work being accomplished by his priests and nuns, what were the prospects for the future, what the drawbacks and anxieties that pressed upon him. We feel no hesitation in transferring the following pages from Cardinal Moran's *History*.¹ The letter here subjoined was addressed by Dr Polding to the Central Council of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons, to whose generosity he already owed so much, and whose charitable assistance was for many years yet to come to prove of such inestimable service to the young Churches of Australia.

"Sydney,
10th January 1840.

GENTLEMEN,—The assistance which, during the last two years, we have received from your Association has been of

¹ pp. 303 seqq.

immense service in the improvement of this vast Diocese. It has enabled me to aid in the support of several young Irish ecclesiastics already advanced in their studies, and with whom I have formed the commencement of my Seminary. Through their co-operation I have been enabled to open a public school where the benefit of a Christian education is given to the Catholic children. This young institution, which is prospering daily, is under the direction of Dr Ullathorne, so well known by the apostolical zeal which he had displayed in Europe in favour of my flock. The eloquent appeal which he has made to England and Ireland has decided a great number of excellent ecclesiastics to join us during the last eighteen months. All devote themselves with ardour to the glorious mission of preaching repentance to sinners, and lightening the chains of the captive. When I landed in Australia, in September, 1835, I had but six clergymen with me ; at this moment I have 23 priests under my jurisdiction. Of these, two are established at Norfolk Island, and three in Van Diemen's Land. Thus, religion has been able to extend its benefits to a vast extent of territory ; and yet my clergy and I have felt, and still feel, sincere and deep regret for not having a priest to devote to the conversion of the savage natives. I am convinced by my own experience that the faith would easily spread among the tribes which are removed from all intercourse with the Europeans, with whom any contact is commonly the source of corruption. These savages—the object of so much contempt—appear to us intelligent, cheerful, and very observing. I had from time to time the opportunity of seeing them, and when I could speak to them on religion, I found it very easy to make them comprehend the principal truths of the Catholic faith. The Cross, particularly, is for them a subject of serious reflection. Oftentimes, we have the happiness of seeing fathers bring to us, at Sydney, their children that they may receive a name—it is thus they signify baptism. We grant, without difficulty, this favour whenever a priest resides on the territory which the tribe inhabits ; and we give a certificate which is to be presented to the missionary, in order that he may watch over the regenerated infant. Any writing which we entrust to these savages has, in their eyes, something mysterious and sacred ; and if they happen to know that the letter or ticket concerns themselves or their children, they preserve it with a truly religious care. The friendship which they have for each other, and the affection which they

testify for any kindness shown to them, are qualities which characterise and recommend their good disposition. Nothing is more affecting than to hear them speak of their attachment to Father Therry, who, during several years, was alone occupied with their salvation; so that if you wish to give them a favourable idea of the priests, you have only to represent them as brothers of Father Therry, and the Bishop as father of all.

"A little sugar and water with bread is sufficient to satisfy them. Lately, near Wollongong, the clergy gave them a feast of this description. The tribe assembled to celebrate the happy event. Formerly it was numerous, now it is only composed of a few families. An old woman went to take her seat apart, and the young paid her particular attention; it was a pleasure to see that their first care was to put aside her portion and immediately to present it to her with respect. They have a particular predilection for a little spot on the coast opposite where I live. Several times during the year they assemble there to celebrate what they call a corroboree. Their singing is plaintive,—I should say, melancholy,—even when they wish to express joy. It is in the night-time they meet, and the noise they make awakens all the neighbourhood. Although my residence in this country does not go beyond some years, I am able to ascertain of myself that the number of aborigines is rapidly diminishing. In a little time hence this people will have entirely disappeared before the destructive breath of a civilisation, which is neither inspired nor directed by religion. When shall this portion of my flock be able to receive the care of some devoted pastors who, going in search of the savage, would endeavour to preserve him from the corruption of our cities—would keep him in the bosom of his solitude, and there speak to his well-disposed heart? If it be permitted me to express on this subject an opinion, which experience has suggested, I would say that the young persons brought up in France for the foreign missions are peculiarly adapted to this good work.

"In the course of this year our dear Sisters of Charity arrived in Australia; we shall for ever preserve a grateful recollection of the event. After residing some weeks near Sydney, they established themselves in a house founded for them at Parramatta that they might be able to attend to the unhappy female convicts in the great prison and in the Factory. At this place a glorious mission is opened to them; and oh! what miracles of grace has God wrought

through their ministry! The establishment which is under their care contains at the present moment near 600 Catholic women; and never, perhaps, have the light, the consolations, the succour of faith been bestowed on more desolate beings. The Sisters attend the prisoners twice in the day at stated hours; they also visit them frequently in the intervals. Their labours are directed by my Vicar-General, and have in a short time worked a remarkable improvement in characters which seemed incapable of correction. Silence and order have succeeded to quarrelling and never-ending disputes. After some weeks I was invited to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation to more than a hundred prisoners, and among these to several aged women whose lives had been formerly stamped with infamy. In a little time afterwards eighty other convicts received the same grace; many of them approach the Holy Table every month, and 30 or 40 communicate every week. The fervour of these poor creatures gives us consolation and delight. I am also invited to give Confirmation in the workhouse, where there are some sheep which the Good Shepherd desires to bring back to the fold by the ministry of these pious and admirable nuns. There were certainly great rejoicings in heaven on account of the sinners whom we have seen converted, and of the prodigals we have seen received this year into their paternal home.

"Aided by your holy Association I have commenced the foundation of a second convent in Sydney, where the assistance of the Sisters is eagerly desired. Two of them have the care, in the meantime, of our establishment for orphans, where there are 80 children. These unfortunate infants have been for the most part familiarised with crime from the moment their understandings began to act. Some of them, scarcely seven years old, have been seen to rise from their beds at night, and guided by the instinct of theft, to go to the beds of new-comers and search their pockets, or rove about the house trying to steal provisions, not through want, but merely to gratify their depraved dispositions. However, all feeling is not as yet extinguished in these young hearts, and thanks to the maternal care of these good religious, they will become, I am convinced, honest and virtuous; several of them have already shown the example of a blessed change. I regret exceedingly that I am still unable to send you such complete information on my mission as our brethren in Europe seem to desire. I have taken measures that your members shall in future be constantly informed of all the good which is produced here by their

alms. Until the present time our ministry could be only exercised within very narrow limits on account of the small number of my assistants; but now that our Church is established in a firm manner, and that our numbers are increased, everything promises to our efforts the most consoling results. There have been this year 4000 communions at Sydney, and 2000 at Parramatta: 250 dissenters have returned to the Catholic faith; 9 churches are building in the principal towns of the Diocese, and we are preparing to commence several others in different localities. The kind and generous aid which we have received from your Society has revived our courage which had failed. I was indebted £1400 for the completion of the Cathedral. As soon as I shall see the possibility of discharging this debt, I shall lay the foundations of another church in Sydney, which reckons a population of 28,000 souls, of whom one-third are Catholics.

"I continue to receive the most satisfactory accounts from Norfolk Island, where an astonishing reform has taken place; criminals who were reputed incorrigible have become examples of docility and resignation.

"During the last year about 2400 convicts arrived here, among whom they reckon 800 Catholics. We brought the latter to attend the religious exercises which always precede their departure for their several destinations: such as had not been confirmed received this Sacrament. When we consider that these unhappy creatures were, for the most part, on the brink of the abyss into which crime and despair were ready to plunge them if religion had not stretched forth to them her arms, must we not admire the Divine goodness which makes use of temporal chastisements in order to save souls, and which is often nearest to us at the moment that we think ourselves abandoned? The conversion of these prisoners is one of the greatest consolations of our ministry. In general, they persevere in their good resolutions although they are often more than a year without seeing a priest. They show a great desire to receive the aid of religion, as you will perceive from the following instance. About two months since, I held a station on Macdonald River, for the purpose of assisting the Rev. Mr Brady, the missionary of Windsor. A poor prisoner named Nolan, hearing that Mass was to be celebrated at the place, obtained leave to go to attend it after his Saturday's work. The distance he had to travel was 35 miles. The same evening he arrived at the establishment called Chapel of St Rose, in Hawkesbury,

and the following morning he ran from 17 to 18 miles in order to have the happiness of receiving Holy Communion. This poor man was hardly a fortnight out of the hospital where he had been confined by a sore leg. Immediately after Mass he resumed his journey that he might be at his work on Monday morning.

"The year just past was a period of dreadful suffering, particularly among the convicts, and a great number of them died of exhaustion and want, and some fainted and expired on reaching the hospital. The provisions of every kind were excessively dear, the drought having destroyed the crops. This year, thanks to the Divine mercy, will be a year of abundance; but the faithful are very poor, and unable to contribute according to their wishes and our wants, to the many good works which so many necessities multiply around us.

"Receive, I pray you, my thanks, and those which my grateful flock address, through me, to your venerable Association, which God has raised up to make known and bless His Holy Name to the bounds of the world. Already, although cast to another end of the earth, we have shared in the fruits of its zeal and generosity. We are anxious to hasten with our ardent prayers the moment when it shall be permitted us to extend and advance it among ourselves. Every fortnight my clergy and I celebrate the Holy Sacrifice for all our benefactors; under this title we particularly include in our prayers the members of the Propagation of the Faith. The 3rd of November of every year we unite with our brethren spread over the earth, and offer with them the propitiatory sacrifice for the deceased members. May their souls rest in peace, and their good works, like our gratitude, accompany them into the other life.

I have the honour to be, etc.

✠ J. B. POLDING.

Vicar Apostolic of Australia."

The following notice, which appeared in the November number, 1840, of the *Catholic Magazine*¹ belongs to about this time, the early part of the year.

"The Australian Church.—Three Catholic clergymen have arrived by the *Rajah*, the Rev. Messrs Platt, Cavenagh, and

¹ p. 699.

Ryan. The first named gentleman is a Franciscan, and has resided for several years in Rome; the two last are from the archdiocese of Tuam. We have not yet heard where they are to be installed.”¹

On 17th March 1840, the foundation stone of a building to serve the twofold purpose of a school and a chapel was blessed and laid at Campbell Town. The church there had been built before Dr Polding arrived in the Colony, and was a substantial stone building, capable of seating 500 persons, and was at the date in question served by the Rev. J. A. Goold, afterwards Archbishop of Melbourne. The Catholic population according to the census of 1836 was only 287, but the surrounding districts, as Appin, Menangle, Narellan and Cooke brought up the number to 810; in 1840 this would have been even higher. Father Sumner O.S.B. was Father Goold's assistant, living at Appin. The following details are preserved by Dean Kenny from a letter addressed to the *Australasian Chronicle* (the new Catholic organ) of the 24th March.

“ . . . Mass was celebrated at 10.30 A.M. by the Rev. Mr Goold, and an instructive address delivered by the Right Rev. Bishop. The virtues of St Patrick were proposed for the imitation of the hearers, and his extraordinary abstinence and life of prayer were held up as a standard. These were contrasted with the excess and dissipation too frequently to be lamented as desecrating a day so holy, so full of grateful recollections. . . . At 1 P.M. his Lordship, accompanied by the Rev. Messrs Goold and Sumner and a very numerous assemblage of Catholics and Protestants, proceeded to bless the foundation of the new school, named after St Patrick. The Bishop observed that this ceremony was not, indeed, in the Ritual, but suggested by a sense of propriety. ‘Unless the Lord buildeth the house, they labour in vain who build it.’ After some remarks on the value of education, its principal objects, and the end which ought to be kept in view by those to whom the important task of developing the moral and intellectual powers of the child is committed, the Bishop congratulated the people of Campbell Town on the public spirit evinced by

¹ *Australasian Chronicle*.

² Ps. 126. 1.

them, and the glory they had acquired in being the first to erect at their own expense a school house, at once, in a moral and material sense, most creditable to them. His Lordship complimented them on the cordial unanimity which seemed to animate all classes, and alluding to the donor of the ground, who was then not expected to recover, he reminded those by whose exertions the present building was to be erected, of the gratification with which in their last hour, they would recollect their donations to an object so praiseworthy. The Bishop offered a prayer for the children, and then, surrounded by the latter, implored a blessing on their parents and benefactors. After this most affecting ceremony, the Bishop gave his blessing and the assemblage departed highly gratified. A handsome collection, amounting to £265, was made on the occasion.—*Erigena*.¹

Further details of missionary activity are to be found in the *Foreign Intelligence* columns of the *Catholic Magazine*. Lost in those old pages, let them be transferred to these *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*.

"Parramatta, 5th April.—On Sunday last, the Sacrament of Confirmation was administered for the first time in Parramatta, by the Right Rev. the Catholic Bishop. The notice given by his Lordship was unavoidably short, and yet the number, the appearance, and the pious demeanour of those by whom the Sacrament was received, merited and obtained from his Lordship an affectionate and earnest approbation. There were present the young and the experienced, the citizen and the soldier, the zealous and conscientious convert to the one fold, as well as the inheritor of that ancient faith which is recommended and endeared to us Catholics, by the venerable and hallowed associations of nearly twenty centuries. The tender and heart-felt discourse delivered on this occasion by his Lordship, elicited from a respectable Protestant the frank avowal, 'That it was the most charitable discourse to which he had ever listened.' His Lordship promised to repeat his visit in a short time. We trust he may be able to do so, as his people will be glad to hear from him those instructions which are highly creditable to himself, and of singular advantage to them.—*Australasian Chronicle*."

"*St Mary's*.—A number of children received their First

¹ *Progress*, etc., pp. 193-194.

Communion in the Cathedral on Sunday (26th April) with the usual affecting solemnities. The congregation were particularly edified with the hymns that were sung by the children on the occasion. We believe the Rev. F. Murphy has the principal merit of getting up this youthful choir, which certainly improves rapidly. Sixteen children from the Orphan Institution were to have been of the number of the First Communicants, but the unfortunate state of the weather prevented their attendance."¹

[Extract of a private letter from New South Wales.]

"Dr Polding has appointed the Rev. Messrs Brennan and Fitzpatrick to the Yass country, the most remote part of the Colony, on the Port Phillip side. They have a very large district under their spiritual care. Mr Brennan was led along by the good dispositions of the people to a great distance, between two and three hundred miles, baptising children, receiving persons into the Church and rectifying marriages. He is an excellent bushman, and finds his way across the wilds admirably. His companion, Mr Fitzpatrick, is not so fortunate in this respect, having been lost many times, and obliged to pass the night in the bush, without fire or blanket. He is, however, doing wonderful good; and both he and Mr Brennan are much respected. Messrs Lynch and Mahony are stationed at Maitland, on the Hunter; they have an extensive district, and one extremely populous. Conversions are going on in every direction, and numbers of sinners returning to their duty. Messrs O'Reilly and Slattery are at Bathurst. They are about to build a church, which has been obliged to be deferred owing to the scarcity. These two are also excellent missionaries, and have changed the face of the country since their arrival. I am happy to inform you, that the health of Dr Ullathorne is greatly improved. During the first two months after his return, we were all very anxious on his account, and Dr Polding, I know, was greatly afraid we should lose him. Thank God, he has taken a favourable turn, and is now perfectly well. He, with the Sisters of Charity, have roused the bile of all the bigots of the town of Parramatta where he resides, and scarcely a week passes in which we have not some virulent article against him or them. He gives lectures on Sunday evenings, which are extremely well attended by Protestants."²

¹ *Catholic Magazine*, October, 1840. p. 640.

² *Ibid.*, July, 1840, p. 448.

The mention of Father Brennan's appointment to the Yass district, gives point to the following testimony to the rapidity with which he endeared himself to all, Protestant as well as Catholic. The *Catholic Magazine*¹ contains this pleasing intelligence :

"YASS AND BURRAWA.—The proprietors in these districts have just given a splendid proof of their liberal and enlightened feeling, in presenting the Rev. Michael Brennan, Catholic clergyman, with a chalice and watch in token of their esteem, and appreciation of the benefits derived from his labour in these districts. Considering that the majority of these gentlemen are Protestants, this liberal act does them the highest honour, as it also affords an unequivocal testimony to the worth of the Rev. gentleman. The following is the inscription on the chalice and watch : ' Presented to the Rev. Michael Brennan, as a token of the high esteem and regard in which he is held by his Protestant and Catholic brethren in the Yass and Burrawa districts, 1840.'"

This year saw the commencement of a second church in Sydney itself, under circumstances strongly appealing to the emotions and religious sentiments of the Irish and, indeed, of all Catholics. On 26th May 1840, the *Catholic Australasian Chronicle* advertised that "A meeting of the Catholics of Sydney will be held at the Court House, Castlereagh Street, on Monday, the 1st prox., at seven o'clock in the evening, to appoint a Committee and to devise means for erecting a new Catholic Church in Sydney. We understand that beautiful plans for the new building will be submitted to the meeting. An excellent site has been presented by Mr Davis, and we are confident that so praiseworthy an example will act as a stimulant to the rest of our brethren to come forward liberally on so urgent an occasion. We believe it is the intention of the Lord Bishop to dedicate the new Church to Ireland's glorious Apostle St Patrick. We say, let St Patrick's new Church form a monument to future ages of the piety of Erin's sons, and of that zeal which, under every variety of circumstances, they

¹ October, 1840, p. 640.

have evinced for that faith which the great St Patrick taught them."

Even at the cost of repetition, it is right to insert here Dr Ullathorne's own account of this foundation. He puts it by mistake in 1841, (when he was in England):

"In the year 1841, the foundation was laid of a second church in Sydney, the history of which is truly interesting. Mr William Davis, the same worthy man who had given the first convent at Parramatta, offered his own house and garden as a site in Sydney on which to build a church. That house had a remarkable history. It was the house in which Father Flynn had officiated until he was unlawfully seized, committed to gaol, and sent out of the country. He was arrested so suddenly that he was unable to consume the Blessed Sacrament. That was left in the house of Mr Davis, and the Catholics went there on Sundays to say their prayers. This continued for two years, there being no priest in the Colony, until a French expedition of discovery arrived; when the chaplain of the expedition said Mass in the house, and consumed the Host that had been left. This house may therefore be considered to have been the first Catholic Chapel in Australia. It was situated on elevated ground close to St Philip's, at that time, too, the only Protestant Church in Sydney.

"Mr Davis was a truly religious man. Transported on the charge of having made pikes for the insurrectionists of Ireland in 1798, for he was a blacksmith by trade, he had suffered much for his faith. Twice he had been flogged for refusing to go to the Protestant service, and for the same refusal was so long imprisoned in a black hole, that he almost lost his sight. But no sooner had he obtained his freedom, than by his industry and integrity, where good mechanics were few, he began to succeed in his trade. Then his house became like that of Obededom, and God blessed him, so that when I first became acquainted with him he had become a man of landed property, and had accumulated a considerable amount of wealth; and having no immediate dependents was much disposed to assist the advance of religion. How often have I heard him exclaim, in his earnest simplicity: 'I love the Church.'"¹

Dean Kenny, from whose pages we have taken the advertisement of the proposed meeting, also reprints the

¹ *Autobiography*, pp. 166-167.

account of its proceedings, from which are here extracted the principal items of interest.¹

The Bishop, on opening the meeting, said that he had long wished for the erection of a church in that quarter of the town where it was proposed to build the edifice now in contemplation, as it would tend to the improvement of the moral condition of that portion of the population. And they all had some reason to accuse themselves of a defect in point of gratitude by having permitted so long a time to elapse without the erection of some temple for God's worship, as a proof of their sense of the Divine Goodness. At a vast distance from their native soil, they had ample subject of thanksgiving and gratitude to the Divine power for the glorious privilege which their forefathers long and ardently struggled for in vain. When, therefore, these bounties of the Almighty were taken into consideration, gratitude alone would manifestly demand the erection of some monument in testimony of their feelings of religion; and what monument could be more proper than a temple consecrated to divine worship under the glorious patronage of that great benefactor of mankind, St Patrick; in whose diadem it would form an additional jewel. The spire of this temple would be, as it proudly stood, a perpetual and unfailing monitor to each passer-by to lift up his mind to the God who created him. It was a fact which needed no illustration, that wherever the Irish people were spread, they invariably carried with them their religion—the religion of their forefathers, in all its beauty and purity. The ground on which the proposed new church would be erected was the gift of one who gloried in the name of St Patrick, and he hoped so good an example would not be lost upon others; but that if the present year should not behold the laying of the foundation stone and the carrying up of the spire, or, in other words, the commencement and execution of the design, the terms of its completion might not exceed the ensuing year, 1841.

Mr Roger Therry, in moving the resolution to form

¹ *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, pp. 198 seqq.

a society to push forward the work of collecting funds for the building said, in regard to Mr Davis, the donor of the ground, that too much praise could not be bestowed on him. He had devoted the early portion of his life to pursuits and habits of industry, and he was now in its decline applying the proceeds and fruits of that industry to the best possible use to which they could be put—the happiness and benefit of his fellow citizens and the service of religion. Then he remarked that Dr Polding, who was a comparatively new comer amongst them, must be highly gratified by the rapid advances towards completion made under his auspices by St Mary's Cathedral—an edifice which shortly before his Lordship's arrival, they almost despaired of seeing finished in their time. This and similar results must be the best and most gratifying reward to him and the clergy for their zeal and devotion in the service of the people. Those results were the fruits of the precepts which they taught, and of that piety of which their lives afforded a practical exemplification.

Father Francis Murphy was elected president of the Committee of management of the new society, and Bishop Polding congratulated the meeting on their choice, since his name was hallowed by both poor and rich, wherever his ministry had led him, and in whose praise he would have said a great deal more were he not then present; he felt certain that in a comparatively short time such a sum would be raised as would at once be a source of gratification and astonishment. In the course of a few minutes the collection amounted to £1012.

The *Catholic Magazine* for February, 1841, contains the following interesting additional information as to the way the subscriptions were coming in.

“NEW SOUTH WALES.—*Sydney*.—The subscriptions for the new Church of St Patrick amounted at 18th August last to £2324, 9s. 1½d., besides £305, 13s. od. of annual subscriptions. Among the list of subscribers are the following New Zealand chiefs, Widenacky, £1; Gregory Fero, a Catholic Chief of Wyma; the Great Papabo, a Catholic

Chief of the Terarowas; the Parva, a Catholic Chief of Ommani; Rahohie, Chief of Ommani, £1."

The work, under these cheering circumstances was hurried forward, and less than three months later the foundation stone was laid.

Dr Ullathorne has something to say about this ceremony, in his *Autobiography*.¹

"It happened," he wrote, "that at this time a scheme was being agitated for establishing a general system of elementary education on conditions which no Catholic could have accepted; in consequence of which, the Bishop and myself had an interview with the Governor, Sir George Gipps, on the subject. After considerable discussion, the Governor brought the interview abruptly to a conclusion by saying: 'In short, I must adhere to the strongest party, and I don't think that you are the strongest.' After that we determined to make a public demonstration, for we knew that, if not the strongest by numbers, we were by our union. We took the opportunity of laying the foundation of St Patrick's Church, which was fixed for 25th August, 1840." This had been looked forward to with the keenest interest for some time. "As the time approached a warm national feeling had been raised among the Irish-Catholic population, and they resolved to make an exhibition of national emblems. Hitherto national distinctions had been instinctively avoided in the Colony; all prided themselves on being Australians. The rumours afloat about this exhibition of nationality alarmed the governing authorities; they were afraid of its ending in reprisals, and of its becoming the beginning of national parties. The Governor sent for the chief police-magistrate and expressed to him his apprehensions. The magistrate came to me, and conjured me to prevent the religious procession from being turned into a national demonstration. 'Suppose,' he said, 'that Orange flags are lifted up, what will be the state of Sydney? Hitherto we have all gone on so peacefully together.' I asked the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, both Irish Catholics, and our leading men among the laity. They thought that, however innocently intended, things were going too far. I felt compelled to take the matter in hand, and made full representations to the Bishop. His Lordship felt reluctant to oppose the ardent feelings of the people. I retired to another

¹ pp. 167-168.

room and wrote him a letter, stating that I had now done all I could in the way of representation, both to himself and to the clergy, and felt myself free from further responsibility ; but that, as the whole object of the procession was to conduct his Lordship to the foundation stone, and not to make a national demonstration, I felt that the representations of the authorities ought to be attended to. He then sent for me, and asked what I recommended, as he did not see his way. To this I replied that, without compromising him, if he would leave it to me, I thought I could find a way through the difficulty. And it was left to my judgment.

"This was the eve of the day appointed for the ceremony. A meeting of the general committee was then being held, and I got Mr Therry, the Solicitor-General, and some other gentlemen, to accompany me to the assembly, It was densely crowded, and excited speeches were going on. In a speech of an hour's length I gradually worked the assembly round until I came to the point ; and then the chief leader of the popular voice arose, and called upon the assembly to comply with my advice, and, for the sake of peace to withhold from the procession those marked national emblems, however much they had cost ; for peace was better. Thus the point was gained. Mr Therry, who had been one of O'Connell's leaders in the great meetings for Emancipation was much struck with the whole affair, and with the way in which that vehement excitement in one direction was turned, by degrees, into another. When I informed the Bishop of the result, he expressed great satisfaction and declared that it set his mind at peace."¹

One word may here, perhaps, be permitted, to point the moral of the wise statesmanship displayed upon that occasion by Dr Ullathorne. Had his example been more closely followed, not only in Australia, but in other quarters of the globe as well, how much acrimony and bad feeling would have been avoided ! The provocative spirit can never be admirable, for it is no better than the proverbial trailing of the coat to create a row. The self-restraint of those ardent Irish-Australian Catholics under the promptings of wise guidance, might well be taken as a model for other peoples and other leaders, lay and ecclesiastical.

¹ *Autobiography*, pp. 171-172.

We may now revert to Dr Ullathorne's *Autobiography*¹ for an account of the actual ceremony. He wrote:

"The Catholic population was in a state of exalted enthusiasm, in looking forward to it. The procession started from the Cathedral, and had to pass through the principal parts of the town. Bands of music were provided. The Cross preceded, magnificent banners following along the line. Three hundred girls clothed in white followed the Cross, the rest of the children forming a long line. Then came the Catholic people, who were 14,000, out of a population of 40,000. After them the acolytes and the clergy in their sacerdotal vestments, whilst the procession was closed by Bishop in mitre and cope with his attendants. Such a procession had never been seen in Australia. The whole population filled the streets, and as we reached the place of the new church, on one of the highest points in Sydney, by every descent you might have walked on the heads of the people, among whom voices were heard saying, 'we can't do this; we must consent to come second.' The foundation stone was suspended in the air, visible to the multitude. At the Bishop's request I was mounted upon it, and thence I gave the touching history of the house which had now disappeared, which had been the centre of Catholic devotion in our days of trial and persecution and which had now made way for the church which was there to rise on the most elevated point in Sydney. It was on the very catacombs of the Catholics that this church was to repose.

"This was a revelation to the Colony of our strength, and our reply to the Governor's remark. It must be remembered that, in those days, we had to meet the long cherished traditions of Protestant supremacy, and to *assert* that equality before the law, which the law itself had given us."

The last six weeks before Dr Polding's embarkation for Europe were crowded with work. On September 29th 1840, he arrived in the Wollombi district, having travelled overland from Sydney. There he laid the foundation stone of a church dedicated to St Michael, on September 30th, on land presented by a Mr McDougall. On 3rd October, the Bishop was in East Maitland, and on the following day, Sunday, he officiated in the Church before a crowded congregation. In the evening he proceeded to Raymond Terrace, officiating

¹ p. 168.

there then and on the following morning. The priests of West and East Maitland, at that time, were Fathers Mahony and J. Lynch. The population of the town of Maitland was, according to the census of 1836, 1163 persons, of whom 365 were Catholics. The priests had to travel, on an average, 5000 miles a year. As there was no church, Mass was celebrated by the Bishop in a tent, and it rained nearly all the time. A subscription list was opened towards the erection of a church, and a handsome sum was raised. The Bishop then proceeded to Hinton, about seven miles away, where a great many Catholics were gathered together to meet him. These he addressed, exhorting them to a good life and to perseverance. He was accompanied thence by many of the Catholics to Cooley Camp, and there again preached a long sermon to the concourse awaiting him. Thence he proceeded to Glenham, the seat of Mr C. H. Chambers, arriving about 10 p.m. On the following morning, 5th October, the Bishop celebrated Mass before about 60 people, and selected the site for a church, on land presented by Mrs Chambers, who had also subscribed liberally towards the building. He then went to Dungog, about 25 miles away, staying at the house of W. F. Mackay, Esq. Next morning he said Mass for about 70 Catholics, many Protestants also assisting. The same day he returned to Maitland, reaching that township at 10 p.m. On October 8th Dr Polding laid the foundation stone of the Church of St John the Baptist on Campbell's Hill, West Maitland, having previously said Mass, and given Holy Communion to about 70 persons and confirmed a like number. The next day, after celebrating Mass in the temporary chapel, he returned to Sydney by Newcastle. On 12th October, the indefatigable prelate was in Wollongong, where, on the 13th, he laid the foundation stone of the Church of St Francis Xavier. For this ceremony the Catholics of Dapto, Jamberoo and Shoalhaven joined those of Wollongong. After a "very effective" address, the stone was laid by the Bishop, and a collection of £55 was taken up towards the building fund. Dean Kenny states that the priest stationed in this, the

Illawarra district, was the Rev. John Rigney, and giving the details of his ministrations over a large tract of country, as chronicled in the last chapter under Dr Ullathorne's statistics, mentions the fact that the priest travelled 3252 miles during the year. On Sunday the 18th October, the Bishop was conferring the subdiaconate and diaconate, in St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, on the following ecclesiastical students:—Rev. John Kenny, James Dunphy, Patrick Magennis and John Grant. The Bishop pontificated, and "a most learned and interesting discourse, suitable to the occasion, was delivered by the Very Rev. the Vicar-General, who, as their theological instructor, presented the postulants to the Bishop, and attested in the usual form their fitness for the sacred office."

On 21st October, the Church of St Matthew in Windsor was opened. Dean Kenny quotes from a letter describing the scene, from which some extracts may here be given: "Bishop Polding and his Vicar-General attended, with fourteen priests. I was highly gratified at witnessing the grand ceremony of the consecration of the Church. The Vicar-General preached on the subject of King Solomon's dedication of the Temple; his scriptural allusions were applied with peculiar fitness to the service of the day. To say that Dr Ullathorne is a highly gifted individual, and endowed with shining talent is merely to repeat public opinion, but I may add, he turns the powers of his mind to the best advantage in using them for the glory of God and the benefit of mankind. Dr Ullathorne is a quick-sighted investigator of the truth, and whilst he grasps with firmness the evidences of Christianity, with peculiar earnestness he invites his hearers to lay hold on them. He is a sound logician and able champion of the Catholic Church. . . . I was present at Vespers. . . . The Bishop closed the service with an appropriate discourse on the Consecration of the Church, in which he enforced with persuasion and eloquence the essential doctrine of the Gospel, without entering into metaphysics, and endeavoured to convince his hearers that true religion is not only calculated to promote

the glory of God, but the real happiness of man. He dwelt with energy on the virtue of charity, and charged his flock, in their daily intercourse with their fellow-men, to be friendly with Christians of whatever denomination. *O si sic omnes.*" In a postscript, the writer of this appreciation tells his friend that he had "had the honour of an interview with Bishop Polding. His Lordship's manners are highly prepossessing, and uniting the dignity which becomes the prelate with the humility of the true Christian, he is not only revered but beloved by his flock."

Lastly, on 8th November 1840, Dr Polding laid the foundation stone of All Saints' Church, Liverpool, previously having pontificated at Mass, and having confirmed a considerable number of children. Some £40 or £50 were collected. The Bishop in his discourse, told the congregation that on his return from Europe, he hoped it would be one of his pleasing duties to consecrate the Church whose foundation stone had just been laid. When at the end he gave his blessing, all the people cried out with one accord, 'God bless you, my Lord; God grant you a safe voyage.'

The *Catholic Magazine* for March, 1841,¹ contained further items of information about the activities in progress in New South Wales at this period. We there read:

"*Additional Branches of the Catholic Institute.*—Following the good example thus set at Sydney, the other Catholic congregations of New South Wales have begun to bestir themselves, and our latest accounts inform us of three additional auxiliaries having been formed, viz., at Campbelltown on the 27th of September (1840), of which the Rev. Mr Goold has been appointed President; at Appin, on the 4th of October, the Rev. Mr Sumner, President; and at Berrima on the same day, of which the Rev. Mr Goold has been declared President. We also learn that at the first monthly meeting of the Sydney branch, about £30 were handed in to the Treasurer.

"*New Churches.*—It is cheering to observe the great exertions now making by our brethren in New South Wales for the erection of churches. Every newspaper which reaches us from that quarter, contains long lists of sub-

¹ p. 191.

scriptions for this pious purpose. The last list for St Patrick's Church, Sydney, amounts to £3012, 3s. 5d.; and the annual subscriptions to £358, 2s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; that for the Church of St Xavier (the foundation stone of which was to be laid on the 13th of October by the Right Rev. Dr Polding, with the usual ceremonies), and the chapel-house at Wollongong, amounts to £789, 3s. 2d.; that of Appin to £306, 9s. 5d. The Catholic Church at Windsor was to be solemnly opened on the 21st of October for divine worship, by the Right Rev. Dr Polding. On the 22nd he was to proceed to open the Catholic Chapel at Kurrajong; and on the 23rd his Lordship was to lay the foundation stone of a new Catholic Chapel at Catai Creek."

It was somewhere about this time, too, that Dr Polding paid his first episcopal visit to Goulburn, where he said Mass and administered the Sacrament of Confirmation in a slab hut. "On that occasion, as the Bishop used to relate, a Protestant lad, climbing to the roof of the hut, and seeing the Bishop with the mitre, cried out at the top of his voice to his companion: 'Come here! come here! a cove here has the most comical hat that ever you saw!'"¹

The year 1840 was fruitful in other labours besides those of laying foundation stones, opening churches, and forming additional branches of the Catholic Institute.

In the first place, reference may be made to Dr Ullathorne's mission to Adelaide, for which port he sailed on 28th May 1840, remaining there for some weeks, making arrangements for the building of churches, the appointment of clergy, and generally organising the foundation of the Church in the Colony of South Australia, a new province just beginning to be colonised by emigrants from England. Dr Ullathorne thus describes his experiences in his *Autobiography*.²

"Father Geoghehan had been sent to Melbourne to found the Church in the Colony of Victoria; and though the gold mines had not yet been opened, he succeeded in building a large church. The Bishop wished me to pay a visit to Adelaide, the capital of the new province of South Australia, with the view of ascertaining what Catholics there were in that Colony, and what could be done for them. Father Lynch,

¹ Moran: *History*, p. 357.

² pp. 158, seqq.

one of the young priests that I had brought from Ireland, took my place at Parramatta. . . . When we landed at Adelaide, the city, a few miles from the Port, was in the fourth year from its foundation. . . . I was hospitably received by Mr and Mrs Philips and their family. . . . My first point was to see the Governor: my second to obtain a room in which to assemble the Catholic population. I wrote to the Governor's Secretary, but obstacles were put in the way of an audience on pleas that seemed to me trifling. I next called with Mr Philips on the Chief Commissioner: for the Colony was founded by an association on speculation, and was under the management of their Commissioners, as well as under the rule of Colonel Gawler, the Governor appointed by the Colonial Office. The Chief Commissioner at that time was a Scotch Presbyterian. I asked leave for the use of a building which had been lent to every denomination until they had a place of worship of their own. I was received respectfully, but dryly, and was told that I should receive an answer by letter. The answer was a refusal, without reason assigned. It was evident that the authorities were against the presence of a Catholic priest if they could manage it. The refusal soon got wind among the population; and a Protestant, who kept a china shop, was so indignant at this treatment, that he offered to put his china into his cellars and to give up his shop to our use twice a week, on Sundays and Thursdays. There I erected an altar and said Mass, preaching and catechising morning and evening on those two days in the week. I found that the Catholics were not more than fifty in number.

"I now wrote direct to the Governor, informed his Excellency of my official position in the Australian Colonies, and that I had brought out a letter from the Colonial Office recommending me to the Governors of those Colonies. I requested the honour of an audience. This was at once granted, but the interview was very formal. I got no more notice from Government House than this quarter of an hour's conversation. As there were no convicts in this Colony, there was no ground for applying to the Government for the maintenance of a priest. Besides which, the Bishop had wisely made it a rule never to put one priest alone where he could not be in a position to visit another priest the same day. . . . After baptising the last-born child of my hospitable hosts, I bade them farewell and returned to Sydney. After that youngest daughter had been baptised, I said: 'Now, remember, this child must be a nun.' Twenty years after,

Mrs Philips wrote to me from Sydney, and, reminding me of what I had said, informed me that this child had actually become a Benedictine nun in the Convent near Parramatta."

And now a period had arrived when, as the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of St Patrick's had revealed to them and to the other Colonists how strong, in reality, the Catholic body was, it became advisable, as well as necessary, to assert themselves boldly, and thus to put an end to the incessant attacks from which they had been suffering.

The first, perhaps, to feel the effects of this new spirit, this determination to follow up their detractors and to silence them, was Judge Burton. The book which he published in England in 1840, from which we have so largely quoted, entitled *Religion in New South Wales*, had just reached the shores of Australia, and proved to be so scandalous and malignant an attack on the Catholics, that Dr Ullathorne took up the cudgels in defence of the Church. The account of this well-merited castigation may be best told in his own words.¹

"At this time I wrote my *Reply to Judge Burton*, the most important of my Colonial publications; for it has become the text-book for the early Catholic history of New South Wales. Judge Burton had been a sailor in his youth, as well as myself, and he was full of Protestant zeal. On a visit to England he had published a large book, in which he advocated Protestant ascendancy in the Colony; maintained the old scheme of devoting one seventh of the lands of the Colony to the maintenance of the Protestant Church and Protestant Education; and in which he had not spared us. He had also delivered certain judgments from the bench, reversed, indeed, afterwards, by his brother judges sitting *in banco*; but which, had they stood, would have invalidated all Catholic marriages up to a recent period; would have illegitimised the children of those marriages, and have upset the tenure of their property. This he had done on the mere plea of the applicability of English laws, which were in no wise applicable to the Colony.

"On these two themes I wrote, and not only handled his delinquencies plainly, but with considerable severity; for

¹ *Autobiography*, pp. 162-163.

the Judge had shown a strong animus, and it was necessary to produce an impression. The pamphlet did produce a sensation. Judge Burton was still in England, and one of his brother judges sent him the sheets as they were printed. We took care to send several copies to the Colonial Office in England, and to the Library of the House of Commons. He returned just before I left the Colony. His friends gave him a public dinner, and did their best to smooth things over. But soon after he was removed to India, where he remained eighteen years; after which he returned as Chief Justice to Sydney for a time. But this stern policy did not improve the feelings of the High Church people towards me; nor did the lawyers, as a body, like to have one of their ornaments attacked. A leading barrister, who ventured to say at a public meeting that this pamphlet was only unanswerable because no one thought it worth answering, was hissed into silence by the general sense of the assembly."

Dean Kenny¹ says that the Governor declined the invitation to attend the banquet referred to by Dr Ullathorne "on account of his independent position as a judge in regard to the Executive; and because the circumstances were different from those of the Attorney-General, Mr Plunkett, who was leaving the Colony, whilst Judge Burton was returning to office." Dean Kenny devotes some eight or nine pages² of his book to an analysis of the Judge's book and Dr Ullathorne's reply to it; to this, readers may be referred. Here, sufficient has from time to time been quoted as occasion demanded, from which the scope of either publication may be gauged. Suffice it to say that Dr Ullathorne's masterly marshalling of facts and figures to rebut the Judge's *ex-parte*, unfair, misleading and positively untrue statements, together with his incisive indictment of the Judge's animus and motives, leaves him easily master of the field and in enjoyment of the honours of the trial of strength.

"Another conflict in which I was concerned," wrote Dr Ullathorne,³ "was with the Tract Society. This was some-

¹ *Progress*, etc., p. 208.

² pp. 213-222.

³ *Autobiography*, pp. 163 seqq

thing new in our Colonial history. Hitherto we had been accustomed to go on our own way without interference. But through Sir Richard Bourke's Act providing for religion, we had an influx of clergy of all kinds, and this brought in a good deal of old English anti-Catholic prejudices, to which we had hitherto been strangers; and we had to assert that position of perfect equality which the policy of the Government had assigned to us. From the Tract Society, anti-Catholic tracts began to be distributed even at the doors of Catholic houses. We noticed that even Government officials made themselves active in this Society; and not only subscribed to it, but made speeches in its assemblies. To meet this and other machinations, we established a Catholic Association, with monthly meetings. The Bishop generally presided, and opened the subject, leaving the exposition and enforcement to me, who had a previous understanding with the chief speakers as to how the discussion was to be guided to its conclusion. Thus, when these tracts began to fly about, I advised the Catholics to accept the next that was offered and bring it to me. A quantity came. I then made extracts from them of passages that were insulting to Catholics, and drew up a list of Government officials who supported the Society. We then called a great meeting of the Catholic population and proposed to them that, as this Tract Society was promoting enmity and division between two classes of her Majesty's subjects, and as several of the Government officials, instead of promoting peace, were co-operating in this method of disturbing the peace of society, a list of those gentlemen, together with extracts from those tracts, should be forwarded to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies. This was done, and it cleared the rooms of the Society of these gentlemen.

"The Bishop wished me to take the lead in this conflict, to receive all blows aimed at his authority, and thus to keep the Episcopal Office free from attack. This I readily assented to as proper to the office of Vicar-General. But the Press coupled all this with my evidence on the transportation

system, and dubbed me with the title of the Very Rev. Agitator-General of New South Wales."

The "Catholic Association" above referred to in such general terms by Dr Ullathorne was, in reality, an auxiliary branch of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain, to which Dr Polding had already appealed for counsel in the matter of his dispute with Dr Broughton over the latter's puerile objection to the appearance of a Catholic Bishop at a Government Levee in dress suitable to his rank. From Dean Kenny's pages¹ we glean an account of the meeting held to form this "Association." It took place on 10th September 1840, in the old Courthouse, Castlereagh Street. At the same time an auxiliary branch of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith was inaugurated. A series of 12 resolutions was put to the meeting and carried.

The Rev. Francis Murphy in moving the establishment of a local branch of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain, said that it was meant not for attack, although they had been called idolatrous impostors and clerical scoundrels, but merely for the purpose of self-defence. Both clergy and laity expected uncontrolled enjoyment of the religion of their fathers; and that no dominant Church would be allowed to rear its unhallowed head, fostered and cherished by the hand of power, to the prejudice of other religious denominations.

Mr Duncan, Editor of the Catholic *Australasian Chronicle*, remarking that they had been assailed by Diocesan Committees, reviled in productions of Tract Societies, insulted by the abominable and ridiculous fabrications of catch-penny Protestant magazines, and attacked by public and private individuals of all ranks of society, referred to Dr Ullathorne's work in meeting and refuting these attacks, and insisted that his *Reply* was a complete answer to the aspersions cast upon the Catholic community in the pamphlet by Mr Justice Burton. He then moved:—

"That the thanks of the meeting are eminently due, and

¹ *Progress, etc.*, pp. 177-185.

are hereby presented, to the Very Rev. the Vicar-General, for his able, eloquent, and satisfactory reply to Mr Burton, judge of the Supreme Court, in vindication of the Catholics of the Colony; a reply which has added another to the many titles he had previously acquired to our respect, confidence, and gratitude." Mr Gibbons remarked that although Mr Justice Burton's book had been offensive to them, yet it had been productive of great ultimate benefit to them, in as much as it had called forth a reply which was unanswerable, and had also compelled them to meet that evening for the purpose of organisation against similar attacks. The resolution was carried amid loud acclamations. Dr Polding presented the resolution to Dr Ullathorne, remarking that he did so with feelings of extreme pleasure, knowing the inward gratification the receipt of such a resolution, accompanied with such a demonstration, would give the receiver, embodying as it did the enthusiastic approval of all those in whose cause he had so worthily exerted himself. Dr Ullathorne, amidst loud and continued cheering, returned thanks, but admitted he had been taken by surprise, as he did not expect the passing of such a resolution. He felt sincere pleasure, however, at its receipt, embodying as it did the approbation of those in whose defence he had so often taken up his pen: but he called all present to witness that he had never done so for the purpose of attack. The task which he had imposed upon himself of replying to Judge Burton he had found a comparatively easy one, for the moment he took up that gentleman's book, he perceived the erroneous principle on which it was founded, and he had only to peruse the necessary official documents in order to establish a full and complete refutation of every assertion the Judge had made to the prejudice of their holy religion.

Later on in the proceedings, in moving the formation of their branch of the Catholic Institute and of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in union with the parent institutions, Dr Ullathorne remarked that the circumstances of the Colony justified them in establishing the Institute, so as to combat as successfully as might be, the numerous and

unjust attacks which were being made upon the members of the Catholic body collectively and individually. They were assailed by the judge on the bench, by the justice of the peace, by clergymen from the pulpit. The Catholic community did not wish to quarrel with anyone, but was rather desirous of associating peaceably with their fellow-colonists; still, it was necessary in justice to their civil and religious safety, to defend themselves against these unprovoked assaults. At the very last meeting of the Diocesan Committee what had been said from the pulpit was carefully collected and afterwards printed, charging the Catholics with usurpation, and asserting that its followers offered all their prayers and sacrifices through another mediator than our Blessed Redeemer. It was but a very few days ago that a person, a non-commissioned officer of a regiment, asserted at a public meeting held for the purpose of disseminating the Gospel of peace, that Popery, Infidelity, and Satan were in league. He further referred to the Tract Society and its publications which were distributed everywhere, filled with misrepresentations, calumnies and falsehoods, which only a perverted ingenuity could devise. Further, the June, 1840, number of the *Sydney Protestant Magazine*, professed to give 'the prices charged for indulgence in various sins by Gregory XVI.' It appeared to him truly astonishing when he saw gentlemen whose general character they were bound to respect, capable of meeting together in a society, and contributing by their presence and influence to the circulation of productions which seemed to have no other object in view than to insult and degrade the Catholic name.

Bishop Polding in responding to a vote of thanks, said that they might anticipate from the proceedings of that evening a cessation of hostility in many quarters. Frequently attacks were made on the presumption that no resistance would be offered. The attitude of defence alone often prevented the manifestation of attack. They had assumed that attitude in the love of peace, and for the same reason they intended to continue it. (Cheers, and 'we will'.)

Now that they had determined upon this course, it became them to consider how far they would permit a line of conduct in others of which they had not taken public notice; he alluded to the practice of certain persons who, earnest in the work of charity, from time to time appealed to the public, and invited the cordial co-operation of all classes and creeds. Charity, exalting and noble, forbade, not merely the action but the word, and thought even, which might give pain or be disparaging to the feelings and good name of another. To illustrate: he had been requested to take part in the proceedings at the annual meeting of the Benevolent Asylum. At that meeting, he had been classed with the infidel and the socialist; was described as the enemy of truth, and as linked with Satan. Did any action of his merit that he should be flung into such a degrading association? Infidelity, Socialism, Popery! He who maligned his religion, maligned him: he who insulted his religion, insulted him. That such expressions should have been allowed to pass unrebuked by the chair was not what he expected. He was clearly of opinion that a man of upright mind and good intentions might have a conscientious attachment for that form of belief which he thought to be true; but this should be tempered by a delicate tenderness for the faith and religious practices of others, and even for the prejudices of those who deemed his form of Christianity to be erroneous. He was quite convinced that there were numbers who subscribed to those societies, (Bible Tract Societies), who were not aware of their working, or to what amount of ill-judged zeal they gave their names and purses. He thanked God they had no dominant Church there—no one Church exclusively by law established, but there were three forms of faith distinctly recognised by the Legislature, placed on an equal footing; therefore, by all in official situations to be equally protected and guarded against wrong and insult, for they had all an equal right to look up to the Government as their common protector and friend. Bishop Polding concluded by exhorting the people to preserve the same quiet, forbearing, peaceable demeanour,

showing forth the beauty of their faith in the practice of their lives; and whilst determined to repel every unjust attack, in all calmness to defend their tenets, resting their principal dependence on Him, without whose aid the best efforts of man are vain and fruitless. (Loud cheers.)

The point of development now reached brought home to Dr Polding, that with the steady expansion of the field of work, a corresponding increase in the number of workers should also be secured. The following letter, written by Dr Polding to Father Heptonstall, will show that his needs were great and crying; and the formal notice issued by the Government that the period of state-aid to the clergy must terminate, made the Bishop insistent on the necessity of getting as many additional names on the list as was possible, before it should be finally closed. It was long before Dr Polding's desire to obtain a filiation of the Christian Brothers' Teaching Institute was fulfilled; but it is of interest to see how early he had gauged their value and how earnestly he endeavoured to entice them into his Vicariate.

" Sydney,

4th Sept. 1840.

MY DEAR MR HEPTONSTALL,— . . . When, when, are we to have an addition to our number of clergy? Nine are due before this year. Oh! if you did but know our wants! To read how you hesitate and how you think, that notwithstanding the expense you will go to Ireland—and you are *almost* determined to do so, instead of being *off* at once! In the meanwhile the country is absolutely flooded with parsons of every grade, whose numbers swell up the Church Estimates; all the odium of this expense comes equally upon us, and we have none of the advantages. The Governor has given formal notice that a stop must be put to the influx of clergy. It is of the utmost consequence to increase the number to the utmost, because only that number which may be in service at the time the cessation takes place will be provided for. Do let me entreat you to let everything yield to this one thing of the most pressing importance. The poor creatures at Port Macquarie are daily dying unassisted; the same may be said of numbers throughout the country. In

Dr Meyler, in Dr Montagu, Mr Connell, in Dr Kinsella, you will find most willing co-operators. The Kilkenny clergy rank high in my esteem. Clergy, Clergy, Clergy, in the name of God, I do ask and entreat you to send me.

"I once proposed to Mr Jones to send out books for the purpose of commencing a Bookseller's Shop (Catholic). I have not heard anything in reply. I wish you would speak to Charles Dolman about it. I am sure it would answer. A good selection of books—not the sweepings of shelves, and such stuff as may be unsaleable at home—with a large supply from Battersby's, Dublin, would do. I propose setting up Mr Hawkesley, one of the only two serviceable men sent out as schoolmasters (he and Duncan) as Bookseller; he could have a Reading Room, and altogether fill up a large chasm now existing in our plan of operations. Stallard¹ is an old woman, and Mulholland cannot spell. Our schools are in a very low state. Cannot you procure two of the Christian Brothers. Do put on the Bowels of a Christian and create in them a sympathy. We have a fearful contest to carry on, and literally no means.

"Here I conclude this grumble.

"*Chronicle*, CLERGY, Books to the value of £60 well selected, Schoolmasters, CHRISTIAN BROTHERS, and no delay.

Believe me always, yours affectionately,

✠ J. B. POLDING."²

The need of more priests was thus so pressing that at length Dr Ullathorne writes:³—"After various plans had been considered, Bishop Polding decided to go himself to Rome, and obtain what further assistance he could of men from

¹ The following anecdote on a scrap of undated paper in Dr Polding's handwriting is amusing enough, (while harmless), to be given here.

"The other day the Vicar-General asked old Brady who drives the bullock-cart where he had left a parcel he had to deliver. 'I gave it to Podgy,' was his reply. 'Podgy? Podgy?' exclaimed the V.G., 'and pray who is Podgy?' 'The little stumpy man what's in your office, Sir; we always call him Podgy.' 'Mr Stallard, you mean,' observed the offended chief. 'Mr Stallard? Lor bless your soul, Sir, I thought his name was Podgy. He be so round and fat like!'"—*D. A.*, L 274.

² *D.A.*, K 423

³ *Autobiography*, p. 173.

England and Ireland. As there was still reason to apprehend that my name might be put before the Holy See for Van Diemen's Land, I decided to accompany him to England; and Dr Gregory completed the party as attendant on the Bishop."

The last sentence of the foregoing quotation needs elucidation; and in order to obtain it, we must go back a few pages in Dr Ullathorne's *Autobiography*.¹

"On my final return from the Australian Mission," he wrote, "a good deal of curiosity was awakened as to the reason for this step. It was widely known that I had had much to do with the organisation of the Church in that remote country, and this brought me sundry letters of enquiry from friends, to which I gave but general answers; for I did not think it expedient at the time when I had returned to monastic obedience, to indulge what I looked upon as mere curiosity. But I have the document before me at this moment, in the year 1889, in which I clearly laid my reasons before Bishop Polding, in the year 1840.

"The Mission next in importance to that of New South Wales, in those days, was that of Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania. It was in a very unsatisfactory state, was a convict settlement, and was a thousand miles away from Sydney. Hence it could neither be properly superintended, nor properly provided for by the Bishop of Sydney. This had long dwelt on my mind, and I urged upon the attention of the Bishop, repeatedly, how necessary it had become that he should apply to the Holy See for the appointment of a Bishop to Van Diemen's Land. But absorbed as the Bishop was in missionary work, especially among the convicts, it was long before he entered into the plan. But when at last he clearly saw the necessity of another Bishop he showed me a list of names recommended for that office, and I found my own at the head of it. I at once declared that I could not accept of it. I had seen sufficient of bishops, I said, to compassionate them, but not to envy them; and that unless his Lordship consented to remove my name, with the understanding that it was not to be replaced, I should have no resource left me but to return to my monastery in England. An additional, though accidental reason was, that owing to a long course of anxieties, I was at that time much wasted and

¹ pp. 169-171.

worn down in health ; so much so that, in looking back to that time, I find that in the speeches I had to make in public assemblies, I had repeatedly to apologise for brevity on that account. Persons from England who had met me, reported to my friends there how weary and worn I looked ; for I had many solitudes and many things to combat which it is unnecessary here to record. It was a maxim of the Bishop, as I have already stated, that it was the business of the Vicar-General to meet all the blows, and to keep his Principal in the good odour of peaceful reputation. I will give one or two examples.

"On St George's Day, the English gentlemen of the Colony gave a great dinner to the Irish and Scotch. The chairman invited the Bishop and myself as his guests. The Bishop declined appearing, but wished me to go as his representative. I went accordingly. I had to return thanks for the Bishop and the clergy. What I said was warmly applauded, until I happened to allude to our great ancestry as a Church. It was but a transient remark, nor was it noticed except by an Indian judge, who happened to be there as a guest. But he, in his anti-Catholic feeling, gave vent to some sour exclamations, to everyone's annoyance. Immediately opposite him sat the Chevalier Dillon, a well-known Irishman, who had been titled by the King of France for having discovered the remains of the celebrated navigator, La Perouse, on the Fiji Islands. Dillon seized hold of an apple, and said to the judge : 'If you don't stop, I'll drive this down your throat!' This quieted the judge, and there the matter ended. As soon as I was seated, I turned to my next neighbour, Captain (afterwards General) England, a man of good judgment, and said, 'Tell me frankly ; did I say anything inappropriate ?' 'Upon my honour,' he replied, 'if I thought so I would tell you ; but I thought nothing of the kind.' But the hostile papers, ever on the look-out for the old offender, represented me as having caused what approached near a fracas among gentlemen. It might have been well to have avoided the allusion in a mixed company, but in the warmth of speaking, one sometimes lets slip what is not acceptable to all hearers."

Another instance Dr Ullathorne gave has already been related in connection with the suppression of national emblems at the laying of the foundation stone of St Patrick's Church.

All being ready for departure, and Father Francis Murphy

having been appointed Vicar-General during the Bishop's absence, passages were engaged on a Chilian brig, bound, en route, for New Zealand, where they meant to pay a visit to Bishop Pompallier: thence they meant to sail for Chili, to ride over the Pampas across South America and ship for England from the eastern side. Dr Ullathorne continues:¹

"The Catholics prepared a magnificent demonstration in honour of the Bishop on his departure, and a large sum of money was collected to cover the expenses of his journeys. I was asked what I should like, but I told the delegates that I would on no account interfere with the testimonial to the Bishop; they might give me some trifle as a remembrance, such as a snuff-box. And I was consequently presented with an address accompanied with a snuff-box filled with sovereigns."

Dean Kenny here usefully provides us with a report of these presentations, and of the events which accompanied the departure of the travellers.²

"For some time previous to the departure of Bishop Polding for Europe," he writes, "the Catholic Committee were engaged in getting up a memorial, as a token of the respect in which the Bishop and his Vicar-General were universally held. On the Sunday before the Bishop left,³ he administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to a number of children and adults. A Pontifical High Mass was celebrated in the Cathedral. . . . After the Gospel, his Lordship delivered a most affecting farewell address to his clergy and people."

In the evening, at the Old Court House, Castlereagh Street, the addresses were read to his Lordship and to Dr Ullathorne before a very large assembly, the Attorney General, J. H. Plunkett, Esq., being in the chair. Mr Commissioner Therry commenced by reading the following address to Dr Ullathorne:—

"Very Revd. Sir,—The moment of your departure for

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 173.

² *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, pp. 201 seqq.

³ Nov. 15th, 1840.

England will, we trust, be not deemed an unsuitable one for receiving the assurance of our grateful acknowledgments for the many and important services you have rendered to the Catholics of the Australian Colonies. On your first coming among us you found but one roofless church before you; the religious wants of the people for many years had been supplied by only one excellent clergyman; and many thousands of the people had heretofore lived and died in the interior of this Colony without any religious consolation whatever. If brighter prospects now present themselves; if we see a hierarchy established on our shores; if we see every populous district of the Colony provided with good and pious clergymen; if we witness under the genial influence of their precept and example, a moral regeneration and improvement prevailing among their respective flocks, if we behold the institution of the Sisters of Charity, famed throughout Europe for the great religious benefits it has dispensed, extending its usefulness to this Colony, so exigent of its pious services, believe us, Very Rev. Sir, we are duly sensible that these great services and daily augmenting advantages, are mainly to be attributed to your active and devoted exertions on our behalf, both here and in Europe; to the reliance which your character procured on the truth of your representations, as to the great want of religious aid and instruction under which these Colonies suffered, and to the persevering assiduity with which you left no source unexplored that could be available to our advantage.

"With hearts full of gratitude for these great and important services; with an earnest hope of soon seeing you again amongst us in the prosecution of your pious labours; and with a confidence that whether absent or present, we shall live, as past experience assures us we have lived, in your regard and affections—we bid you a respectful, a grateful, and an affectionate farewell!

"We beg your permission to accompany this address with a small token of our sincere respect and esteem."

The tribute of respect consisted of a snuff-box, valued at £60, with the following inscription: "Presented to the Very Reverend William Ullathorne, Doctor in Divinity, and Vicar-General of New Holland, as a testimony of the affection of the Catholics in the Colony; and their gratitude for his high services rendered to their religion and religious liberty; of regret at his departure for Europe,

and of their anxiety for his safe and speedy return. November, 1840."

Dr Ullathorne in acknowledging these presentations said :

"My dear friends, I thank you most sincerely. This is one of those rare moments in this earthly existence which drowns at once the recollection of a great many of its trials. If the feelings of my own breast could enlarge themselves to the extent of all your kindnesses and your many indulgences in my regard, of which this token is only the latest expression, I would endeavour to thank you worthily. As it is, I return your kindness and good wishes, as the best response I am capable of. It is a consoling reflection that, whilst in all other things I leave this Colony as poor a man as when I first came to it, I am amply rich in your good opinions and warm affections. For these, and all those good works which I have seen done amongst you by the grace of God, I can never be sufficiently grateful. That I should have been an instrument, however by nature unworthy and unfit, of any part of so great a work of good, as the one to which you refer, will always fill me with happy recollections. But when, my dear friends, you see and bear witness to any qualities in me, except a very simple and earnest intention of serving you, and a wish and endeavour to cherish and protect your faith, and to enlarge and quicken the growth of your charity, I there recognise the fallacy of your kindness. Warm and earnest in your good affections, you believe those qualities to exist in your friend and pastor which you well know ought to exist, and imagine he does possess what you wish and desire he should possess; and it is my duty to pray that henceforward I may possess them. If on the occasion of the departure of our beloved Bishop, I condole with you on the temporary loss of the presence of one,—it is only the loss of his presence: his spirit will continue with you—whom you so truly and justly venerate; I would also console you with the reflection that his absence is needful for your own best interests, and that it will not be of a very long continuance; and I would cheer you by directing forward your hopes towards the happy period of his return, which may you all live, and live worthily and happily, to see accomplished; and may his coming again amongst you, as it will, be crowned with joy and benediction. For myself, whilst I most heartily thank you, and trust that I shall live in your recollections, as you will continue to live in mine, I

am desirous of laying myself under new obligations by most earnestly recommending myself to your prayers."

The address to Bishop Polding was then read, and was in the following terms :—

"On the eve of your Lordship's departure, we beg leave to express our warmest wishes for your safe and prosperous passage to England, and our earnest hope for your early return to us. Whilst we deeply deplore even your temporary absence, our regret is subdued and softened by the conviction that your visit to Europe is prompted by a sense of duty, and by that devoted and untiring zeal for our welfare, of which we have so many and unmistakable manifestations. After the five years you have exercised the pastoral charge in these Colonies with mild and firm efficacy, it must be gratifying to you as it is to us, to look back on the great benefits that have been conferred on this community, and of which, under Divine Providence, you have been the chief and chosen instrument. The many churches founded and consecrated by your Lordship; your frequent visits into all parts of the Colony; the dispersion and establishment of a zealous clergy throughout the principal districts of New South Wales; the impartial attention paid to all classes of your congregation, without any distinction, except that where assistance was most required and needed, there it was largely bestowed; and not least, the truly paternal solicitude you have shown towards the orphan, and the affection with which you have cherished the little children of your flock, are among the enduring monuments of those useful labours, by which, in your high station, you have been distinguished, and which have made an indelible impression upon hearts not formed to be ungrateful. As it is under the deep impression of sentiments such as these that we bid your Lordship farewell now, you will not be surprised or displeased that, next to the reverence and affection we entertain towards you, the feeling uppermost is the desire that you may be reunited to your flock at the earliest moment your sense of duty and zeal for our service will permit. We beg leave to accompany this address with a small token of our gratitude and veneration."

This tribute consisted of a Treasury Bill for £400. Dr Polding made the following reply :—

"Wishes so warm and generous, on the part of a people whose affections cannot be commanded, but may

be obtained, I do feel sincere gratification in accepting. I knew not until the period of separation approached, how strong had become the bonds which united us. Only indeed a sense of duty the most cogent, and a conviction that my services elsewhere will prove more generally useful to my extensive charge, could influence me to consent to be temporarily absent from you. May your prayers for my speedy return be accomplished. Your kindness has attributed much to me I do not deserve. Patient enduring was the glory and merit of a preceding generation. The season of mercy and grace has been mercifully ours. Suffering and spiritual privation had disposed you to receive with gratitude the enlarged means of religious consolation Providence granted to you through us, the humble instrument of the divine benignity; and the gracious dispensation has not fallen on an unworthy soil. In the churches now in the course of erection; in the improved habits of our people; in the various charitable and religious institutions which have sprung into existence, in a space of time almost instantaneous; there is, surely, a demonstration, that beneath a surface unfortunately made the ground of rash surmises and rude theories, there did exist a bounteous source of moral worth, which only required to be opened to the clear day, to diffuse streams of virtuous impulses, of noble and disinterested well-doing, throughout our beautiful land.

"My labours and their effects you value too highly. The zealous co-operation of the Vicar-General and of the clergy must be held in grateful remembrance. My devotedness to my beloved country, my determination to use every exertion that can tend to raise and establish on a lofty and imperishable basis her religious, her social and moral character, words cannot express. Let the past be an earnest of the future; and whilst I am absent continue by your peaceable determined course to co-operate with me. The calumny of the graceless may fall undeserving of note. No opposition, statement, or misrepresentation detrimental to your social or religious rights, which might derive importance from the station of him who utters it, must pass unnoticed. Cultivate peace—I use the words of an Apostle—as much as in you lies, have peace with all men, until the harmonious union which gloriously distinguishes our body shall, in the extinction of prejudice, of bigotry, or of unseemly strife, pervade the entire of the social order of New South Wales. I accept with thankfulness this token of

your affectionate regard: may the Almighty dispenser of all good bestow on you every blessing."

The ladies of Sydney presented the Rev. H. G. Gregory with a handsome and valuable ring, accompanied with an address which were suitably acknowledged.

Dr Ullathorne relates in his *Autobiography*¹ that "on the morning of departure I said Mass for the nuns whom I had brought to the Colony, now increased in number, who had come from Parramatta to Sydney for a blessing, and to bid us farewell. I had hitherto had the entire guidance of them, and I loved them in God as a father loves his children. Dear souls, it was a touching scene, and they wept the whole Mass over their separation from their friend and guide." Then, writing in 1889 in reminiscent mood, the old Archbishop, now near his death, records that "It is only a fortnight from writing this that I celebrated with them, the breadth of the world between us, a singular jubilee of thanksgiving. They wrote to remind me that on 31st December, 1888, it would be fifty years since I first landed them in Sydney, and asked me to join them in their thanksgiving for all the benefits they had received, and, I may add, for all the good God had enabled them to do during those past fifty years. But the most interesting part of their letters recorded the present [1888] state of their Congregation in Australia.

"There are now 110 members. They have a large hospital in Sydney, with 150 beds, which is well supported; another hospital in Parramatta in the house in which I placed them; an orphanage at Hobart; a young ladies' college in a well-constructed building; and they teach 3,000 children besides. They are also about to erect a hospital at Melbourne, towards which they have received a sumptuous offering. Of the five members who landed with me, one alone survives, who is still Superior of the orphanage, at the advanced age of eighty-nine years. Here is a theme for gratitude."

¹ p. 173.

"The departure was marked," says Dr Ullathorne,¹ "by an extraordinary scene. The Catholics accompanied the Bishop from the Cathedral to the harbour, the population crowded the shore, the ships hoisted their colours, salutes were fired, and steamers, with the chief Catholics on board, with bands of music, accompanied the vessel to the Heads. The affectionate respect shown the Bishop was loud and hearty on all sides. At last we were alone on the wide sea, and the coast of Australia vanished from our eyes,"—and therewith, though he did not know it for certain at the time, the connection of Dr Ullathorne with Australia, whose rising Church he had so ably and devotedly organised, ceased.

Dean Kenny adds a few more touches of detail to Dr Ullathorne's simple statement. He says:² "At 11.30 A.M., on the Monday following, 16th November, 1840, the Catholic Committee accompanied the Bishop from his residence to the Cathedral, where he read at the altar the beautiful prayers appointed to be read to implore the blessing of heaven on their voyage. A procession was formed of the whole people, under the direction of the Committee. There were many thousands in it. The girls of the Catholic school were first, the whole of them dressed in white; then came the boys, followed by the congregation walking two and two; the Bishop and his clergy formed the rear. The procession marched along Hyde Park, Macquarie Street, Bent Street, and Macquarie Place. When they arrived at the jetty on the Circular Quay the people divided, and the Bishop, Clergy, and Committee went to the boats. His Lordship and the Rev. Mr Gregory proceeded in the Government boat. Dr Ullathorne and the clergy occupied the boat of the *Crusader*, furnished by Captain Inglis. The vessel in which the Bishop, the Very Rev. Dr Ullathorne, and Rev. H. G. Gregory, the Bishop's Chaplain, embarked, was a brig, by name *Orion*, Captain Saunders, master, bound for Valparaiso; in their company were three young gentlemen, Messrs. Chambers, Therry, and Carter, going to Europe for a collegiate education. The brig was towed to the Heads by the splendid steamship *Clonmel*, and this steamer was filled with upwards of 400 persons desirous of testifying to the last the deep respect they had for their beloved Bishop. It was remarked by the Press at the time of the departure of Bishop

¹ p. 174.

² *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, p. 206.

Polding: 'That not only every Catholic, but every Christian ought to sympathise in the sorrow at the absence of him who had given by his presence and labours a moral dignity to our adopted land, formerly represented as the abortion of nations, but now the abode of a fine people, increasing in the enjoyment of a high degree of physical and moral health. If ever a bishop was worthy to be called a pastor of his flock, it is the Right Reverend Dr Polding.'

Two letters must here engage the attention of the reader, both taken from Cardinal Moran's *History*.¹ The first was addressed by Bishop Polding to Father Therry, expressing his grief at learning the rumour, (happily unfounded), that he meant to retire from the Australian Mission, and urging him to continue his valuable services to religion in those parts. It breathes the most tender affection and regard for the pioneer priest of Australia. The second, written from New Zealand, is addressed to Father Brady, and exhibits the humility of the great prelate, as perhaps nothing else could do. The letter is valuable, not only as giving an insight into the Bishop's soul, but also as furnishing a key for an understanding of his policy, and the motives that controlled the line of action he adopted. On the other hand, it furnishes a melancholy instance of the misunderstandings, the touchiness, and other human failings which were to hamper, to sadden, and to embitter the later years of Dr Polding's life. It is clear that Father Brady considered that he himself should have been appointed Vicar-General and Administrator in the Bishop's absence, and resented his own supersession by Father Francis Murphy. Both became Bishops in no long time after this: perhaps the training for the Episcopate entailed in the execution of the office of Administrator may come under the designation of the office of Bishop, and of this St Paul told St Timothy that "if a man desire the office of a Bishop, he desireth a good work."²

" Feast of St Martin,
11th November 1840.

MY DEAR VICAR-GENERAL,³—I am in possession of your

¹ p. 307.

² 1. Tim. 3, 1.

³ This title represents the office which was held at that time by Father Therry in Van Diemen's Land.

favour dated October. In it you mention your intention of visiting Sydney in a short time. I would wish this had occurred ere this, as I am on the point of sailing for Europe. I had long cherished the idea of being with you, and of witnessing, before I took this trip, the progress religion has made in Van Diemen's Land. However, I have come to the conclusion that I shall most effectually, and, I may add, speedily give that assistance so much required, by returning without delay to Europe. I purpose being again in my jurisdiction within eighteen months, under the Divine blessing. I beg you will write to me fully on the state of the mission, and suggest whatever may appear to you of advantage to you in the promotion of religion. A rumour has reached me which, were it not sanctioned by the respectable authority of Mr O'Sullivan, I should deem one of the stories which each day brings forth—that it is your desire to retire entirely from missionary duty. This I cannot hear without much grief. It is of the greatest importance that I should know what are your intentions on this subject. I trust, with the example of St Martin before you,¹ you will pause before you come to this conclusion. Let me hear from you by an early post on this point, and direct your letter to 63 Paternoster Row, London.

“I shall write by this post to Mr Cotham to request he will take an early opportunity to go over to South Australia. This, I think, will be the only time he will be required to leave his mission for this purpose, as I hope before long to send two missionaries thither; if, indeed, they be not sent before I reach Europe.

“I authorise you by the power I have received from the Holy See to communicate to all within your Vicariate the benefits of a Plenary Indulgence three times in the year; that is, on Christmas Day or within the Octave of Epiphany, during Easter time, and within the Octave of the Assumption, to all who contritely and validly confess, and who worthily receive Holy Communion. The same privilege to the Reverend Clergy.

“Adieu! May God bless and preserve you. Send to me all the papers and documents connected with Education. Ever affectionately yours,

✠ J. B. POLDING.”

¹ This refers to the lessons and antiphons of the feast of the day, that of St Martin of Tours, recounting that when on his deathbed he prayed:—Domine, si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius, non recuso laborem.

To this letter Father Therry replied on 1st February 1841, and admitted that he often felt disquieted at being alone in Hobart Town, where so much was to be done, and accused himself for not having more earnestly and repeatedly solicited Dr Polding to send more priests, "where indeed the harvest would be great, were there efficient labourers to secure it"; he then added:—

"Under such circumstances, I should be unworthy of your Lordship's confidence were I to contemplate even for a moment retiring from the mission. Were such an intention seriously entertained by me, it should (as your Lordship has already had an opportunity of knowing) never be acted upon without your Lordship's full and formal approbation. But it would be worse than folly on my part, however inclined I might be, to form at present such a resolution, involved as I am [*i.e.*, in debt] on account of our intended churches, and from which I could not, for a considerable time, be freed without a ruinous sacrifice of private property, which might render me totally unable to fulfil obligations of justice and charity to which I am bound. I must hasten to say that, in my opinion, it would be exceedingly desirable that your Lordship should, before you return, provide some one like yourself as Coadjutor Bishop for this Colony, and seven additional clergymen. A few religious men and women, capable of instructing children, would be also an inestimable blessing to this country. Your Lordship will, I have no reason to doubt, adopt the necessary measures to have these Colonies formally placed under the protection and patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary and her most holy spouse Saint Joseph. Ever my dear Lord, affectionately yours in C. J. O. S.,

JOHN J. THERRY."

Dr Polding to Rev. John Brady, of Windsor District.

"Feast of St Ambrose, Kororarika,
7th December 1840.

MY DEAR MR BRADY,—The Vicar-General [Dr Ullathorne] has this day communicated to me the letter he received from you; and, supposing that the letter addressed to me was on the same subject, this he also placed in my hands. I have been very unwell and much reduced in strength. I am now recovered, and, thank God, I can make an act of submission to His ever adorable Will and surrender the victim He may

demand without repining. I know not that I could have done this at an earlier period.

“Dear Mr Brady, I am now past the meridian of life. It has been my happy privilege to be on terms of intimate friendship with many; in fact, I cannot live unless those about me, into whose souls I may pour my thoughts freely and uncontrolled by any apprehension, be of the number. I am not aware that I ever lost the confidence or forfeited the esteem of one; and it is to me now, and must be for the remainder of my life, a subject of deep affliction that this misfortune has at length befallen me, and in regard of one whom I have loved and venerated from the first—whom, in all circumstances, I shall love and venerate. To enter into an explanation of the past would not, I perceive, be of use; suffice it to say that you never lost that place in my esteem and confidence you must feel you possessed; that, in this view, I did intend to have requested you to accompany me to Europe as my confidential friend and adviser; that I then arranged with the Vicar-General that he should take the general charge of the important district over which you preside; that Mr Gregory’s very delicate state of health, when the Vicar-General stated that he should not feel happy in his situation after my departure, unless you remained to support and advise him,—feeling, myself, the value of a real friend in such circumstances, influenced me to take Mr Gregory in the hope that the voyage would be the means of prolonging a valuable life, especially as he had expressed often to me a most earnest desire to see his mother once more. I had thus arranged and had mentioned the subject to Mr Gregory, when the Vicar-General opened to me his determination to return to England in consequence of letters received respecting the state of the Benedictine Congregation. I considered that the same cause which induced him to return would probably deprive the mission of his services in England; and I, therefore, at once determined, great as the inconvenience of my absence might be, to proceed, notwithstanding this. I came to this conclusion without consulting any individual; for I saw no alternative. It had been publicly announced that I was about to go, and I considered it best to adhere to the purpose.

“Had I remained, I should certainly have carried into effect the plan that I intimated to you, when there was question of return on the part of the Vicar-General on a former occasion. I have always felt happy with you. You must be sensible, dear Mr Brady, that no one could speak more unreservedly—

more confidentially—than I was accustomed to commune with you; nor am I aware of any circumstance which has influenced me to be otherwise with you. In my absence, and in the present paucity of clergy, I did not see how I could make any alteration in the position of the clergy without inflicting a serious detriment on some one or another important district of the mission. When, therefore, Mr Murphy had signified to me that in next July the term for which he came to the mission would expire, and that he purposed to return to Europe, I told him that in that case I could not go; for who was to perform the duty in Sydney? And to fix him, as it were, in the position in which he is now, I requested him to perform the duties of Vicar-General during my absence. This is the plain history of this transaction, and I regret exceedingly that an expression which, at the time it was used, and in the sense by me understood, was entirely devoid of sense, should have been made the means of wounding deeply your peace of mind, and of altering your disposition in my regard, and regard of the mission. As respects the latter, may not I use the words of him that sinned and obtained forgiveness: 'Ego sum qui peccavi, ego qui inique egi: isti qui oves sunt, quid fecerunt?'

"My dear friend, of course I cannot interfere in the way of altering your design. Wherever you are, you will do good; and, in that good, no one will rejoice more cordially than myself, and I shall ever feel most grateful for the assistance you have given. I trust, however, you will not dis sever a connection, which I did hope would not be of this world only, without seriously perpending the cause at the foot of the Cross. If He who endured ignominy, dishonour, torments, with joy, to give us an example that we may follow in His footsteps, bids you to go, far be it from me to gainsay the word. If, on the other hand, He tells you: 'Nolite abire de domo ad domum, sed in quocumque loco vos recipient, ibi manete'; if you must feel convinced from experience that, however useful your ministry may be elsewhere, it cannot produce more abundant fruit than it has in your present position, may I not entreat you to pause? And, when the cause is stripped of every circumstance, is it one which should produce such an effect? One which, in the retrospect of life, you will contemplate without an alloy of pain? Forgive me, my dear friend, if I thus expostulate with you. I cannot prevail upon myself to surrender a friend, and one whom I have loved, and do love as a second

self. If I did not consult and advise as has been my wont, the reason was simply, I had of myself formed my determination as regarded my departure, and as regarded the arrangements consequent to that event. I did what seemed best for the general interests of the mission. I could not leave that vast and important district over which you preside without a head. I could not leave Sydney without an efficient pastor. Why I did not more freely communicate—as, on reflection, I now perceive I might have done—I really know not; but I can most sincerely assure you that want of confidence or decay of regard was not the cause. No, my good friend, this is impossible; and, on my return, you will find that I am what I have ever been in your regard. May I then consider that letter to the Vicar-General as not written? Balance the reserve, if such it were, of some few days with that effusion *de cœur*, which has distinguished our communications. Make some allowance for the jealousies of a pastor, whose sole desire is to live for his people, and to obtain for them clergy according to God's own heart. Write to me *à l'ordinaire*, and in a *petit mot*. Comfort me by assuring me that that note is as if not written. For my own part, I repeat that my regard and confidence in you are undiminished, and the greatest solace I have during my absence from New South Wales is in the reflection that so large a portion is under your pastoral care. How much I have felt in the apprehension of your loss, wrinkles and grey hairs testify. By the grace of God, like Abraham, I am resigned to the sacrifice. Perhaps this was the disposition which was required, and the actual immolation of the victim may not be demanded; if so, I shall rejoice. I shall say: 'Bonum est quia humiliasti me ut discam justificationes tuas.' If the chalice is not to pass, I must say *Fiat Voluntas*; but in all circumstances, believe me to be, with unalterable regard, yours most affectionately in Jesus Christ,

✠ J. B. POLDING,
Bishop, Vicar-Apostolic."

Here we may pause to take stock of the situation, to sum up the result of the labours of two of Australia's greatest pioneers of civilisation. Let it not be thought, in according Dr Polding and Dr Ullathorne that merit, that thereby there is the slightest intention to detract from the value of the individual work done by Father Therry. The difficulties that confronted him were so enormous as to be insurmountable

single-handed. What he could do, that he did; and nobly multiplied himself, as it were, to aid his co-religionists. But errors of character threw him into collision with his fellow priests, his people, and the Government officials, and much of the good he might have effected was thereby nullified. Only on the advent of Dr Ullathorne and by the force of character he displayed was the danger of a spiritual collapse obviated and the Catholic cause began to emerge from the catacombs into the light of day. Dr Ullathorne's magnetic personality won recognition and countenance and aid from the Colonial Government; his manly sense of justice communicated itself to those whose previously unchallenged ascendancy had tended to make them despise the Catholics and think them not worth reckoning with. Dr Ullathorne insisted on our inherent and inalienable rights and at last secured fair play, and as time wore on and the Catholics began to realise their strength, his vigorous onslaughts eventually silenced the enemies of the Church. Again, it was solely due to his efforts that the numbers, and hence the efficiency of the Catholic clergy, were so greatly increased. And while Dr Polding did the active work of a missionary, his Vicar-General sat in his office, organising, moulding, directing. If the Bishop was, as it were, the hands and feet and heart of the Catholic Apostolate, Dr Ullathorne was its head and brain. We have seen that at one time he was the best-abused man in the Colony, and his ill-fame travelled far. He tells us that Captain Saunders, in whose ship he was journeying to Valparaiso, said to him one day, after they became intimate, "I was never more surprised than when I first met such a great man as you are. From all I had heard and read in the newspapers, I expected to meet a great, big-boned man, with a passionate temper, and a big shillelagh in his hand." And some Indian officers after they got to know him said laughingly, "We know all about you in India; your Bishop is an angel; but you are the Agitator-General."¹

His foresight too, was remarkable, and he himself furnishes an example of this.

¹ *cf. Autobiography*, p. 174.

"One thing I did before I left Sydney," he writes,¹ "which ought to be recorded. It was something very obvious, to me at least, but no one else seemed to see it. A great deal of speculation was going on, and the price of land in Sydney and other townships rose enormously. It was said that land had been sold in one principal street at a higher price per foot than it had ever been sold at that time, in Cheapside, London. Many millions of paper money had floated from the banks; but at that time the *Government Gazette* published the amount of specie in the Colony, which did not amount to more than £600,000. Anyone with a little knowledge of finance ought to have seen the consequence; but no notice was taken of it. I then wrote three letters in the *Australasian Chronicle*, the Catholic paper, addressed respectively to his Excellency the Governor, to the city of Sydney, and to the Colony at large, in which I predicted that great troubles were in the wind, and that a great deal of property must soon change hands. . . . They were received with incredulity; but after a time came the crash, and many failures. Land ran down rapidly in price, and sheep, the staple of the Colony, came from 25/- to 5/- a head, and even to half-a-crown. Nor did the Colony fully recover itself until the discovery of gold. Meeting my old friend, Sir Roger Therry, long years after, on his return to England, he said, 'we did not believe your letters, we were rather amused at them; but we were awfully punished.'"

We have seen from Dr Polding's letters, as from his own, the depression of spirits engendered in Dr Ullathorne by the persistent attacks to which he was subjected for more than a year. It may be interesting to learn how he looked back at that time after a lapse of the better part of half a century,—at the personal impressions made upon his mind, and at the permanent result they had upon his character. He wrote in 1888²:—

"If I were asked how I was affected by those long and persistent attacks of the press, by the opinion thus generated, though it never touched the Catholic circle, I should say that, being then a young man, I was not without an annoying consciousness of it, especially as I was left to bear the brunt alone; yet it was less the object of thought than of a certain dull pressure as from the enduring

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

² *Ibid.*, p. 176.

of hostile elements. But it was a valuable training, and made me indifferent to public opinion, where they were concerned, for the rest of my life. In my book (*the management of criminals*), I have spoken of the way in which the Colony ultimately did me justice. The time at last when all the inhabitants of New South Wales, as well as of the other Australian Colonies, came round to my way of thinking. I was probably sitting in my room at Birmingham pursuing some tranquil occupation, unconscious of what was passing at Sydney, when 100,000 people were under their leaders from all parts of the Colony in that great assembly had ministered—in front of that Cathedral where I had so often traversed—a pollution of the land was system an abomination and a pollution of the land must be got rid of at all cost, and to utter the solemn resolve that never again would they allow a convict ship to touch their shores. Among the speakers who addressed that great assembly was my old friend, Archdeacon M'Encroe. There arose three cheers for the old advocate of their new views. Such is opinion, that queen of the world, who has so often to revise her judgments."

In the *Story of Archbishop Ullathorne's Life*, given in *The Oscotian*,¹ we learn that "his activity had been by no means confined to religious subjects, but embraced everything which in his opinion materially affected the well-being of the country. . . . A scheme had been devised by the aristocracy of the Colony for the purpose of protecting the fair name of themselves and their descendants. A bill was introduced into the Legislative Council," whereby "a census was to be taken of the whole population, recording of every family, whether they had come out free or convicts. Now, many who had come out under this latter condition, or were descended from such as had done so, had risen into prosperous circumstances, and others were bidding fair to do the same; and the effect of the proposed measure would have been to stamp all these families with ignominy for ever. Bishop Polding, therefore, and his Vicar, determined to sound the note of alarm; they sent for Mr Duncan, a Scotch convert and schoolmaster, and editor of the Catholic

¹ 16th September 1850.

² pp. 31-32.

... and desired him to get up a public meeting, select his makers well, assigning to each his separate theme, and then give a full report of the whole. This report filled the paper, and it was laid on the table of every member of the Council the day before the second reading was to come on. 'Sydney' (Dr Ullathorne) wrote one of his incisive letters pointing the question; and the result was a complete change of front on the part of the Anglican Bishop Broughton, and the great majority of the Council, who had previously committed themselves in favour of the bill, but now rejected it."

As Dr Polding's labours will still occupy us, since he returned to work for yet a generation in the vineyard entrusted to his care, nothing more need be said about them for the present. We may, however, sum up the situation as recorded by Dean Kenny.¹

"At Dr Polding's departure at the close of 1840, he left the Church in a flourishing condition. The Catholic population amounted to about 20,000 souls, of whom 14,000 were in Sydney. The entire population of the Colony in April, 1839, was 101,904,² of whom about 40,000 belonged to Sydney. In 1835 there were only eight priests, the Bishop, and the Vicar-General. When he left, there were nineteen priests and the Sisters of Charity. In 1835 only three churches were commenced; in 1840, nine were completed and six were in course of erection, while in various places small chapels were in use and others not yet finished; in all, the number of churches and chapels amounted to twenty-five.

"The distribution of the priests was as follows:—In New South Wales there were twenty-four; in Van Diemen's Land, three; in South Australia three; in Norfolk Island, two." This enumeration differs from the one immediately preceding it, and must refer to a slightly later period.

"The Holy Communion during the year 1840 were 23,130, and the Confirmations 3,158." Dean Kenny records also the establishment of the branches of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain, and of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

¹ *Progress of Catholicity in Australia*, pp. 208 seqq.

² Burton, *Religion in N. S. W.* Appendix xii. p. lxxvi (2).

"An object of the greatest solicitude to the Bishop was the Seminary intended to supply the mission with priests, and to educate the children of the respectable classes in the higher studies. St Mary's Seminary was established in the year 1838. When the Bishop left, it contained six ecclesiastical students, twenty boarders and twenty day scholars. It was under the management of the Very Revd. Francis Murphy.

"Up to 1836, Catholic orphans had been placed in Government orphan schools, where they had been taught the Protestant catechism, but Dr Polding remonstrated against this injustice, and his petition to have it righted was favourably received. In the following year the sum of £1000 was voted for the maintenance of the Catholic orphan children. A large house in the suburbs of Sydney, known as Waverley House, was rented, and there they were for the time being located under Catholic guidance; but Dr Polding had it in his mind to erect a large building for their accommodation at Parramatta. In Sydney, about three times a year, such children as had been prepared for it, made their first Communion in St Mary's Cathedral with great solemnity. This imposing ceremony, at which the children exhibited much piety and fervour, had the best effect on the minds of the parents and others, and frequently resulted in the conversion of several hardened sinners."

With these random sketches to fill in the general picture we have been able to construct from the material left by the principal actors in the engrossing drama of the foundation of the Church in Australia, we can leave the subject for the present, in order to follow the labours of Dr Polding and Dr Ullathorne in Europe, and to prepare ourselves for the extraordinary development which was thereafter, and in consequence, to ensue.

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