Brian J. Sweeney
M.A.Ed.
1968
The University of Sydney

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BISHOP MATTHEW QUINN AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES
1865 - 1885

Brian J. Sweeney, B.A.

A thesis submitted to
The University of Sydney
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the honours degree of
Master of Arts in Education
1968
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MATTHEW QUINN  1821 - 1885

Bishop of Bathurst  1865 - 1885
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The object of this study is to examine the contribution of Bishop Matthew Quinn, first Bishop of Bathurst (1865-1885), to the development of Catholic education in New South Wales.

The significance of that contribution has been hinted at already by Brother Ronald Fogarty in his monumental work Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950. In the traditional theory, the champion of Catholic education is Archbishop Vaughan. Yet the real climax in the struggle between Church and State for control of education occurred in 1866 with the passing of the Public Schools Act - seven years before Vaughan set foot in the colony. The effective Catholic leader at that time was Matthew Quinn.

It is now history that the final outcome of that struggle was the establishment of the partnership in


education, in which the Catholic Church provides its own system of schools, parallel with and independent of the Government system (and still largely without state aid). Fogarty also points out how that system developed and how it was not really planned.3

This thesis attempts to show how that development sprang largely from the plan of one early Bishop - Matthew Quinn. The plan was not his own - he was not an originator - but he made it work. The plan was simple. It consisted in establishing a system of Catholic schools, independent of the Government system.

The success of his first ventures - high schools for boys and girls, (when even elementary education was by no means general), primary schools, and an orphanage - and an appreciation of the implications of the 1866 Act,4 emboldened him to pursue this policy. Teachers were recruited from overseas, schools were built. The teachers had necessarily to be religious; no other ready supply of teachers could be found - nor indeed financed. The evils for Catholics of the existing schools had to be preached. Hierarchy, clergy and

laity had to be convinced. Financial support for such a scheme had to be obtained. This thesis attempts to show how Quinn applied himself to that task.

The initial chapters deal with Quinn, his background, the state of education in the colony when he arrived, and his early educational initiatives, leading up to the emergence of his determined policy for Catholic education. Subsequent chapters treat of his activities to implement that policy — his dealings with the Religious, the Government education bodies, the Hierarchy and the laity. The final chapters trace the processes by which his policy became the policy for Catholic education in the colony, and that espoused in the Joint Pastoral of the Archbishop and Bishops of New South Wales in 1879. Some attempt is made to assess his contribution.

The author acknowledges his gratitude to all who helped him in carrying out his research. In particular he is grateful to those who made available to him the resources of the various Catholic Diocesan Archives (the principal primary sources for this work): to the Most Rev. Albert Thomas, Bishop of Bathurst, for access to previously unavailable letters of Bishop Quinn; to the Most Rev. Eris O'Brien, former Archbishop of Canberra-Goulburn; to the Most Rev. John Toole,
4.

Bishop of Maitland; to the late Most Rev. Sir James Duhig, former Archbishop of Brisbane; and to the Very Rev. Monsignor C.J. Duffy, Diocesan Archivist, Sydney.
CHAPTER II

QUINN'S BACKGROUND AND BIOGRAPHY

Family

Matthew Quinn was born at the family residence 'Rathbawn' in the parish of Eastertown on the border of Kildare and Dublin counties on May 29th, 1821. His mother was a sister of Monsignor Michael Doyle, Parish Priest of the Church of Saint Michael and Saint John, Dublin. There were four boys and four girls in the family and Matthew was the youngest of the boys. Two of them, James and Andrew, became priests like himself and rose to important positions. James was appointed first Bishop of Brisbane in 1859 and died there in 1881. Andrew, at the time of his death in 1885, was parish priest of Kingstown, Vicar-General of the Archdiocese of Dublin, and a Domestic

Prelate of Pope Leo XIII.4

The fourth brother, Michael, married and continued on the family farm. Some of his relatives subsequently migrated to Australia where they took up residence in the Bathurst and Brisbane districts.5

Education

Matthew's early educated was arranged by his uncle, Father Doyle P.P., and with James he was sent to a classical school in Dublin which was conducted by a Mr. Kelly.6 Then at the age of sixteen he went to Rome where he pursued studies for the priesthood at the Propaganda College7 and later at the Irish College.8

The Irish College was at the time under the presidency of Dr. Cullen with Dr. Kirby as Vice-President. Both of these men achieved eminence in

7. This college, officially called the Urban College of Propaganda Fide, was founded on 1st August, 1627, by Pope Urban VII. It is a central seminary for the education of clergy for mission areas, designed to give native clergy a better education for work in their own countries.
8. The Irish College had been founded in 1626 to prepare priests for Ireland when the penal laws had prevented training in Ireland. Closed for a short time, it was reopened in 1826 in new premises in the Via Mazzarino, only a few hundred yards from the papal palace.
the Church and the friendship which Matthew Quinn formed with them lasted throughout their lives and was of great benefit to him during the years of his ministry in Bathurst. Cullen eventually became a Cardinal and Archbishop of Dublin. Kirby remained in Rome as President of the Irish College and was appointed Archbishop. It was Dr. Kirby who acted as agent in Rome for Quinn (and indeed for many other Australian Bishops) and the extensive correspondence between himself and Matthew Quinn during the years that Quinn was Bishop of Bathurst, establishes his importance in ecclesiastical affairs of the period.

Many of Matthew Quinn's contemporaries at the Irish College subsequently became Bishops in Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland and these friendships initiated in his student days in Rome were likewise to be continued throughout his lifetime. A short list of some of the more notable members bears this out - James Quinn (first Bishop of Brisbane), James Murray (first Bishop of Maitland), Thomas Croke (second Bishop of Auckland N.Z. and later Archbishop of Cashel, Ireland), Robert Dunne (second Bishop of Brisbane), Patrick Moran (first Bishop of Dunedin N.Z.) and Patrick Francis Moran (Bishop of Ossory and subsequently
In Rome Matthew pursued the normal seminary studies and acquitted himself with distinction. Here too at the centre of Christendom and the heart of Catholicism, he acquired love and devotion to the Pope and the Church – traits which were to be so admirably displayed in his later life.

He graduated Doctor of Divinity in Rome with high commendation and was ordained priest in the Cathedral of St. John Lateran on February 15th, 1845. He did not immediately return to Ireland however but remained on in Rome. During the interval he met up with Most Rev. Dr. Daniel Murphy who had just then been appointed Vicar Apostolic of Hyderabad in India. The new Bishop was looking for priests to accompany him to his mission.

Missionary in India

The young Father Matthew Quinn eagerly joined him and after Murphy's consecration in October, 1846, accompanied him and three other priests to India. In India Matthew Quinn applied himself zealously to his work and was appointed Vicar General by his bishop.

One of the first things which Bishop Murphy did in Hyderabad was to open a college which soon became very famous. The sons of the wealthy Parsees and even some of the native princes flocked to it to receive literary instruction. Here, it would seem, Matthew Quinn began his career as a school teacher and educational administrator - a career which was to be far more influential than he could have imagined at this time. However his Indian mission was soon to close. Worn out from the excessive labour to which his zeal had led him, his health broke down and he was obliged reluctantly to leave India in 1853 and return to Europe and Ireland.

Saint Laurence O'Toole's Seminary

Back in Ireland he rested briefly and then in 1853, he became Vice-President and Prefect of St. Laurence O'Toole's Seminary, Harcourt Street, Dublin and in charge of the religious instruction of the pupils. His brother James was the President of

this institution and since the years he spent here were to be of such importance to his subsequent career in Bathurst, it will be appropriate here to give some details of this school.

Monsignor Doyle, an uncle of the Quinns had left a legacy which he willed for the promotion of Catholic Education. 16 At this time, the Bishops of Ireland were meeting under the presidency of the Archbishop of Armagh and Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Cullen, in the Plenary Synod of Thurles which opened on 22nd August, 1850. 17 One of their great problems was to find a system of higher education of which they could approve. Included amongst the decrees of the Synod was a condemnation of the Queen's Colleges and a resolution to establish a Catholic University. 18

Shortly after this, St. Laurence O'Toole's Seminary opened on 14th November under the presidency of James Quinn. It is hardly likely that Archbishop Murray, then Archbishop of Dublin, was responsible for this. He was known to favour some form of compromise with the Queen's Colleges and to have been

offered a seat on the Privy Council. Everything, including the appointment of one of his former distinguished pupils as its president, seems to point to the influence of Archbishop Cullen.19

The school was established in the house of Lord Clonmel20 at 16 Harcourt Street, Dublin. This was a large five-floored Georgian Mansion, a few steps above main street level. From the entrance opened out two spacious rooms with large windows and an elegant fire-place, and a grand staircase led to the upper floors.21

Although called a Seminary, St. Laurence O'Toole's was not only an ecclesiastical seminary for the training of priests.22 The design of the founders was to prepare students for the university and the professions and at the same time to give them a thorough religious training and education. Thus its pupils embraced and graced all professions.23

When the Catholic University of Ireland was founded

21. Roberts, _op. cit._, 118.
23. Mac Suibhne, _op. cit._, II, 173.
the Catholic Hierarchy wanted to establish one great school in Dublin, worthy of the name of University School. St. Laurence's was the school chosen and such a high reputation did it enjoy as a scholastic institution because of the splendid staff of professors and the success of its scholars that Dr. (later Cardinal) Newman, then rector of the Catholic University of Ireland admitted it as a University School. In fact, Newman resided at St. Laurence's for two years of his rectorship of the University from 1852 to 1854, until he moved to his own quarters nearby at No. 6 Harcourt Street.

This was the school to which Matthew Quinn came in 1853 as Vice-president and of which he became the President in 1859 when James was appointed Bishop of Brisbane. Of his years here, Dr. Croke, later Bishop of Auckland (N.Z.) and Cashel, was to say - "(Matthew Quinn) was the distinguished head and ornament of one of the best conducted literary institutions in Ireland."
Formative Influences

But it was not only his direct involvement in the conduct of St. Laurence's that was fruitful for Matthew Quinn at this time. He was also making other contacts that were to be of benefit to him in his future and as yet unsuspected appointment. The priests of the Seminary at Harcourt Street were also chaplains to the Convent of Mercy, Baggot Street, Dublin, St. Vincent's Hospital, and the Loretto Convent. These contacts gave Matthew Quinn an insight into and an appreciation of convent life. But they were even more valuable to him. The Baggot Street Convent was the foundation house of the Sisters of Mercy. It was also a "model school" for the training of female teachers under the Irish National Education Board. Here then, he saw at first hand the workings of a "model school", learned the effectiveness of the Sisters in conducting schools under the National System of Ireland, and learned too something of their work in the conduct of their Mater Misericordiae Hospital. When later he arrived in Bathurst, his actions showed the effect of each of these influences.

During these years in Dublin, Matthew Quinn also gained some experience in the conduct of orphanages, though just to what extent is unfortunately obscure. Nevertheless, when in 1873 he gave evidence before the Commission appointed to enquire into and report upon the working and management of Public Charities of the Colony, he appealed to his experience in these matters in Dublin. It seems that he conducted some sort of orphanage at the family property "Gayfield House" in the early 1860's before his appointment to Bathurst. This property (situated in Donneybrook Road, Dublin) is referred to in some of his letters as Saint Mary's. Matthew Quinn's activities on behalf of orphans and also the Gayfield property will be discussed again later and their significance in the context of Quinn and Bathurst will then become clearer.

There were however, two other activities pursued by Matthew Quinn which it is relevant to mention here, not because their specific influence will be apparent in the actions of the future Bishop of Bathurst, but because they help to give an impression of Quinn the man.

32. B.C.A., Quinn to Mr. Cashen? from Gayfield, 6/11/1863. In this letter Quinn says he is "sorry his boys have been late for school", and instructs the master to "detain them if they're late" as he does not want "any special rules for his boys". He mentions that he is assisted by Rev. T. Lonergann.
In 1859, Matthew Quinn headed a committee of Irish Clergy and laity which set about recruiting Irish soldiers to help defend the Papal States. Within nine months they had mustered a sufficient force and funds to send them through France, Belgium, and Austria to the Papal States. Here the "Battalion of Saint Patrick" staunchly defended the city of Ancona till it was forced to surrender to the superior force of the Piedmontese army assisted by the fleets of Sardinia and Naples on 28th October, 1860. The Italian Government conveyed the Irish soldiers to Genoa and thereafter it was up to the Irish Committee to repatriate them to Ireland. Matthew Quinn proceeded to Paris and there by his tactful influence and indefatigable efforts succeeded before December in successfully conveying back to Ireland nearly 13,000 men of the Irish Brigade. Quinn was certainly a man of energetic drive and considerable administrative ability.

The second activity was that of organising on behalf of his brother James, shiploads of Irish emigrants to Queensland (derisively called "Quinnsland"

Matthew Quinn made himself responsible for all aspects of the organisation. He himself inspected ships, interviewed captains, and organised passages. In all these things he displayed great prudence, ability, and practical intelligence.

The tact, diplomacy, and administrative skill required for these tasks were not beyond Matthew Quinn, and the experience he gained here was invaluable to him in the administration of his diocese later on. It was the evidence of these qualities which led the Freeman's Journal to comment:

"Matthew Quinn is no ordinary man. On first introduction to (him) you feel yourself in the presence of a plain, genial, kind-hearted man and nothing more. Gradually, higher qualities develop themselves; only when you see the works he has performed you realise the true character of the man."

Such then were the specific facts in the early life of Matthew Quinn which appear to have significance in the light of his subsequent appointment as Bishop of Bathurst and of his activities on behalf of Catholic Education in New South Wales. There was however, one all pervading and over-riding influence which has not

yet been discussed, and which in so far as it provided the setting in which all these previous mentioned facts occurred was of greater significance than all of them. This was the education situation in Ireland at the time.

Irish National Education

The Irish National System of Education had been founded by Act of Parliament in September 1831 as a result of a Bill introduced into the House of Commons by Lord Stanley. Actually the ideas adopted by Stanley had been first proposed to the Irish Secretary in 1830 by Sir Thomas Wyse, a liberal-minded Catholic who seems to have been well informed in matters educational, and were prompted by the findings of a Commission of Enquiry into Irish Education. Strangely enough, though no such widespread system of education had ever been suggested as yet for the realm of England, there was widespread unanimity on its proposals, and almost the entire debate was on the question of Religious Instruction.

37. ibid.
38. Auchmuty, op. cit., 83.
The Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland under the presidency of the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray, had made a submission on these issues to the Commission of Enquiry in June 1826 and their resolutions had been tabled in the House of Commons in June 1827. In general, it may be said that they considered the arrangements for the education of Catholics and Protestants together as "tolerable" provided adequate precautions were taken. These included Catholic masters where the majority of the pupils were Catholic, model schools to train teachers, (these to be established at public expense in the dioceses), and above all, only texts approved by the Bishops to be used in the teaching of Religion. Finally asserted the Bishops "we are charged with the duty of education, and we will withhold our concurrence and support from any system of education not corresponding with (these conditions)."

In spite of the difficulties, the system did get underway, and Archbishop Murray and Dr. Whately, the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, were appointed on the Board of seven commissioners. Various regulations

40. ibid.
41. Mac Suibhne, loc. cit., 374.
aimed at overcoming the problems associated with the teaching of Religion in these schools were proposed to the Commissioners by Lord Stanley but as they were merely suggestions, they had no force of law. Besides, even the regulations could not be enforced because prosecutions would be against clerical managers and the Government saw dangers on that score.⁴²

In fact the whole working of the System in Ireland was one of continual concessions to the demands of the Hierarchy. In 1833 the Board opened a model school and provided a three months' training course for teachers. The Catholic Hierarchy refused to support it because they objected to the "principles upon which such schools are established, in as much as they tend to throw into the hands of the State, acting through a body of Commissioners the education of the country, and the formation of the masters and mistresses of the rising generation."⁴³ Accordingly, since in 1833, two-thirds of the grant-aided teachers were untrained, the Board decided to pay grants to Denominational Model Schools, provided they covered courses approved by the Board.⁴⁴ Subsequently the Hierarchy opened two model schools —

⁴². Auchmuty, op. cit., 89.
⁴³. ibid, p.148.
⁴⁴. ibid, p.149.
one for men conducted by the Vincentian Fathers at Drumcondra, Dublin, and the other for women conducted by the Sisters of Mercy at Baggot Street. 45

The Board was really overworked, so that practically speaking, the only control exercised by it was financial. Teachers were appointed and dismissed by the managers, subject officially to the controlling power of the Board. The system was certainly unique, but it was "the inevitable response to the peculiar religious circumstances in Ireland." 46 As the same author says in summing up the situation:

"The duty of the State to provide education for all was balanced against the claim of the Church to control such education and the resulting compromise effected. The only power exercised by the Board was through the handling of the financial weapon. In every other respect the authority of the local clerical manager and of the Bishop of the Diocese was of more importance. Such a situation had not been the original aim of the National Board, but it had to give way before the organised might of the Irish Roman Catholic Church." 47

A Problem with Text Books

It is no doubt coincidental, but certainly significant that at the very time Matthew Quinn

45. B.R., 15/12/1879, p.562.
46. Auchmuty, op. cit., 150.
47. ibid, p.150.
returned to Dublin in 1853, Archbishop Cullen (having been notified from Rome that the Congregation of the Index\textsuperscript{48} forbade the National Books) wrote his Pastoral condemning them and banning the use for Catholics in National Schools of the "Scripture Lessons" and "Evidences of Christianity" by Dr. Whately, on the grounds of proselytism.\textsuperscript{49} Archbishop Murray, not suspecting the motives of Dr. Whately, had previously approved their use in the mixed schools. These motives had been confessed in a letter to a lifelong friend, Dr. William Nassan.

"The great instrument of conversion however, is the diffusion of Scriptural knowledge. Archbishop Murray and I agreed in desiring large portions of the Bible to be read in our national schools; but we agreed in this because we disagreed as to its probable results. He believed that they would be favourable to Romanism; I believed that they would be favourable to Protestantism and I feel confident that I was right."\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{48} This Congregation, part of the Roman Curia, was established by Pope Saint Pius V in 1571. Its function is to examine, and censure and condemn, where necessary, books that are considered dangerous to faith and morals. Its function are auxiliary to those of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.

\textsuperscript{49} Mac Suibhne, \textit{op. cit.}, III, 181.

\textsuperscript{50} \textit{ibid}, p.376.
Interestingly enough, this very issue was one which Matthew Quinn was himself to fight many years later as Bishop of Bathurst, when these same texts were introduced into the schools of New South Wales.

Apparent Inconsistency of Irish Hierarchy

What made the attitude of the Catholic Hierarchy confusing was their apparent inconsistency in this dispute. In Ireland in the 1850's, the Bishops had seemed to compromise with the system. In New South Wales in the 1860's, they refused any compromise.

Archbishop Murray had tentatively agreed to 'tolerate' the Scripture Texts and had accepted appointment as a Commissioner on the National Board. His successor, Archbishop Cullen, had banned the use of the books and refused an appointment as Commissioner saying "I could do nothing, and should be responsible for all the mad acts of the other commissioners."

The explanation of this change is obvious enough. Murray was prepared to tolerate an untried situation while studying it carefully and submitting the whole

51. ibid, p.375.
52. ibid, p.374.
53. ibid, p.144, Cullen to Kirby 16/12/1852.
question to Rome for a decision. Cullen as Archbishop had had the opportunity to study the system as it developed and had in addition a specific condemnation of the Texts from Rome.

The experience of the years had certainly given Cullen adequate grounds for distrusting the system, especially with respect to the spiritual instruction of pupils.

"The very principle of the Board, in its interpretation of Lord Stanley's letter has been changed," he wrote. "For at first official statements were made that the Scriptures might be taught to children when 'approved by the clergy of their respective persuasions'; then they might be taught when approved of 'by their parents'; next this latter rule was limited to cases 'where their parents direct'; and next it was extended to cases where 'the parents do not object'; finally where before the child was 'not allowed', he is now only 'not compelled' to read them."

The seeming willingness of the Irish Hierarchy to support the National System is similarly explained.

54. Mac Suibhne, op. cit. II,7 – Letter Cullen (student), to Dr. Browne, Bishop of Kilmore, Rome, 20/9/1839.

55. vide supra, (note 49).

The National System as it developed in Ireland was in fact, effectively denominational. The explanation was quite effectively given by Cullen in the same letter to Alderman Boylan on mixed education. In the letter he answers the charge that he was apparently favourable to mixed education because he approved National Schools in his diocese:

"In common with the other Bishops of Ireland, I refrain from either approving or condemning the National Schools in general. Some of these schools work practically well .... but these are not mixed schools; the manager, the teachers, the children are, I may say, all Catholics; the spirit of the school is Catholic .... There are other National Schools in which managers, masters, and children are Protestants or Presbyterians and which are not frequented by Catholic children. It is not my sphere to interfere with such schools.... But there is a third class of National Schools under the control of proselytising parsons or agents of bigoted enemies of our faith in which though the masters are Protestant, and the teaching and spirit Protestant, yet Catholic children by promises or threats are induced to attend. Such schools I consider most dangerous." 58

In fact Cullen and the Irish Bishops while tolerating the system used it to their own advantage. Cullen explained this to Cardinal Fransini in Rome: "I have recommended to the clergy that they should take as much

57. Auchmuty, loc. cit.
58. Mac Suibhne, loc. cit.
as possible for the Catholic schools from the Government Board, and that whatever schools are now in Protestant hands should be left to them, and the children should not be permitted to attend them."\(^{59}\)

Only one prelate, Dr. Mac Hale, the Archbishop of Tuam, held out consistently against the principle of accepting government grants for education and it was in his diocese, according to the rest of the Hierarchy, that the proselytism which he so feared was most rife. There was assuredly no danger of proselytism in those areas in which in fact there were no Protestants.\(^{60}\)

Thus, the Irish Hierarchy, led by Cullen, seemed to be compromising their principles in supporting the National Schools. By vigilantly watching the workings of the system however, Cullen had effected that it became practically denominational in many parts of Ireland. Dr. Healy, Archbishop Mac Hale's successor in Tuam pronounced judgment on the merits of the respective policies of Cullen and Mac Hale when he wrote in 1882:

\(^{59}\) Mac Suibhne, op. cit., III, 101, Cullen to Fransini - 3/10/1851.

\(^{60}\) ibid.
CATHOLIC DIOCESES
OF
NEW SOUTH WALES 1865 - 1885

Compiled from Oraio of 1886
in the Mitchell Library.
"So far from becoming, as Dr. Whately anticipated, a proselytising agency, it has become just the reverse; proselytism has been successful to any appreciable extent only in those places where the National Schools did not exist." 61

Hence it was that the Irish Bishops could and did support the National System in Ireland. By their diligence and perseverance they had rendered it effectively denominational.

It was against this background of Church-State relations that Matthew Quinn laboured at St. Laurence O'Toole's from 1853 to 1865 — first as Vice-president and later as President. Little wonder then that when he found himself in New South Wales involved in these very same disputes, he was able both competently and confidently to chart a course for the Hierarchy to follow. But that is the subject matter of another chapter.

Quinn's Transfer to New South Wales

This was the background of Matthew Quinn who on November 14th, 1865 was consecrated in the Cathedral in Dublin, first Bishop of Bathurst, New South Wales, along

61. Irish Ecclesiastical Record 1882, p. 541 - Quoted Mac Suibhne, op. cit., II, 52.
with his cousin James Murray who was consecrated Bishop of Maitland. He was intelligent and capable. He had already proved himself an able and tactful administrator. He had experience in schools both overseas and in Ireland and was quite familiar with the working of the Irish National System. He had some familiarity with the situation in Australia through his correspondence with his brother James, now in Brisbane. He was a devoted son of the Church, who had shown himself loyal and devoted to the Pope and the Holy See. Above all, he was Irish.

He arrived in the colony of New South Wales as first Catholic Bishop of Bathurst in October, 1866. He died in January, 1885. In December, 1866 only two months after his arrival, the Public Schools Act became law. Just three years before his death its successor, the Public Instruction Act of 1880, became fully effective with the complete withdrawal of state aid to all non-government schools.

This period of the history of the colony is marked by the long and sometimes bitter struggle for the control of education waged between the forces of liberal secularism on the one hand and those of religion...
on the other. The Catholic Church emerged as the principal protagonist of the cause of religion. Thus was begun in the colony the partnership in education in which the government provides a secular system of education and the Catholic Church provides its own system of schools, independent of and yet parallel with the government system.

Matthew Quinn found himself thrust into the position of leader of the Catholic Cause in education on the very day of his arrival, and this leadership he effectively retained until his death.

His contemporaries had no doubts about the effectiveness or the magnitude of his contribution. In an editorial on the occasion of his death, the Freeman's Journal wrote of Quinn - "As a single individual he was perhaps the greatest benefactor to the work of Catholic education that this country has ever seen."

Quoting from speakers at his obsequies in reference to Quinn's contribution, Cardinal Moran wrote in the History of the Catholic Church in Australasia:

"He was par excellence the champion of Catholic Education in Australia, and it is no secret that it was in a great measure owing to the firm and uncompromising attitude assumed by Dr. Quinn from

63. F.J., 24/1/1885, p.12.
the time he set himself the task of dealing with the education question, the now historical manifesto which declared for Catholic schools without State aid was issued by the Archbishop and bishops of this colony."64

Subsequent scholars too have supported this view. Fogarty writes - "it seems obvious that it was the Irish suffragans who impelled Vaughan to act."65

His Personality

The Matthew Quinn who arrived in the colony in 1866 was a solid, heavily built, robust and vigorous man, descended from good Irish country stock. His Roman training and his experiences before coming to the colony - in Rome, in India, and in Ireland - marked him out as a zealous and enthusiastic pastor of souls, intensely dedicated to the progress and advancement of the Catholic religion.

This zeal and dedication were soon in evidence in the enthusiasm and vigour with which he entered upon his episcopal duties in the diocese of Bathurst. Yet perhaps even more evident - initially - was his prudence.

64. F.J., 24/1/1885, p.16, Quoted in Moran, op. cit., p.388.
On the very day of his arrival he was thrust unceremoniously, and somewhat unfairly into the turmoil of the education dispute, by overenthusiastic and aggrieved Irish colonists. He carefully and tactfully refrained from any statements which might jeopardise his standing with the authorities, and unnecessarily antagonise them. Yet his intense patriotism and zeal for religion made him very sympathetic to the views expressed. By prudently confining himself to general remarks of steadfast support for the Catholics in their opposition to the envisaged system of education, he won their enthusiastic support, without committing himself to any action until he had had time to acquaint himself with the local conditions.

Very early in his episcopate Quinn gave evidence too of his great powers of endurance in the face of physical hardship. He who had endured for five years the privation and hardships of the life of a missionary in India, was soon engaged in travelling the vast tracts of his diocese on horseback and by coach. His first journey was to Bourke and back, and though on the journey he sustained a painful accident in which he broke his arm, he did not abate his zeal,

66. B.C.A., Quinn to Murray, 11/12/1867.
nor diminish his travels in the cause of religion.

His ability to endure physical hardship was paralleled by a remarkable spirit of determination. This determination, coupled with outstanding vigour, energy, and drive in prosecuting his policies is largely the key to his success with policies with which others failed. Possessed of "a masterly grasp of all the great questions of the age" and endowed with above average intelligence, Quinn possessed the ability to make a clear judgment, and then act efficiently and unwaveringly upon that judgment. To some, this determination appeared as stubbornness. To Quinn it sprang simply from faith in his own judgment and a firm conviction of the correctness of his policies and decisions. This determination produced efficiency in his administration and evoked great confidence amongst his supporters.

Probably in no other sphere was this determination more misunderstood than in his dealings with the Sisters of Saint Joseph. He invited them to his diocese after he had determined upon his policy of an independent system of Catholic schools. He was convinced that their apostolate would be less efficient if they were not

67 Moran, loc. cit.
68 cf., F.J., loc. cit.
administered under diocesan control and if they were not permitted to pursue higher scholastic attainments than envisaged for them by their founders. Accordingly he opposed their foundress on these two grounds and genuinely believed that he could have convinced her of the correctness of his opinion. Yet his opposition was not stubbornness, and he was quite prepared to assist Mother Mary with his influence to gain introductions to the Roman authorities, even when he knew her purpose there was to seek approval for her ideas which were directly opposed to his own.

He evinced the same determination and firmness in his dealings with the government bodies on education. Unfortunately, some of these disputes flared into personal feuds, which Quinn always regretted. The Sydney Morning Herald declared him to be "by no means ostentatious or assertive in his work" and this certainly was Quinn's predilection. He endeavoured to avoid all manner of public and newspaper dispute, and when embroiled, did his best to be courteous and moderate. He had no wish to be odds with any man.

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70. ibid.
71. S.M.H., 17/1/1885, p.9.
and seems genuinely to have believed "that those differing from him were as earnest as himself." and, hence he respected their conscientiousness and consistency.

Moderation and charity were the virtues which he insistently urged upon his flock in their dealings with others. This insistence became even more emphatic in the face of the criticism and ill feeling which was aroused amongst the people in general by the Joint Pastoral. Quinn never retracted one item of this Pastoral. He even said, "I signed it, and every word of it was mine," but he continued emphatically "so far from a wish to insult any class, such a thought was never farthest from my mind and I would rather cut off my right hand than say one word that would be offensive to any member of the community."75

Lanigan's comment on it summarises Quinn's attitude rather well - "The words were his, (Vaughan's) but the principles were for us all."76 Quinn, who throughout his entire episcopate had urged unity upon the Bishops, and had actually effected it, could hardly have

74. Quinn at St. Stanislaus' Prize Giving, 10/12/1879, B.R., 1/1/1880. p.6.
75. ibid.
dissociated himself from the Pastoral. Yet it does seem that some of its expressions were out of keeping with that moderation which he had so insisted on. Had he written the Pastoral, the same principles would have been enunciated, and emphatically so too, but one feels with greater moderation and less vehemence.

Throughout his episcopate, and increasingly so as the years went by, Quinn enjoyed the respected esteem of his brother Bishops and the loving support of the people of his diocese. It was universally recognised that "he had taken the lead in the Australian colonies of promoting Catholic education" and acknowledged as a source of pleasure to him "in his old age, to see that all the prelates in Australia had followed in his wake." It was no doubt his zealous and efficient administration and unwavering conviction in the correctness of his policies that won for him the support of the Bishops.

The affectionate regard in which he was held by the laity however, exceeded the bounds of formal devotion which might be expected of a religious community for their bishop. Quinn's piety, devotion, fatherly tolerance, courtesy, sincerity, gentleness, and charity had all endeared him to them.

77. Address to Quinn from People of Bathurst, B.R.1/2/1883, p. 61.
From the day of his arrival in Bathurst when he had vacated his own presbytery to make the nuns more comfortable, to the night of his final return to Bathurst in November 1884, when he limited his speech to a few very brief remarks out of consideration for the long distances many of them had yet to travel, his whole apostolate had been pursued in earnest and fatherly consideration of the wants of others and disregard for self. Yet this very sincere feeling for others did not in any way lead him to shrink from duties which were naturally unpleasant to him, and this too was admired and appreciated by his people.

Hence, at his death, he was mourned with genuine and sincere affection by the Catholics of the district, and with esteem and a profound sense of loss by others who appreciated his influence for good and his zeal for social progress.

In a sense, Matthew Quinn was the right man for the moment. His engaging personal qualities won for him the unswerving loyalty and affection of his people.

79. ibid.
80. S.M.H., loc. cit.
His undoubted qualities of mind gave him a firm grasp and appreciation of the issues involved in the education question. His unwavering confidence in his judgments and his relentless and energetic determination in implementing those decisions, gave success to his undertakings where others had failed or retreated.

Loved by his own and respected by others, experienced in education, and dedicated to religion, Quinn was the man to establish a Catholic system of education. How he did so is the story of subsequent chapters.
CHAPTER III

THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES

Church Control of Education

The welcome which greeted Matthew Quinn on his arrival in October 1866, was marked principally by two things: a spirit of antagonism between Catholics and the Government over education, and a spirit of intense national feeling amongst the Irish Catholics. The immediate explanation of the antagonism is found in the Public Schools Bill, recently introduced by Parkes and then under discussion in Parliament. Its provisions were to become law on January 1st, 1867. The national feeling had been building up within the Catholic community over the years. It identified Irish with Catholic, was sustained by a deep sense of persecution, and inflamed by writings such as appeared in the Freeman's Journal.

When the colony was established, no provisions were made for education. It was left to the initiative of the chaplains and the various philanthropic bodies, such

as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to provide it. This they did. When this arrangement was found to be inadequate, successive Governors – King, Bligh, and Macquarie – acknowledging some Government responsibility in the matter, gave grants to the various denominations to help them carry on the work. Significantly though, at this time, the provision and supervision of education was considered as an ecclesiastical responsibility.²

The ecclesiastical control of education was further strengthened in 1824 with the appointment of the Clergy and Schools Corporation.³ One seventh part in value of the land in each and every county was to be transferred to the Clergy and School Estate, and this was to be used to support schools and schoolmasters and "the clergy of the Established Church of England."⁴ The Corporation did not succeed however. There was no ready money available from the Estate, so the Corporation continued to draw heavily from the Treasury on the

² Fogarty, op. cit., p.16.
⁴ ibid.
the strength of its real estate. Meanwhile, non-Anglican churches received a mere pittance for the support of their schools. Naturally, they protested. Its influence for good was minimised by its affluence and independence of the people. Finally, the fact that it catered exclusively for the Church of England engendered a spirit of animosity and bitterness between that Church and the other denominations. The Charter of the Corporation was revoked in 1833. An effort to entrust the supervision of education to the Church had failed, because it was manifestly unfair. The seeds of animosity and inter denominational rivalry thus sown however, continued for years to frustrate efforts made to place the administration of education on a more systematic basis.

The first of these efforts was in 1833 when Governor Bourke attempted to introduce into the colony Lord Stanley's system of Irish national Schools. The scheme was unsuccessful. In 1839, his successor, Governor Gipps, attempted similarly to introduce a

6. ibid.
7. ibid.
system of schools, this time the British and Foreign Schools' Society system, which, it was believed, would be more acceptable. This move failed too. On each occasion, the opposition had been led by the Anglican Bishop Broughton. Quite obviously, the Churches were not yet willing to relinquish their control of education in the colony, though not yet agreed how that control might be exercised.

Dual Boards Established

In 1844, a Parliamentary Select Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Robert Lowe, "to devise means of placing the education of youth upon a basis suited to the wants and wishes of the community." Of the twenty-one witnesses examined by the Committee, only seven (including Bishop Broughton and Archbishop Polding) favoured the retention of the denominational system. Nevertheless, the Government did not feel confident of success in implementing this report on

10. Burton, op. cit., Appendix XVIII.
13. Ibid.
the support it received. Finally however, on a motion by J.H. Plunkett the Government compromised and in January 1848 set up two Boards to administer education in the colony - The Board of National Education to establish and superintend state elementary schools known as National Schools, and the Denominational School Board, to superintend the denominational schools of the Church of England, the Catholic, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan denominations. The 1866 Bill which greeted Quinn on his arrival, was aimed at rescinding this situation, and amalgamating the responsibilities of both Boards under the Council of Education.

The organisation established in 1848 proved cumbrous and unsuccessful. Wilkins claimed that the "Legislature (had) endeavoured to solve the education problem in two modes, contradictory in principle and antagonistic in practice." The intentions of the Select Committee which condemned denominational education in as much as it left "the majority uneducated in order to thoroughly imbue the minority with peculiar

14. ibid, p. 84.
15. ibid.
16. Public Schools Act, Pars. 2, 3.
The rivalry which had developed in the community between Church and State, denominational education and secular education, Ecclesiastical control of education and State control, secularism and unity, traditionalism and liberalism, had thus been perpetuated.

Rivalry and Jealousies in the System

The rivalry which existed between the two Boards was certainly an inherent deficiency of the system. Jealous rivalry rather than mutual assistance, was the order of the day and the old inter-denominational rivalry was only vaguely cloaked by their mutual antagonism for the National Board. This rivalry between the Boards, and between the denominations was educationally wasteful. It resulted in a multiplicity of small schools in some areas and a complete


21. ibid.
lack of educational provision in others. The National schools were assailed in sermons, addresses, pamphlets, and meetings and condemned as an "infidel system." For their part, Wilkins, Woolley, Rusden and Parkes made no secret of their contempt for and hostility towards the denominational schools, and their belief that greater efficiency and harmony would come to education by their removal. Parkes positively assisted the cause of the National schools, by sympathetic articles in his Empire and declared himself "prepared to support any modification or alteration of that system which would more adapt it to the peculiar wants of the remote, thinly populated and scattered districts of the colony."

The National system, although starting at a disadvantage in that it had no schools and that denominational schools were already established in the more

23. Linz, op. cit., p. 44.
populous centres, quickly prospered. The Board immediately set about obtaining a supply of the necessary materials from Ireland and appointed George Rusden as its agent to travel throughout the colony advertising the advantages of the National system, and encouraging people to apply for the establishment of schools in their district. The results were very gratifying. By 1850 the Commissioners were able to report that "numerous applications received for assistance in the formation of schools, (had) been accompanied with most gratifying proofs of the just appreciation of the National System of Education amongst all religious denominations throughout the great mass of the community." With enthusiasts like Wilkins and Rusden furthering the cause of the National schools, the system prospered. By the end of 1850 there were 39 schools and 2725 pupils in the system. This increased to 51 schools and 4725 pupils in 1855, 144 schools and 9256 pupils in 1860 and 263 schools and 17,433 pupils in 1865. In addition, the National

Board seemed to receive favoured treatment from the Government, at the expense of the Denominational Board. In 1855 the National Board received an allocation of £17,020 for its 51 schools and 4725 pupils. The Denominational Board received only £14,660 for its 171 schools and 14,489 pupils.31

But there were other difficulties inherent in the structure and composition of the Denominational Board itself, which further militated against its successfully furthering the aims of denominational education. Its duties were restricted to the "fiscal and temporal part of education in the schools placed under its control."32 Teachers were appointed and dismissed by the heads of the respective religious denominations, and local boards (where they existed) invariably controlled by the clergymen controlled and supervised the school.33 The Denominational Board effectively had no real control of its schools.34 Its principal duty was the annual allocation of funds, and since this allocation had been fixed according to the schools in existence in 1848, there was some ground

33. ibid.
34. Relton, op. cit., p.137.
for the complaint that the Board received aid, merely to maintain the existing schools and not to extend denominational education. Parkes summed the situation up pretty effectively, when he wrote in the *Empire* of 22nd January, 1851:

"It is true that a Central Board has been established, but with the exception of providing more books, the Board has done absolutely nothing. The Clergymen, now as before, command unlimited control over the teachers."  

**Deficiencies of the System**

In 1854, a further committee consisting of William Wilkins, Henry Levinge and Samuel Turton was appointed to "enquire and report whether measures can be adopted for improving the means of education and diffusing its benefits more extensively throughout the colony." Its report was extremely critical of the state of education in the colony. It visited 202 National and Denominational Schools (only 15 were not visited), and found only 47 which were not poorly sited. More than 200 localities throughout the colony were found to need

schools, the condition of instruction was declared to be generally deplorable, and the rivalry between the two systems "to be deprecated as an unmixed evil."\(^{38}\) Books in use in Denominational schools were found to vary, though the series by the Christian Brothers, in use in many Catholic Denomination Schools, was declared to be "The best series in use, if allowance be made for its purely sectarian character."\(^{39}\) The Commissioners also complained that the present system which required funds to be raised locally for both National and Denominational Schools was unfairly restricting the provision of education in the poorer areas.\(^{40}\) But the greatest criticism was reserved for the training of teachers. More than 50% were found to be untrained and the Commissioners remarked "There is no real Normal School in the colony."\(^{41}\) The average salary was "exceedingly small", hence, "Many teachers are persons who having failed in all other pursuits open to them, enter this profession as one affording a sustenance which they could obtain by no other means."\(^{42}\) Besides

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40. *ibid*, p.88.
42. *ibid*.
all this, the Commissioners found many pupils of other denominations in the various denominational schools.43

The National Board inaugurated steps to remedy the situation so much deplored by the Commissioners. A system of inspection, previously initiated was extended, teachers were recruited from overseas, classification of teachers, with different salaries for different classifications was extended.44 In addition, the Table of Minimum Attainments, the Time Table and the Programme of Lessons, prescribed for use in the National Schools, helped to improve and maintain standards in them.45

The Denominational Board on the other hand, was administratively incapable of initiating any reforms. Stating that "no responsibility attached to them for the mismanagement" of the schools46 the Board persevered in the hope that the Denominations could remedy the situation. In its Report for 1860, it mentioned that it had been able to establish a regular

43. The proportions were: Anglican 21%, Catholic 6%, Presbyterian 36%, Wesleyan 50%. This somewhat negatived the insistence by the denominations on the need for denominational education.
44. Wilkins, op. cit., p.22.
45. ibid, p.26.
46. Linz, loc. cit.
Balkhurst
August 31st 1867

My dear Lord,

I have just received your kind

Yours of the 1st inst. with copies of opinions of Messrs

Yours faithfully, etc.

As far as my poor

Your Servant faithfully in 

The Most Rev. Dr. Polding
Archbishop of Sydney

Letter from Bishop Quinn to Archbishop Polding
Church of England Training School, appoint a Roman Catholic Inspector, reorganise the Wesley Training School, and slightly raise salaries. Nevertheless, finance continued to be a difficulty and the Board respectfully urge(d) upon the Government that a further increase should be placed at their disposal, to enable them to meet some of the pressing demands made on them. They continued, "Should the willing exertions of the various religious bodies in favour of Denominational Education continue to be retarded and discouraged from want of reasonable means?"

National Schools Prosper

The National Board, not in such financially straitened circumstances, listed the hindrances to education as the existence of the two rival systems, ignorance of parents, irregularity of attendance, and deficiency in the professional qualifications of teachers. Pointing out that the "Legislature could easily remove" these deficiencies, the Board continued:

48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
"We are convinced that the advent of a general system based on liberal views of education would be hailed with great satisfaction by a great majority of the colonists; and that, after a fair trial, many who would now oppose its introduction, would acquiesce in its universal establishment."51

National schools continued to be increasingly efficient, all the time winning greater sympathy and support by their sheer competence.52 Denominational schools, on the other hand, continued to be generally inefficient. After an inspection of twenty-seven Catholic Denominational Schools, Mr. Inspector Casey reported that three of them were not fit for use, and many others were seriously deficient.53 Generally speaking, schools were poorly supplied with books and materials, "so that the teachers are not in many cases so much to blame in not having their pupils show that progress that may be required of them."54 Few new school buildings were being built, because the efforts of the clergy were being directed at erecting churches, which could be used as schools.55 The reforms called

51. ibid.
52. Relton, op. cit., p.140.
54. ibid.
55. ibid.
for by the Commission of Enquiry had not been heeded. The same inspector complained that "not sufficient encouragement was given to pupil teachers, some of whom had been teaching for more than twelve months and (had) received no remuneration for that time."  

In the worst school he visited (this was at Sofala) he reported, "This school was closed today and the teacher walking about the town. There was no school for the last two days. The school house is in a fearful state. A new school house, furniture, desks, maps etc. are required."  

The Catholic schools conducted by the Religious were "admirably conducted and religious education and secular education (were) both alike excellent." Some work deserved "honourable mention" and the "methods of imparting instruction and enforcing discipline (were) very good and attended with much success." These schools however, were a minority.

57. ibid, 9/5/1862.  
59. ibid.  
60. ibid, Report on Infants' School.
Hostility Towards Denominational Schools

Throughout this period, the Denominational Board sensed a certain hostility towards itself from the Government. It was asked to give an account of its meetings, because the impression "prevailed extensively" that they had been few and far between, and not adequately attended.61 Though the Board was able to point out its record of fourteen meetings in 1857, the Colonial Secretary was "sorry to see from the information given" that the impression was correct.62 In September, 1861, the Board received harassing letters from the Colonial Secretary complaining of delay in furnishing certain returns.63 Then in 1864, the Board found itself in the embarrassing situation in which its cheques were not honoured by the Treasury because it had not followed a new system which had come into operation, and of which it had not been informed.64

This lack of sympathy with denominational education seemed to spread generally. In 1862 the Government had

61. DSB, Minutes of Meeting of 14/10/1858, Letter from Colonial Secretary, 6/10/1858.
62. ibid.
63. DSB Minutes of Meeting, 30/9/1861.
64. DSB Minutes of Meeting 2/6/1864.
been able to pass its Grant for Public Worship Prohibition Act without causing great dissension in the community. Throughout thirty years, the intention of Bourke's scheme "of uniting under one central authority, all schools which fulfil(led) the conditions...for their participation in grants from public revenue" had not been lost sight of. Between 1855 and 1864, no fewer than ten Bills, all aimed (in general) at abolishing dual control and effecting greater State control of education, had been introduced into Parliament. They had failed because of the instability of Governments during the period, rather than for any inherent propositions. Nevertheless, by publicising education, they had made the public aware of the problems and deficiencies of dual control, and prepared a climate of opinion, sympathetic to its abandonment. That abandonment came when the somewhat more stable Martin-Parkes Ministry came to office in 1866, with the introduction by Parkes in October of that year of the Public Schools Bill. In Parkes' own words, it was designed "to put a stop forever to the interference of the clergy in school management" and contained a "golden

66. Fogarty, op. cit., p.66.
68. Ibid, p.166.
provision...that no person...should be allowed to enter any school as a teacher who had not been trained for the work of teaching."

Catholics Disunited

This was the education scene which greeted Quinn on his arrival. It soon became clear to him that the Catholic community had no immediate answer to the problem. Over the years, the National system had been denounced as 'godless' and 'infidel', the Catholic requirements for Catholic education subject to and not divorced from the authority of the Church had been repeated, but they had not carried conviction. A Joint Pastoral of Polding and the Bishops of Hobart, Melbourne, and Brisbane, had enunciated Catholic principles of education, about which the Bishops were "most anxious that (the people) should be rightly informed." The Pastoral deprecated the National System for its lack of unity and consistency and then continued:

69. *ibid.*

70. *vide supra* p.43.

"It is not only defective, it is corrupting and dissipating, and, therefore, for reasons obvious to every well informed Catholic, we must have for our children, Catholic schools, Catholic teachers, and, as far as we can supply them, Catholic Books." 72

Yet these reasons, "obvious to every well informed Catholic" 73 were in fact not so obvious. In reality, there was frequently very little difference between the National and the Denominational Schools.

The Catholic clergy did assemble in Sydney in July 1866 and place certain resolutions before the Colonial Secretary. 74 The Vicar-General, Father Sheehy O.S.B., 75 worked strenuously to block the Bill, but his efforts did not receive the support he might

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72. ibid.
73. ibid.
74. Corrigan, op. cit., p.64, vide Appendix I.
75. Samuel Augustine Sheehy, born Cork 1/10/1827, died 14/9/1910. Came to Sydney with parents July 1835. Professed as a Benedictine at St. Marys 11/7/1848, ordained priest 6/3/1852. Principal of St. Mary's Day School 1852-1861, President Lyndhurst College 1861-1864; Vicar-General to Polding 1860-1873. Pastor of Windsor till 1885, and Wollongong till 1888, when he retired. In 1866 he was named co-adjutor Bishop to Polding, but he refused consecration because certain calumnies were spread about him.
reasonably have expected from the clergy. The reasons for this are found in the state of the Catholic community at the time.

Grievances Against Polding's Administration

Though Catholics, both clergy and laity, had a genuine affection and respect for Archbishop Polding, they disagreed with his policy of trying to make the ecclesiastical administration of the colony Benedictine and English. Most of the Catholic laity, and many of the clergy were Irish, or of Irish descent. Hence there was dissension within the community.

The Clergy, in the belief that it was "impossible for any one Prelate to visit and direct the congregations of a Diocese extending over one thousand miles from north to south and 200 from east to west" through the Venerable Archdeacon McEncroe, had petitioned the Holy See in 1851 to erect more dioceses in New South Wales. Then again, in 1856, McEncroe, now in Europe in search of a rector for Saint John's College,

76. cf. Letter, Sheehy to Clergy 17/8/1867; Polding to McAlroy, 16/1/1861, S.M.C.A.
77. Moran, op. cit., p.782.
78. ibid, p.781.
of the University of Sydney, had written to Dr. Cullen, the Archbishop of Dublin, asking him to use his influence to achieve this same end, and to secure the appointment of "two or three active and zealous Irish Bishops".79

In 1857 Polding himself had assembled the clergy and asked them to indicate what they "conscientiously believed was necessary for the progress of religion in the colony".80 They all recommended the appointment of Bishops to Bathurst, Maitland, Armidale, and Goulburn, and the appointment of a Co-adjutor Bishop in Sydney. The Archbishop became "indignant" and "refused to accept the suggestions."81 Nevertheless, these suggestions were likewise forwarded to the authorities in Rome, and eventually Deans were appointed by the Archbishop to these centres.82

In the meantime complaints were made to Polding against his administration and his favouritism of the Benedictines. His reply was to transfer these "malcontents" to less favoured missions.83 The laity noticed this, and this situation, coupled with

79. ibid, loc. cit.
80. BCA, Quinn to Cullen, 29/5/1868.
81. ibid.
82. ibid.
83. ibid.
an unfortunate succession of scandals in the monastery served to further lessen their respect for the Benedictines, and to intensify their feeling of persecution and sense of national grievance. The intense nationalism was fanned by inflammatory speeches by some of the clergy. The Freeman's Journal too was "guilty of immense mischief by its Fenianism and anti-English tirades".

Quinn and Catholic Unity

Quinn's appointment represented a victory for those forces opposed to the Archbishop's administration. In fact, when Bishops were finally appointed to the new dioceses in New South Wales, not one of Polding's nominees was appointed. Quinn was not unaware of this. When he arrived, the Archbishop was absent in

84. B.C.A., Lanigan to Quinn, 24/2/1867.
86. ibid.
87. Geoghegan, who had been Bishop of Adelaide and was appointed to Goulburn was the only exception, but he was acceptable to both parties, and in any case died in Ireland before taking possession of his See.
Europe, but it was not hard to detect the nationalistic spirit in the speeches of welcome addressed to him. Polding later complained that "since the importation of the Irish Bishops, a 'no-popery' cry had been raised and inflammatory speeches made." 88 A strong anti-Catholic spirit had set in, and this culminated in the intemperate outbursts associated with the O'Farrell affair. 89 Polding feared that he was not likely to receive "very efficient aid from (his) episcopal confreres". 90 In this he was wrong. Though Quinn was most decidedly sympathetic to the feelings of the Irish Catholics, he was unequivocally opposed to the "inflammatory speeches" and to the attitude of the Freeman's Journal and objected to being associated with them. 91 His perennial insistence was for moderation.

The Catholic community, when Quinn arrived, was marked by a spirit of antagonism towards the Government,

88. Birt, loc. cit.
89. O'Farrell was the name of the man who attempted to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh at Clontarf on 12/3/1868. He happened to be Irish, and a Catholic, and this was the occasion of much anti-Irish and anti-Catholic feeling.
90. Birt, loc. cit.
91. B.C.A., Quinn to Murray 17/12/1867.
and disunity amongst themselves. Their denominational schools were in disrepute. The Archbishop, when finally he did return to the colony was depressed. He had lost his energy, activity and determination to hold his own; "an infidel system of Education" had been established. He felt himself "unequal to the exigencies of the mission" and "Would willingly retire." Under these conditions, Matthew Quinn was the man to assume leadership of the Hierarchy, clergy and laity, to inspire a unity of purpose into all, and enthusiasm for the cause of Catholic education. How he did so is the subject matter of the subsequent chapters.

93. ibid.
94. ibid, Polding to Gregory, 20/4/1870, p.363.
Saint Stanislaus' College 1878
Saint Charles' Seminary occupied the right wing.
CHAPTER IV
QUINN'S INITIAL EDUCATION PROJECTS

Arrival and Welcome

The ship the "Empress" reached Sydney Heads at midday on Sunday, October 21st, 1866, and included amongst its passengers were two bishops, Quinn and Murray, nine priests, and sixteen Sisters of Mercy. (Eight Presentation nuns destined for Hobart had disembarked at Melbourne). The ship had left Queenstown just three months before on 20th July.\(^1\) There can be little doubt that these passengers, coming as they did to a new land, although delighted at the prospect of being on land again and of soon being at the tasks of their choice, faced the unknown with not a little trepidation.

The Catholic people of Sydney however, were overjoyed at their arrival and not even very heavy rain which fell on the Monday, the day of their disembarkation, could diminish their enthusiasm. A procession (somewhat curtailed because of the weather)

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was formed at the quay and the distinguished arrivals led with great ceremony to the Cathedral where a "Te Deum" was sung in thanksgiving for their safe arrival and speeches of welcome delivered.²

At once, the Bishops found themselves involved in the "education question". The Catholics now deprived for more than twelve months of the leadership of their Archbishop who had been overseas, thrust the leadership upon the newly arrived Bishops.

"Quite recently an attack has been made upon our religious liberty, under mistake we are willing to believe, and without adequate appreciation of the value we set upon the early Catholic Education of our children. The voices of two additional Bishops of the Church will cheer and sustain us and show how decided and uniform are the principles and resolves of men who are animated by the Catholic Faith."³

Certainly the Archbishop's Vicar-General, Arch-priest S.J.A. Sheehy O.S.B., who was administering the ecclesiastical affairs of New South Wales at the time was a good priest and a capable administrator, and he had not been inactive during the preceding months in his efforts to prevent the Public Schools

². S.M.H., 23/10/1866, p.3.
³. Speech Mr. Dolman - F.J. 27/10/1866, p.681.
Bill from passing into law. Yet he had not been very effective in rallying either clergy or laity. The Irish secular clergy were no more enthusiastic over his administration than they were over that of the Archbishop himself and the Benedictines seem to have been equally apathetic to both. The laity on the other hand were mostly Irish and though very affectionately attached to the venerable Archbishop himself, were by no means sympathetic towards the English Benedictinism which he was trying to promote.

Hence the laity and the clergy enthusiastically threw themselves behind their new Bishops as much because they were looking for firm leadership, as because they saw now the possibility of Irish leadership. Certainly this is the attitude gained from the pro-Irish *Freeman's Journal* in its editorial celebrating their arrival.

"They have arrived at a time when we are once more called upon to defend the religious liberty which we have struggled so hard in former times to obtain, and which we had hoped in this country at least, would never again be imperilled. But the stake at issue, the Catholic

4. cf. SMCA, Letter Polding to McAlroy, 16/1/1861.
5. B.C.A., Quinn to Croke, 8/8/1867.
education of our children is of
inestimable value, and we must hail
with delight, the arrival of fresh
champions of our cause, able and
willing to fight the good fight
with us, and by their wise counsels
and noble example to cheer and sustain
us in the conflict."6

Quinn who spoke in reply did not disappoint them. Although as he afterwards confessed in a speech at Wellington, N.S.W.7 he"had on arriving in the colony, determined to take no part in public matters till (he) had acquired what (he) believed was called "colonial experience,"8 he quickly sensed the tenor of the meeting and very soon had the congregation enthusiastically cheering his brief but appropriate reply.

"I thank you for the allusion you have made to the Education question, which as I now learn for the first time, is being agitated here. (Cheers). You will find my fellow bishop and myself always your steadfast supporters, in your opposition to any education...that does not give full and entire liberty to every son of the soil."8

It is no small tribute to the prudence and tact of Quinn that when publicly (and without warning) involved in this controversial education question in his very

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first hours in the colony, he was able to give a reply which satisfied the enthusiasm of the congregation, won for himself their loyal support and admiration, and yet at the same time could in no way prejudice his standing with the authorities.

Installed at Bathurst

After a few days spent at Saint John's College, University of Sydney, with his brother James who had come from Brisbane to welcome him, Matthew Quinn parted company with his travelling companion and cousin, Bishop Murray, and left for his "cathedral city", Bathurst. The railway had not then reached Bathurst and so the journey, commenced by train, was completed by coach. The good people of Bathurst had been awaiting this day since the time more than twelve months previously when it had been learned they were to have a Bishop. Crowds met him on the road at old Kelso and escorted him and his party to the deanery, henceforth to be a bishop's "palace". In Bathurst then on November 1st, 1866, in the Church of Saint Michael and Saint John, now become a Cathedral, in a solemn ceremony the like of which had never before been seen in a provincial town, Matthew Quinn was
installed as first Bishop of Bathurst, by the Vicar-General of Sydney, the Venerable Archpriest S.J.A. Sheehy O.S.B., and formally took possession of his See. 9

Conference on Education in Sydney

Yet the visit to Bathurst was but a brief one, for on November 5th he was back in Sydney (as also was Murray) to discuss with the Bishop of Brisbane and the conference of the clergy, the Education Bill then before Parliament. 10 Now began in earnest the round of activities on behalf of Catholic Education, which were to dominate the episcopate of Matthew Quinn till his death on January 16th, 1885.

The immediate result of this meeting was a petition signed and unanimously approved by those present, to be placed before the Legislative Council and presented by Mr. J.H. Plunkett. 11 Yet this was possibly the least important of outcomes as far as Matthew Quinn was concerned. He was busy studying the

10. ibid, p.339.
11. ibid.
situation, familiarising himself with the people and facts involved, studying the politics of the question both civil and ecclesiastical, and, typically, forming his own independent judgment.

The undue haste with which he had been inveigled into the education dispute by ecclesiastics and people, well meaning and otherwise, had not been lost on Quinn who was not one to ally himself thoughtlessly or impetuously with any point of view or line of action. The *Freeman's Journal* of November 3rd, 1866, enthusiastically reported the presence of Bishop Matthew Quinn at High Mass in Saint Mary's Cathedral on Sunday 28th October, celebrated by Bishop James Quinn of Brisbane.\(^{12}\) The Sermon on that occasion had been preached on Education by Father Thomas Keating, "in which alluding to the Premier, Mr. Martin, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Parkes and Dr. Lang in terms that it would be impossible to mistake whom he meant, he called the first a Renegader, the second a Public Swindler and Dr. Lang a Holy Ruffian."\(^{13}\) Yet Quinn

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himself was 'indignant' at being thus implicated in actions of which he did not approve. His whole counsel was "firmness and moderation". As he said "he (had) no particular predilection to displease (his) fellow colonists of any class or creed."

Private Enquiries into State of Catholic Education

However, at least one priest of those present favourably impressed Quinn and to him he addressed himself for information on matters ecclesiastical and educational in the colony. The priest was Rev. William Lanigan, at the time in charge of the Catholic Mission in the Berrima district and shortly afterwards to be named Bishop of Goulburn. Lanigan even spent some time in Bathurst with Quinn. He was a fellow countryman and not a Benedictine and the information he gave Quinn confirmed the latter's fears. "The first thing to demand attention is I think, our educational establishments, and here we meet with what must

14. ibid.
15. ibid; cf. B.C.A. Quinn to Fr. O'Donovan 7/5/1867.
17. S.M.H., 13/6/1867, p.2.
give panic." He then went on to explain how Lyndhurst "which might be called the only Superior School in the entire colony" was under the care of the Benedictines and how scandals earlier had left in the minds of laymen a distrust of the Order and consequently too of the College. Unfortunately the old Archbishop was obsessed with a vision splendid of Sydney as a Benedictine colony, and seems to have discouraged other educational ventures in an effort to force support for Lyndhurst. The support was still not forthcoming however and hence the lack of educational facilities for Catholics.

This was not the only reason, but it was the one which Lanigan already nine years in the colony saw as most relevant to the situation, and it was one, the significance of which was to become more forcibly impressed on Quinn, the more he became aware of the depressed state of his own diocese.

18. B.C.A., Lanigan to Quinn 24/2/1867.
19. ibid.
20. cf. S.M.C.A. Polding to McAlroy 16/1/1861.
21. B.C.A., Quinn to Cullen 29.5.1868.
The Sisters of Mercy

However, even before he had received this precise information, Matthew Quinn had taken certain initiatives in the cause of Catholic education. In fact even before leaving Ireland, he had taken two steps which on the surface seemed mutually contradictory. On accepting his nomination to the diocese of Bathurst he had written to the Bishop and to the Superior of the Sisters of Mercy, Liverpool, directing them not to send the sisters about to leave for his diocese until he should communicate further. As he put it, his reasons were "so strong that he (felt) bound in conscience to forfeit the whole of the passage money rather than sanction their departure (at that time)."22

At the same time he tentatively accepted the offer of a Community of Sisters of Mercy for his diocese from the Convent of Mercy, Charleville, County Cork.23

When later, he learned that the Liverpool sisters were not intended for Bathurst but for Sydney,24 he wrote

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22. B.C.A. Quinn to Goss 23/7/1865; Quinn to Rev. Mother, 30/7/1865.
24. These sisters eventually did establish themselves at North Sydney in 1866 founding what is now the Sisters of Mercy, Monte Sant' Angelo, North Sydney.
to Polding apologising for his interference and using the Charleville offer as one "amongst other reasons, which induced (him) to request Mrs. Gibson of Liverpool to delay the departure of the sisters from her convent." 25

It does seem however that amongst the "other reasons" was the fear that the same fate might befall the nuns as was befalling the clergy, namely their recall to Sydney before the new dioceses were separated from it and that what Quinn feared in fact was that were the sisters to reach New South Wales before himself, they might not get to Bathurst. 26

He felt sufficiently about the value of the sisters to his diocese to have acted thus, and when in fact he did sail for Bathurst, he was accompanied by a community of seven Sisters of Mercy from Charleville, 27 whose superior was Mother Ignatius Croke. 28 He realised the potential worth of a community of nuns to him in his new diocese for during the years since

28. She was a sister of Dr. Croke, later Bishop of Auckland (N.Z.) and Archbishop of Cashel, who acted as Quinn's Vicar-General in Ireland for five years till his appointment to Auckland.
1859 he had been acting in Ireland on behalf of James now in Brisbane, and he knew just how useful the nuns had been to his brother. 29

Saint Marys Girls High School

One of Quinn's first acts on his arrival in Bathurst was to vacate his own house, "The Deanery" in favour of the nuns. 30 He entrusted to the Sisters of Mercy the Roman Catholic Girls Certified Denominational School at Bathurst. Furthermore he converted four rooms of the boys school into rooms for a "High School for Girls" and a "Low School for Girls" 31 and thus was begun Saint Marys Girls School, barely two months after Quinn's arrival in Bathurst. 32 So as to afford "children from the bush an opportunity to be instructed," 33 boarding facilities were established, the charges being so "moderate as to put it in the power of every well-meaning industrious settler in the bush to give their sons and daughters the benefit of education." 34

31. Meagher, op. cit., p.27. 32. F.J.19/1/1867, loc.cit.
33. ibid. 34. ibid.
Pioneer Sisters of Mercy

(i) Mother Mary Stanislaus Duffy (+ 1907)
(ii) Mother Mary Gertrude Sheehy (+ 1913)

They were both members of the first band of Sisters who accompanied Bishop Quinn to Bathurst in 1866. Referred to as Mrs. Duffy and Mrs. Sheehy, they featured in much of the correspondence between Quinn and the Council of Education over the certification of Religious teachers.
Saint Stanislaus High School

Nor did Quinn overlook the education of the boys. In January 1867 he opened a High School for boys in rooms attached to the Roman Catholic Boys Certified Denominational School, which he called St. Stanislaus High School.35 The fate of this establishment, which still survives and bears an honourable record not only in the Western Districts but throughout the whole state will be pursued later. In 1867, however, its beginnings were very humble. Its direction was entrusted to Mr. Michael Mullins McGirr who had been in charge of the Bathurst Catholic Boys Primary School for some nine years and whose school was reputedly one of the most efficient under the Denominational Schools Board.36 "Latin, French, Greek, Mathematics and the higher branches of English Literature (were taught), with a view to preparing students for matriculation in the University, and fitting them for commercial pursuits."37 Boarders were also taken during the first year. They were housed in an adjoining building

35. ibid.
and were under the care of Mrs. McGirr, until the
college, which the Bishop had signified his intention
of establishing, was ready for them. Meantime, the
Bishop was on the lookout for staff for his college.
In May, 1867, he wrote to his Vicar-General, Dr. Croke,
"I want a priest to take charge of a College I have
established and which is going very well. I need not
tell you the qualities such a priest should possess." The progress of this college was one of the projects
dear to Quinn. "It is the earnest wish of my heart,"
his said, "that before many years have elapsed, the
brightest laurel and proudest boast of the young men
of my diocese, shall be to have been educated at Saint
Stanislaus High School."40

Just how that 'wish of his heart' was fulfilled
must wait till another chapter. Suffice here to
state that these early initiatives of the Bishop on
behalf of Catholic Education in Bathurst were apprec-
iated. The Freeman's Journal, quoting a Bathurst
correspondent, commended "the interest taken by his

38. ibid.
39. B.C.A. Quinn to Croke, 28/5/1867.
Lordship in the progress of education", adding

"Practically conversant as he has been with educational institutions in the old country, unqualified success must result from the care and forethought he has evinced in organising these mid-links as it were between primary and advanced education of the highest order."41

An Orphanage Established

These two projects, important as they were in the early career of the first Bishop of Bathurst, were not perhaps as significant as two others on which he soon embarked. These were the founding of an orphanage in Bathurst and the controversy over the text books approved for use in the Denominational schools. The establishment of the High Schools was to some extent at least a domestic arrangement. The establishment of the orphanage, however, brought Quinn at once into contact with the Government - and not only contact, but also opposition. His experience in this regard was to have far-reaching consequences for the rest of his episcopal career and helped to establish his attitude in the struggle for Catholic education. In some sense, the orphanage problem may be said to have effected Quinn's involvement in the struggle.

41. F.J., 19/1/1867, loc. cit.
Quinn and Parkes – First Encounter

On May 1st, 1867, Quinn established a female orphanage in Bathurst and entrusted it to the care of the Sisters of Mercy, when two waifs were taken in. In so doing, he was prompted by motives of Christian Charity:

"In this large and important district and especially in its numerous gold fields, I have painfully observed Catholic children left destitute by death or abandoned by intemperate parents with nothing but temptation to lawlessness and sin before them; and it was the consciousness that they must grow up bad citizens under present circumstances that induced me, at personal sacrifice, to provide as far as I was able, a virtuous and comfortable, if humble home, for these unfortunate children."

Quinn was quite proud of this effort and hopeful of success, when he applied to the Colonial Secretary in August, 1867

"To appoint such person as you may think fit to examine into the condition of the said establishment and report thereon in order that it may 'become and be a Private Industrial School according to the Act entitled Industrial School Act of 1866.'"

42. Meagher, op. cit., p.28.
43. B.C.A., Quinn to Parkes, 6/12/1867.
44. B.C.A., Quinn to Croke, 28/5/1867.
45. B.C.A., Quinn to Parkes, 26/8/1867.
The reply Quinn had hoped for, however, was not forthcoming. "It appears doubtful whether the aid provided for by the Act could be properly given in this case," wrote Parkes on the advice of the Attorney General, Martin, "because the establishment is small, and being the first application of the kind (sic) under the Act, it might form a precedent for benevolent persons throughout the country to open like establishments which, both by reason of their being scattered all over the country, and of the fewness of their inmates, might become expensive, inefficient and unmanageable."46

Quinn was not yet prepared to believe however that the Government's refusal was final. Accordingly when he returned to Bathurst after an absence of almost four months, visiting parts of his diocese in the Fort Bourke District,47 he wrote again to the Colonial Secretary, answering each of his objections to the scheme on the grounds of buildings, educational opportunity, and number of inmates, and stating that "any improvements which the Colonial Secretary may suggest will be carried out."48 In a further letter he pointed

46. B.C.A., Reply Parkes to Quinn, 30/8/1867, quoted in Quinn to Parkes 6/12/1867.
47. This was the occasion on which he broke his arm in an accident.
48. B.C.A., Quinn to Parkes, loc. cit.
out how his establishment compared more than favourably with similar institutions he had experience of in Ireland and also an orphanage conducted by the Sisters of Mercy in Geelong, Victoria, which was receiving government assistance. "The only thing for us in Bathurst," he concluded, "is to ascertain what the legislation really intends and carry it out." Yet in spite of this willingness on his part to co-operate with the government in this venture fraught only "with future good to the state" Quinn was unable to obtain any Government assistance, nor even to ascertain what steps the Government considered necessary in order that his establishment might receive assistance.

This was all the more bewildering to Quinn, because during his absence in Fort Bourke, the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Parkes), Dr. Palmer M.P., and Mr. Henry Rotton Esq., had paid a visit to Bathurst and to the Catholic Schools and Orphanage there, expressing themselves as agreeably surprised by the magnificent schools and pleased with their general appearance and working. In fact Parkes had publicly complimented the teachers of the Catholic Schools at

49. B.C.A. Quinn to Parkes, 2/1/1868.
50. B.C.A., Quinn to Parkes, 6/12/1867, loc. cit.
a meeting of the Hospital Committee immediately afterwards and had expressed his satisfaction with the management of these establishments. Quinn was disappointed at not having met Parkes in Bathurst. "It would have cleared up misunderstandings," he said. Parkes, for his part, expressed his appreciation of the motives which had induced Quinn to found the Industrial School. However, in spite of this seeming good will between the two protagonists, the Industrial School remained unaided. Much correspondence continued over the issue, and when the Hon. John Robertson became Colonial Secretary in 1869, Quinn addressed an appeal to him. It too was unsuccessful. However the Industrial School continued, and in fact survives today as St. Joseph's Home for Girls, Bathurst.

Quinn's first encounter with Parkes had ended unsuccessfully. Yet in a sense it had been fruitful. It had involved him with the Government and brought

52. B.C.A., Quinn to Parkes, 2/1/1868.
53. ibid.
54. B.C.A., Quinn to Robertson, 18/6/1869.
home to him very forcibly an appreciation of the struggle in which he was engaged and in which he would become the leader. Above all, it had shown both his opponents and his supporters that here was a man of firm will and very definite views, "who could be measured yet courteous in opposition." 55

Speeches at Goulburn - Catholic Polisiton Clarified

Meantime while all this correspondence over the Orphanage had been in progress, Quinn had not been idle. In June 1867, he went to Goulburn to assist at the consecration of Bishop Lanigan, and there the education question came to the fore again.

"We took the occasion of the Consecration banquet," he wrote," to commence our agitation for free Education against a law passed a few months ago. I had the honour of giving this ball the first kick." 56

Certainly the occasion had been well chosen. The consecration of a Bishop is an event sufficiently rare to be of news value even today. It was even more so in 1867 and the ceremony and its attendant speeches achieved suitable prominence in the city and provincial newspapers. Besides, it was convenient for the

56. B.C.A., Quinn to Kirby, 23/6/1867.
Bishops to confer and take mutual counsel on these infrequent occasions when they could get together, and more than appropriate that they should express their ideas publicly in the presence of the distinguished group of parliamentarians and prominent citizens who had assembled for the ceremony.

Addressing this gathering, Quinn spoke on the necessity of education for the stability of the State and mentioned three things which the Church considered essential in this matter — the property of the school must be vested in the Catholic body; the books should be those that have the approbation of the Church; and the Master should be nominated by the head of the Catholic Church. Each of these three "essentials" was a pointed reply to aspects of the Public Instruction Act of 1866. Quinn acknowledged that the State did have rights in the matter of Education — principally that of seeing to the proper expenditure of the public purse — and hence he approved of schools being inspected and teachers examined in certain cases. All the matters mentioned in Quinn's speech were the source of much debate and discussion for many years. There is no denying, however, that he had successfully initiated

57. S.M.H., 13/6/1867, p.2.
58. ibid.
the "agitation for free Education"\(^59\) against the 1866 Act.

Bishop Murray of Maitland rose to speak after Quinn, but he confined himself to the statement "that he concurred with everything Quinn had said,"\(^60\) and a forceful expression of his own disappointment that freedom of education did not exist in the colony.\(^61\) Father McAlroy, the Vicar-General of Goulburn spoke next. He was a priest held in very high esteem by all the Bishops and clergy.\(^62\)

Deputation and a Submission to the Premier

His contention that "if the Archbishop had been (present) the opposition of Catholics would have been so united that the (1866) Act would not have been carried"\(^63\) cannot have failed to impress Quinn. He was already convinced that the Catholic effort must be a united one.\(^64\) He appreciated that the somewhat

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59. B.C.A., Quinn to Kirby, loc. cit.
60. S.M.H., loc. cit.
61. M.C.A., Murray to Gould, 18/2/1867.
62. B.C.A., Quinn to Kirby, 23/6/1867.
63. S.M.H., loc. cit.
64. vide supra, Chapter 2.
"indifferent laity" could be and must be raised to a state of active support for the cause. The Bishops therefore went into consultation in Goulburn, and discussed the intolerable points of the legislation, means and ways of procuring teachers, and what course ought to be taken. The outcome of this was that they waited on the Colonial Secretary in Sydney on June 21st, 1867, and presented to him a document submitting their views on "Primary Education in the Colony." Murray unfortunately had returned immediately to Maitland because of pressure of work and the floods, though he agreed with the sentiments expressed, and Quinn, Lanigan, and Sheehy presented the document. Sheehy read the document and Parkes promised to present it to Cabinet at its Meeting in a few hours time. However he intimated what the outcome was likely to be by stating that since the Act had become law, the Government was really powerless to change anything, since only Parliament could make such changes. 

68. B.C.A., Quinn to Kirby, 23/6/1867.
suggested that perhaps the situation could be helped by sympathetic by-laws. 69

This same line of action was pursued by him subsequently at a meeting in Sydney between himself, Quinn (Chairman), Sheehy, and McEncroe to discuss and to express an opinion on the working of the Public Schools Act. There his suggestion was that a sub-committee be appointed to collect information, and to watch Parliament when the by-laws were being framed by the Council of Education. 70 The reply to their submission came soon enough, stating that the "Government saw no reason to alter the present law and regretted that the Catholic Clergy could not fall in and support it."71 It was not really surprising, and had been half expected by the Bishops.72

Two things at least had been achieved by this action. The Catholic position had been clarified, 72a and above all "the greatest harmony on this important question of Education" now prevailed amongst all the

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69. S.M.H., loc. cit.
70. F.J., 29/6/1867, p.2.
71. ibid.
72. B.C.A., Quinn to Kirby, loc. cit.
72a. M.C.A., Murray to Lanigan, 2/7/1867.
bishops. 73

A monster public meeting of the Catholics of Sydney was planned and it was to be held in one of the biggest Churches. 74 This however was subsequently cancelled because the "Prime Minister (sic) promised to make changes during the present session in the law on Education passed last year." 75 Quinn was not very sanguine about the outcome however and expressed himself not very confident about Martin's promises. 76 Murray on the other hand was delighted with the progress of the meeting of the Hierarchy, and of the deputation to the Colonial Secretary. He told Lanigan in a letter that he felt the Bishops could "well congratulate (themselves) on having spent (their) time very profitably in Sydney with universal advantage to the Catholic Interests." 77

Unity Amongst the Suffragan Bishops

At this stage the bishops recognised that "the

73. B.C.A., Quinn to Kirby, loc. cit.
74. ibid.
75. B.C.A., Quinn to Kirby, 28/7/1867.
76. ibid.
77. M.C.A., Murray to Lanigan, 2/7/1867.
education question (was) the great and important question for Australia for all its colonies. They were prepared to "resist with vigour and determination" though they expected it to give them trouble for some time to come. They were not yet aware however of the unremitting opposition they were to receive from the Government nor of the inexorable path towards complete secularism along which education in the colony was now proceeding. Hence they thought and talked among themselves of ultimate and even almost immediate success.

Text Books

The problem of text books to which they now turned their attentions gradually convinced them otherwise. The regulations of the Act of 1866 prescribed the text books of the Irish National System for use in Denominational Schools. To these the Catholics

78. M.C.A., Murray to Gould 18/2/1867.
79. ibid.
80. M.C.A., Murray to Lanigan, loc. cit.
82. Regulations under the Act of 1866 for New South Wales, Art. 62, Sect. ii.
objected. Their objection to the Irish National Schools Scripture texts was unequivocal and understandable. They were Protestant Scripture readings. The objection to other National readers was less comprehensible and seems to have been based on the suggestion that they were Protestant in tone.83 Their objection was nevertheless quite emphatic.
The Clergy of the Archdiocese of Sydney had outlined their resolutions to Parliament on 16th July, 1866.84 These resolutions had in the main been ignored or explicitly contradicted. Hence the Bishops in council in Goulburn in 1867 had reviewed the situation and submitted anew their views to the Colonial Secretary.85 Meanwhile Sheehy had hurried back to Sydney to preside over a conference of the clergy. Thirty-seven priests were present and the education question and especially the matter of the text-books was discussed.86 Three resolutions were passed. It was unanimously agreed to consider (no books) that had not been sanctioned by the Archbishop, the Council was asked to consider the books of the Christian Brothers

83. Fogarty, op. cit., p.105.
84. Resolutions of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Archdiocese of Sydney, forwarded to Parliament, 16 July, 1866. S.M.C.A.; Appendix I.
85. vide supra, p.83.
86. B.C.A., Sheehy to Lanigan – quoted in Quinn to Murray 16/6/1867.
Series or Burns, Lambert & Oates Series and the Council was further asked to supply either of these series for use in Catholic schools.

A copy of these resolutions and a letter was sent to the Council of Education and published in the Freeman's Journal. Quinn and Lanigan proceeded to Sydney to consult with Sheehy and lay their proposals before the Colonial Secretary. In view of the promises received from Premier Martin no further immediate action was taken. Murray was of the view that it was clearly within the power of the Council of Education from the Public Schools Act "to allow us the books of our own selection." This he saw as "an important step in the right direction" from which "other concessions (would) follow." Further he seemed to have gained from Lanigan quite an optimistic view of the outcome.

The Council would not, however, supply the Catholic

87. The exact titles of these books were: "Reading Lessons" - by the Christian Brothers, and "Reading Books" - by Burns, Lambert, & Oates.
88. B.C.A., Quinn to Murray, loc. cit.
89. ibid.
90. vide supra, p.85.
91. M.C.A., Murray to Lanigan, loc. cit.
92. ibid.
93. ibid.
series nor sanction their use. This, they said, was prohibited by Regulation XV(2) which declared that "such books only as supplied or sanctioned by the Council are to be used for ordinary instruction," and the Council would not approve these books since they contained matters of a doctrinal nature which would extend the hour's religious instruction into the ordinary instruction periods of the day. When in debate on 26th July, 1867, Parliament refused an amendment to disallow this regulation, the Bishops knew they had been repulsed. What were they to do?

Quinn promptly wrote to Sheehy, Murray, and Lanigan to enquire what course they intended "taking about the books the Council of Education is determined to force on our denominational schools." "Whatever course is taken," he insisted," it must be adopted by all. We must be of one mind on this subject." To Sheehy he expressed the hope that the Archbishop (still returning from Europe) would be back before the regulations became law. Clearly he hoped that the

95. S.M.H., 4/11/1867.
96. B.C.A., Quinn to Sheehy, Lanigan and Murray, 30/7/1867.
97. ibid.
98. ibid, to Sheehy.
experience and influence of the old Archbishop might succeed where they had failed.

Polding and the Suffragans on the Text Book Issue

With almost surprising energy and promptness the Archbishop on his return took up the issue. Quinn temporarily left the initiative to him and went to Bourke on visitation of his diocese. This fairly effectively removed him from the centre of action, though not, as shall be seen, entirely.

Polding wrote to Quinn, Murray, and Lanigan immediately, inviting them to come to Sydney to give "immediate attention" to a decision on the text books, which as he expressed it "required so much anxious care."99 He undertook to have prepared for their meeting all the documents necessary and recommended that meanwhile it would be advisable for them to abstain from any direct action.100

Neither Quinn nor Murray was able to come because of their absence in the distant parts of their dioceses. Both however signalled their confidence and complete

100. ibid.
acquiescence in whatever course the Archbishop should adopt.¹ To Quinn there were three possible courses open to them—"to reject the books of the Council politely but absolutely; to receive them under protest; to claim the right to examine the books and reject those that may possibly be objectionable."² Either of the latter courses seemed to him preferable to the first under any circumstances but he was quite willing "to follow (His) Grace in any one of these or other courses (his) wisdom and experience (would) suggest."³

Legal Opinion Sought

The course which Polding did follow was to obtain legal opinion on the Public Schools Act and its regulations from two eminent barristers, Mr. T. Butler and Mr. Alexander Gordon. Their opinion he communicated to each of his suffragans by letter of 28th August, 1867.⁴ Mr. Gordon's opinion was that "some modification is expressly placed at the discretion of the

¹. B.C.A., Quinn to Polding, 20/8/1867.
². ibid.
³. ibid.
Council and that they (had) already entered on the exercise of that discretion in withdrawing from enforced use in (Catholic) schools the Scripture Lessons.⁵ He urged that this be the line of persuasion which the Bishops pursue and this recommendation was accepted and acted upon by Polding in a letter to the Council of Education. He asked "exemption from the rule adopted requiring the very same books for the secular course in all schools."⁶ In this same letter, he retorted upon these books the charge of "proselytism" as recommended by Murray, and indicated that if the Council refused all accommodation, he would submit unwillingly only because "we cannot afford to give up all that belongs to us of the common purse and only until constitutional means shall set us free from a crying wrong.⁷ Quinn considered this action "the best that could be taken under the circumstances,"⁸ and thoroughly agreed with it. Murray also agreed and "quietly allowed the Catholic teachers to use the National School Books."⁹

In Sydney, Sheehy wrote a circular letter to the Clergy asking them to bestir themselves and to stir up

⁵. ibid.
⁶. ibid.
⁷. ibid.
⁸. B.C.A., Quinn to Polding, 31/8/1867.
⁹. G.C.A., Murray to Lanigan, 29/10/1867.
interest in Denominational Schools.\textsuperscript{10} The publication and reading of this letter in the churches was delayed for some months, possibly pending the outcome of a rather protracted correspondence between Wilkins and Sheehy on the text-book issue,\textsuperscript{11} possibly because of the return of the Archbishop.

Public Controversy - Clash Between Quinn and the Herald

In the meantime a further storm had to be weathered and this was over the charge of "proselytism" levelled against the National School Texts. It was Murray who had recommended this argument to Polding\textsuperscript{12} but it was Quinn who featured in the public controversy over it. The charge was based on the revelation by the daughter of the late Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Richard Whateley, that he had supported the National School Text Books project primarily as a means of undermining and "gradually supplanting the vast fabric of the Irish Catholic Church."\textsuperscript{13} Quinn mentioned this fact in a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{10} Sheehy to Clergy 11/8/1867, published in F.J. 7/12/1867.
\item \textsuperscript{11} Correspondence between Sheehy and Wilkins from 13/6/67 to 26/9/67 published in S.M.H., 4/11/1867, p.6.
\item \textsuperscript{12} M.C.A., Polding to Murray, loc. cit.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Murray at Tamworth, quoted F.J. 9/11/1867, p.7.
\end{itemize}
speech in Wellington on 16th September, 1867, in which he explained why, contrary to his original intention, he had become involved in public matters before he had acquired what he considered adequate "colonial experience":

"Conscience and conscience alone", he said, "forced me from this attitude. The Public Schools Act became law shortly after my arrival and among other things enjoined general religious teaching from texts avowedly anti-catholic. These texts are the Scripture lessons composed by the late Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, with the intention according to his daughter, of protestantising the Catholics of Ireland and which long since have been removed from the National Schools of that country."

Quinn reiterated what he had before publicly stated—

"I believe that neither the framers of this law nor our fellow colonists that differ from us in religion are yet aware that this new education scheme afflicts us so vitally; and I am persuaded that when they are so convinced of its baneful effects to Catholics, they will be the first to make the necessary modifications in the law."}

Nevertheless, the Sydney Morning Herald took him to task and even wrote an editorial on the issue on 27th September:

15. ibid.
16. ibid.
"We should advise, and not in an unfriendly spirit, such gentlemen as fill the office of Dr. Quinn, to abstain from these offensive references to men of great name and character in the Protestant world, and in the enforcement of the peculiar claims which are now set forth, to recollect that there are civil rights as well as ecclesiastical; that there are parents as well as priests, and that the Legislature of the country will not denude itself of the power conferred upon it, to watch over their interests to which large portions of public money have been and will be devoted." 17

The editorial then went on to explain how "to obtain a perfect interpretation" of what Dr. Whately "meant to say". 18

Quinn was equal to the challenge. He quickly pointed out that the Herald was not only insulting, but also illogical. After all, he had quoted Dr. Whately's daughter whereas all the Editor of the Herald could manage was to quote what Dr. Whately "no doubt intended." 19

The textbook issue was by no means dead though the acceptance of them by Murray, Polding, and seemingly Lanigan 20 had provided a temporary respite from the head-on clash which seemed inevitable between the Bishops.

17. S.M.H., 27/9/1867.
18. ibid.
19. F.J., 12/10/1867, p.9, speech of Quinn at Dubbo.
and the Government. On November 5th, the Catholics of Sydney met to discuss the injustice and unfairness to them of the Council of Education regulations.  

21

Archbishop Polding presided and Parkes was interested.

By now, Quinn had returned to Bathurst from the visitation of the north west parts of his diocese. He wrote to Polding indicating that he would go to Sydney the following week to discuss the matters raised in his letters of the preceding months.  

22

The Text-book problem could hardly be affected by their discussions. They were already in agreement on the issue. In fact, Polding had sent Quinn the newspaper clippings on his meeting of the previous week and Quinn was delighted with its success.  

23

Their meeting was important however, and subsequent events brought about a change in their personal relationships, which was to have significance for the education question as it developed over the next twenty years. This matter will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Quinn's First Year

Quinn had now completed his first year in the


22. B.C.A., Quinn to Polding, 13/11/1867.

23. ibid.
diocese of Bathurst but his activities in the educational sphere had been of significance beyond Bathurst. He had taken the initiative and when faced with difficulties, true to his self-chosen episcopal motto "Mergimur Nunquam" - "We never go under", he had acted vigorously and almost defiantly. He had introduced the Sisters of Mercy, opened High Schools for both girls and boys, and established his orphanage, in spite of Government indifference and opposition. He had crossed swords with the Government on two important issues and though not successful, he had certainly not been vanquished. He had even attracted editorial comment from the Sydney Morning Herald. Yet his greatest achievement was that he had rallied his fellow suffragan Bishops into a team. They spoke with one voice and this unity had given thrust and purpose to their pronouncements, vigour and incisiveness to their actions, and already showed signs of moulding clergy and laity into a determined and enlightened body. And yet so far, Quinn's initiatives had resulted in decisions designed to meet the immediate problem, effective for the time being and certainly necessary under difficult and unforeseen circumstances. No prudent man however expects or plans to continue in this way. Fervour
and enthusiasm for a cause, readily enough aroused by decisive action, are maintained only by definite and determined policy.

What was to be Quinn's policy in the matter of Catholic education?
The Orphanage built by Bishop Quinn

Now used as an annexe to Cathedral Primary School
CHAPTER V
EMERGENCE OF QUINN'S POLICY IN EDUCATION

His Policy for a Separate Catholic System

Matthew Quinn's policy for Catholic Education for his diocese of Bathurst (and indeed for the whole of the colony), could be succinctly expressed as the establishment of a system of Catholic education independent of the State system. He was adamant on two things - that there be a system, all-embracing from primary to tertiary institutions and that the education provided within his system be in no way inferior to that obtaining in government institutions.¹

That he was successful in this, there is ample evidence. The editor of the Freeman's Journal in the edition of January 20th, 1883, as he enthused over the outstanding results in the public and university examinations, achieved by the pupils of St. Stanislaus College, wrote thus:

¹. B.R., 15/7/1880, Quinn to clergy of Bathurst Diocese.
"What the Bishop of Bathurst has succeeded in doing in his diocese should be done in all the dioceses of the colony and is being done, in two, at least of the other dioceses. The Laity are willing to take their share, to send their children to Catholic Schools, and to pay the money necessary for their support. All they expect in return is that they shall know (sic) that the education given is, at least, not inferior to that given in the State Schools."  

But these successes were achieved many years later after Quinn's policy had been proven. Many difficulties had to be surmounted before that date.

In the first place, he would have to obtain a supply of teachers for his schools. Inevitably these would have to be Religious, and would have to be obtained from overseas, since the supply of qualified teachers available locally was strictly limited and in any case beyond his financial means. In the second place, he would have to convince his clergy, and above all the laity of the wisdom of his policy. Even to import religious teachers from overseas and to establish them throughout his diocese in schools and colleges would be expensive, but it would also be futile unless he could convince his flock to support them. Quite understandably, the faithful would be unwilling to

2. F.J. loc. cit.
forego all the government assistance for education unless convinced of the necessity of this step. Naturally enough too, they would view with suspicion the teachers from other countries, especially the non-Irish, even if they were Religious. Thirdly, he would have to convince his brother Bishops of the validity and wisdom of his policy. From the outset he had advocated uniformity of policy and action. If then he were to win the support and confidence of his flock, the Bishops of the colony would have to be convinced that his was the right policy on which they should pursue their uniform action.

The situation was indeed challenging; in fact it was daunting. Commenting on this same situation as it presented itself to the Bishops of the colony some ten years later, Fogarty says:

"The State schools...gained many supporters among the Catholics. At the time the Bishops had nothing comparable to offer. To preach 'Catholic Education' where it did not yet exist, to direct peoples' attention to it, to develop even an awareness of it, much less a loyalty to it, was a task of colossal magnitude. The situation constituted a unique social phenomenon; it was not merely an educational problem,

nor religious, nor even financial, but a combination of all three and profoundly psychological as well."5

This was the task to which, as a matter of policy, Matthew Quinn had addressed himself.

Just when he determined upon this policy is unfortunately obscure. Even before his Consecration as Bishop of Bathurst, he was negotiating for a community of nuns for his diocese,6 yet it seems unlikely that he would have intended to establish an independent system of Catholic schools at that time. His experience of Ireland, where the Hierarchy were getting the National schools to work successfully on an almost denominational basis7 would not have prompted such a policy. Then again his opening speech in the colony in which he alluded to the "education question, which as I now learn for the first time, is being agitated here"8 would suggest that prior to his arrival in the colony, he would not have seen the necessity for such a policy. Nevertheless just twelve months after arriving in his diocese, he had already seen the likeli-

6. B.C.A., Quinn to Goss, loc. cit.
7. vide supra, chapter 2.
hood that such a policy would be necessary, and warned his flock accordingly:

"The day is, I fear, not far off when we must make...sacrifices. We are ready to make them, and to take the whole burden of the education of our children on ourselves, if the State will not give us free and unfettered action in this matter."9

Quinn, it would appear, had noted with greater perception than his contemporaries, what later became quite obvious to observant historians - "the climax of the Church's struggle with the State came not in 1880, when the two were broken apart, but during the first few years following the Act of 1866. Then it was fully realised that separation was but a matter of time."10 Later on in 1879 when the complete separation of Church and State in education was effected, he was able to assure the people of Bathurst that the "nuns could tell them that when that Act (1866) was passed, he had talked over the subject with them, and had determined to show what could be effected through denominational education."11

11. Quinn speaking at Bathurst, reported in F.J., 24/12/1879, p.15.
The policy thus decided, he set about implementing it. The initial step in his campaign was to enlist the support of the laity. Hence over the next few years he addressed his flock throughout the whole of his diocese on the importance of education. Nor were these addresses casual. Rather were they part of a calculated campaign, so that by 1874, he was able to say in addressing the Catholics of Dubbo that "one part of his mission was ended. The time of talking had passed and the time of action had arrived. They must build schools and support them, and show faith in their theories. They must proceed by degrees to perfect their plan to give Catholic children Catholic Education."\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{Woods' Adelaide Scheme}

The policy adopted by Quinn was not new in concept. It had been adopted some years previously in Adelaide, by Bishop Geoghegan with the assistance of Father J.E. Tenison Woods. Nevertheless to Quinn must go credit for saving the scheme when it was on the verge of collapse and much discredited, and making

\textsuperscript{12} F.J., 14/3/1874, p.9.
it viable, and especially for 'popularising' it, so that in fact it became eventually the normal procedure throughout all the dioceses of the colony.

In 1862 the Bishops of Australia had assembled in Provincial Council in Melbourne. Troubled by the direction which education seemed to be taking, they had tried to formulate principles which might guide them in the decision which shortly they would have to make in their respective colonies. Polding was still the dominating influence in the Hierarchy and he was anxious to retain State aid, though unwilling to compromise on principles. The question then which faced the Bishops was how far would they go without compromising these principles?13

Geoghegan of Adelaide had already suggested the answer and by his Pastoral of 1860 had urged that the Church break completely with the State and set up its own independent system.14 His suggestion was not very enthusiastically endorsed.15 Nevertheless in his own diocese, he had set about implementing this policy. His chief assistant in this work was

was Father Julian E. Tenison Woods. 16 This latter was a man of rare talent and accomplishments and many of the initiatives taken in the cause of Catholic education were conceived by him. Unfortunately he was also somewhat erratic and lacking in personal diplomacy and tact. Most of his schemes floundered on these very grounds. Fortunately there were others who could take his ideas and make them work. There is no doubt that his scheme for a system of Catholic schools independent of the government owes its survival to Matthew Quinn who adopted it as his own, made it work, and then convinced his brother Bishops to adopt it.

Woods set to work to develop his scheme in Adelaide and Geoghegan departed for Europe. While abroad in 1864, Geoghegan was named to be first Bishop of Goulburn. However, he died in Ireland before taking possession of his See. Meanwhile the Sees of Bathurst and Maitland were established in New

16 Julian E.T. Woods was born in London on November 15, 1832. He entered the Passionist Order in 1851 and was dismissed in 1853. He was ordained priest in Adelaide on January 4, 1857. He assisted Mother Mary of the Cross McKillop in the foundation of the Sisters of Saint Joseph in 1866. He died in Sydney, October 7, 1889, and is buried in Waverley cemetery. He was a noted geologist and his scientific writings number more than 150.
South Wales and Quinn and his cousin Murray appeared on the scene in their respective Sees. In Adelaide, Sheil became bishop, and the scheme launched under his predecessor flourished even more successfully with Woods in command. In April 1867, Woods published details of his scheme by authority of the bishop.\textsuperscript{17} A central council was established, local Boards set up, schools and teachers were classified, time-tables established and eventually even, text-books and examinations provided.\textsuperscript{18} In addition sermons and missions on education were preached, bazaars and fund-raising activities encouraged and in general the laity were roused to a condition of enthusiasm for the Catholic School System. Above all, the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart, the community of nuns founded in 1866 by Father Woods and Mother Mary McKillop, were achieving wonders in the schools.\textsuperscript{19}

\textbf{Melbourne Provincial Synod}

This was the state of Wood's scheme when the

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{ibid}, p.486.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{ibid}, pp.224–226.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{ibid}, p.234.
Bishops of Australia assembled in Provincial Synod in Melbourne in 1869. Matthew Quinn went to this Synod and with Bishop Sheil, he was appointed president of the 'De Educatione' scheme. Father Woods was one of the two secretaries. His Adelaide scheme was discussed by the Bishops though 'only' alleged Woods, "in a half-hearted manner, for fear of giving offence to the Government." It was considered too radical. There can be no doubt however, that Quinn necessarily brought into close contact with its two protagonists, Sheil and Woods, learned of and studied the scheme with interest.

The Synod issued the first set of formal decrees issued by the Bishops on the subject of Education admonishing "all clergy and faithful...that they are bound to use every exertion to erect, where possible, Catholic schools in which the authority of the Church will be fully recognised, and that method of instruction observed, which shall have for its first object, the eternal welfare of souls...." The decrees on

21. Ibid.
education were drawn up by Bishop Murray and Quinn before the synod and presented to the assembled hierarchy for approval.\textsuperscript{25} The glowing report of the Adelaide situation which he would have got from Woods can have but confirmed Quinn in his intention to establish a system of Catholic schools independent of the Government.

On his return to his diocese with renewed vigour he set about the task of convincing the faithful of the need for schools. The acquaintance with Woods made in Melbourne was strengthened so that by 1871 Woods was "performing various ecclesiastical missions for Dr. Matthew Quinn, Bishop of Bathurst."\textsuperscript{26} This was in a sense providential. The system which had seemed to be so successful in Adelaide was heading towards a collapse. The collapse was due in part to the personality of the Director-General, Woods himself, and partly to the misguided spiritual direction he had been giving to some of the Sisters of St. Joseph who began to claim visions and other exceptional spiritual experiences.\textsuperscript{27} Were it not for the fact that Matthew Quinn was at hand not only to receive Woods

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{25} M.C.A., Murray to Moran 14/6/1869.
\item \textsuperscript{26} O. Thorpe C.P., \textit{Mary McKillop}, London: Burns & Oates p.300.
\item \textsuperscript{27} G. O'Neill, \textit{Mother Mary of the Cross}, Sydney, Pellegrini & Co., 1931, p.90.
\end{itemize}
into his diocese when it became necessary for him to quit the Adelaide scene but also to endorse his system of education and transplant it successfully into his diocese, the Catholic Church might have lost that very system of education which it was to espouse, and espouse so successfully. Fortunately, Quinn was at hand and by his firm leadership and indomitable energy he gave the system that stability which led to its success and to its ultimate endorsement by the other suffragan Bishops and finally by Archbishop Vaughan himself. This Woods could never have done.

An Apostolic Commission in Adelaide

But there occurred another event which brought Matthew Quinn to Adelaide itself. The circumstances afforded him an even better appreciation of the Woods' system and gave him an even more favourable opportunity to introduce the system into his diocese of Bathurst. After the Provincial Council in Melbourne, Bishop Sheil had departed for Europe and the Vatican Council.28 During his absence he was kept informed of the educational situation in his diocese by glowing reports from Woods. The true situation was not quite as ideal as

these reports would seem to have indicated. Some of the clergy were opposed to the voluntary remunciation of State aid and made all sorts of complaints about the system, and especially the Sisters of St. Joseph who, they said, were untrained and unsuited to their task. Some of the Sisters made exaggerated claims to piety and some had certainly been pushed rather hurriedly into the quickly expanding system. There were indeed some valid grounds for complaint. No doubt too the unaccommodating and uncompromising personality of the Director-General himself added to their dissatisfaction.

In 1870 the Bishop's Vicar-General, Father Smyth, who had been administering the diocese of Adelaide in his absence died. This was the signal for some of the clergy and others to arouse much mischief in the diocese and to start agitation to get back the Government grant. On Sheil's return in 1871 the diocese was in a sorry state and the Bishop himself in poor health. He was met by a deputation of the clergy and a document was presented which attacked the

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31. ibid, p.521.
whole system of Catholic schools. All the good work was being rapidly undone, and the Bishop was in no state to give firm leadership. This was the state of affairs when Sheil died in March, 1872.

Bishop Murray of Maitland was in Rome in February of 1872 and at his instigation Bishop Murphy of Hobart and Matthew Quinn of Bathurst were appointed as an Apostolic Commission to enquire into the affairs of the diocese of Adelaide. One direct result of this enquiry was that Woods was removed from his position of director of the Sisters of Saint Joseph. Woods had previously left Adelaide and was employed in the eastern colonies in giving educational missions. A second, and more subtle result was that Quinn, if he ever had any doubts, became even more firmly convinced of the validity of the policy of establishing a system of Catholic education independent of the Government schools. He promptly concluded arrangements for the introduction into his own diocese where he opened a convent for

32. Fogarty, op. cit., p.235.
34. ibid.
35. vide supra, p.109.
them on the Vale Road, at Perthville, five miles from Bathurst on November 20, 1872.36

Quinn Implements His Policy

Thus, at the conclusion of 1872, Quinn had definitely embarked on implementing his policy for Catholic Education for his diocese. He had already achieved much for that cause since his arrival in the colony in 1866 but from now on his activities were part of a planned campaign. Just how he handled that campaign with the Religious, the Laity, and the Hierarchy will be the matter of other chapters. It will be appropriate here, however, to examine in some detail the system which he established.

The system was all-embracing, including as it did primary and secondary schools, boarding and day schools, and orphanages. Nor did it stop there. Realising the paramount importance of the provision of an adequate supply of qualified and competent teachers37 he extended his activities to the establishment of model schools for the training of teachers, and seminaries and novitiates for the training of the clergy

37. B.R., 15/7/1880, p.326.
and the Religious. He also took an active interest in the conduct of St. John's College of the University of Sydney and in the provision of some modest forms of adult education throughout his diocese with the provision of reading rooms and lending libraries.

His scheme was certainly comprehensive. It was not uniformly successful and in fact in some areas, notably his efforts to obtain religious teachers for his boys' schools, moderate success was achieved only shortly before his death. It was however a scheme which he pursued with determination and conviction and which indeed became the scheme ultimately followed in almost all dioceses.

Some idea of the growth of the scheme can be found in the report on "Catholic Education in the Diocese of Bathurst" published in the Bathurst Record of January 1878 by Rev. J.P. Byrne, the director of education in the diocese,38 and in a similar "Report on the State of the Diocese", sent to Rome by Quinn in 1879.39 These reveal that whereas in 1866 there were only five schools and 338 scholars in the diocese, by 1879 there were thirty-three schools with 2276 scholars. Nineteen of the schools were conducted by Religious

38. See appendix IV.
teachers. In addition there had also been established thirteen convents with a total of ninety nuns, one college with seventy-two students, one ecclesiastical seminary with thirteen students and one orphanage.\textsuperscript{40} This list did not include the "many Provisional Schools, established throughout the diocese by the zeal of the priests, and which...swell the list of the work done by the Council of Education."\textsuperscript{41}

Provisional Schools had been provided for by the Act as a means of spreading education in thinly populated areas. They were privately endowed schools which received some aid and were subject to inspections. There was no requirement as to enrolments.\textsuperscript{42} Hence they were frequently very small schools. Quinn, aware of these schools' advantages had established many of them in his diocese. For example, by 1870 there were twelve such schools in the Fish River district alone, catering for some 286 children.\textsuperscript{43} Strictly speaking, they were the responsibility of the Council of Education. In fact, in the case referred to, all but

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{40} ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{41} BR., January 1878, p.122.
\item\textsuperscript{42} Public Schools Act of 1866, Clauses 12 & 13.
\item\textsuperscript{43} F.J., 22/1/1870, p.9.
\end{itemize}
two were supported by Quinn\textsuperscript{44} and this was a ground for protracted and fruitless negotiations with the Council—a matter which will be pursued in chapter 7.

Quinn then, as a matter of policy set about establishing schools throughout his diocese and entrusting them to the care of Religious teachers. His aim was to establish the Sisters of Mercy in the principal towns and the Sisters of Saint Joseph for the "education of the poor children scattered through the bush."\textsuperscript{45} By 1877 the Sisters of Mercy were conducting High Schools at Bathurst, Carcoar and Mudgee, and primary schools at these and other centres.\textsuperscript{46} The Sisters of St. Joseph, whom the Freeman's Journal described as a heaven-sent answer to the "Inspector's systematic thwarting of Catholic Educational efforts,"\textsuperscript{47} were providing education throughout scattered and sparsely populated bush areas.

Where he could not provide Religious teachers (and this was especially the case with the boys schools) Quinn took care to supervise the Certified Denominational Schools and to ensure as far as possible that the teachers were competent. He was fortunate in having Mr. Michael McGirr in charge of the boys school

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{44} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{45} B.R., 1/1/1878, p.122.
\item \textsuperscript{46} Meagher,\textit{op.cit.},p.43.
\item \textsuperscript{47} F.J.,16/11/1872,p.9.
\end{itemize}
in Bathurst. He was a teacher of whom Mr. Inspector Casey had reported in 1861:

"It is a pleasing part of my duty to make particular mention of some schools which are, in all points of efficiency excellent, and which may be seen, like beacon lights, plainly visible above the level of the surrounding country." 48

McGirr was ultimately succeeded by a Mr. O'Brien who had been master of the model school at Mudgee. 49

Later in 1879, Quinn obtained the services of a Mr. O'Keefe, formerly headmaster of De La Salle College, New York, to take charge of the Boys Denominational School at Forbes. 50 His voluminous correspondence with the Council of Education on the subject of the appointment of teachers and their dismissal when he considered them unsatisfactory is ample evidence of Quinn's supervision and activity in regard to their activities.

He was not content however merely to supervise these schools personally. He frequently urged the faithful to vigorous zeal in the provision and supervision of such schools recommending that they avail themselves of all the provisions of the Education Act

49. F.J., 18/10/1873, p.7.
which were available to them in conscience.

Thus, addressing a meeting at the opening of the new convent in Yass, he reminded the people of their "just right to participate in the national fund for assisting education." He went on:

"As Catholics, our religion tells us that we must have religion as the foundation of our education. We impart a solid and even a superior secular education, and as this is all the State teaches in its own schools, we demand that as far as this is concerned, our schools be recognised and placed on the same level. This is but simple justice and we demand it." 51

His zeal in the provision of orphanages or as they were then called "Industrial Schools" has already been mentioned. 52 In fact Quinn established only one orphanage — for girls under the care of the Sisters of Mercy. He had intended to establish one for boys too and offered its direction to the Marist Brothers, 53 but this ambition was not to be realised. He urged upon the Government the need to establish in Bathurst "some institution to receive unfortunate children" 54 and declared himself "most happy to render

52. vide supra, p.75.
54. B.C.A., Quinn to Parkes, 6/12/1867.
Saint Mary's Convent of Mercy and the Cathedral of Saints Michael and John, Bathurst, 1870.

Cottage in George Street, Bathurst.
Bishop Quinn transferred the first Sisters of Mercy from this cottage to his own home "The Deanery" and resided here for many years himself.
the Government any assistance in (his) power for this purpose.

The Government did not accept the offer. On the contrary, not even by protracted negotiations could they be prevailed upon to aid the girls Industrial School.

Saint Stanislaus College

Saint Stanislaus College, on the other hand, was one of his more successful ventures. Established in 1867 as Saint Stanislaus High School in the rooms of the Certified Denominational Boys School, it became a college when boarders were accepted some months later. It was transferred to its present site in 1873. Quinn ever cherished a special regard for this College, as it was "one of the first institutions established after (his) arrival in the diocese."

"I have always, borne a love towards it like that of a parent for a child. From year to year it has progressed, and now I think, either materially as a building, or intellectually as a place of education, it

55. \textit{ibid.}
56. \textit{vide supra, p.77.}
57. \textit{F.J., 19/1/1867, p.7.}
59. \textit{F.J., 23/12/1882, p.18.}
is second, perhaps, to none, but certainly, it is second to very few in these colonies."

His zeal and vigour in establishing and maintaining the college were frequently lauded in editorial comment in the Freeman's Journal and he was especially grateful for the allusions made to St. Stanislaus' by members of his flock in speeches of welcome throughout the diocese. His ambition for the College was that it educate future leaders, for "it was necessary, beyond all things, that those, who in their manhood would exercise a large influence over their fellow man, should be brought up and trained in a healthy and moral atmosphere."

Bishop Murray of Maitland saw Saint Stanislaus' and similar institutions as colleges to feed St. John's College of the University of Sydney and Dr. Forrest, the rector of St. John's speaking on the same occasion at the opening of the new buildings for St. Stanislaus', expressed the hope and the wish that "Saint Stanislaus' College...would contribute to the number of Catholics who (would) aspire to the distinction of a University

60. ibid.
64. F.J., 26/12/1874, p.9.
Education. That this college and the similar institutions of Saint Patrick's, Goulburn, and Sacred Heart, Maitland, did just this would seem to be so from the enthusiastic comment of the Freeman's Journal as it commented each year on the successes and achievements of these colleges.

The College, when established on its new site was set in ten acres of land. The Department of Lands had refused to grant more than five acres "because the land was valued at £20 per acre and the total grant was not to exceed £100." Quinn however offered to buy the other five acres and this offer was accepted. Subsequently further land was acquired and one such acquisition is of interest because it involved Quinn and the Anglican Bishop of Bathurst in a mutually advantageous exchange of land.

The foundation stone of the new building was laid by Archbishop Polding of Sydney on January 21st, 1872 and the completed building, blessed and officially

65. ibid.
67. B.J.A. Dept. of Lands to Quinn, 8/4/1871.
68. B.C.A., Quinn to Department of Lands, 18/4/1871.
69. ibid.
opened on September 7th, 1873. Both these occasions were attended with spectacular ceremony and the assistance of many Bishops and distinguished churchmen. The reason was that these ceremonies were not just of local significance. Occurring as they did at a time when the Hierarchy were struggling to rally the faithful and determine a united policy, at a time when the Public Schools Act was already seven years old and the Public Instruction Act just seven years away, they served as a rallying point for the Catholics in their educational struggle. Quinn saw to it that such occasions were also instructive for the faithful. Hence at the ceremony in 1873, Dr. O'Mahony, Bishop of Armidale, spoke on primary education, Dr. Lanigan of Goulburn on secondary education and Dr. Forrest, rector of St. John's College on university education.71

Bishop Quinn entrusted the care of the College to Father James McGirr who bore the title of President and held office from 1867 to 1871.72 James McGirr had completed most of his studies for the priesthood when he came to Australia from Ireland. For a time he taught at St. John's College, University of Sydney.

71. Hall, op. cit., p.46.
72. ibid, p.52.
Here Matthew Quinn met him, ordained him, and brought him to Bathurst to take charge of his new High School. Quinn retained for himself the title of Patron of the College. It would seem however that his patronage was more than merely nominal. Indeed, Dr. Murray described him as "the founder, life, and spirit of St. Stanislaus". Besides, most of the presidents during Quinn's lifetime, with the exception of the third, Dr. McAuliffe (1874–1878), were quite young and inexperienced, and his direction and interest was therefore very real." His Vicar-General, Dr. J.P. Byrne, administered the diocese during Quinn's absence in Europe in 1883 and also acted as Patron of the College during that time certainly directed the College quite actively. In fact, he seems to have removed the President, Rev. Pierce Corcoran, from office for failing to comply with his advice and make a "recommended change in the College management." Dr. Byrne himself acted as President in 1884 and was succeeded in 1885 by Rev. William Byrne, when he himself became

73. ibid, p.34.
74. F.J., 26/12/1874, p.9.
75. Hall, loc. cit.
76. B.C.A., Byrne to Corcoran, 30/11/1883 & 3/12/1883.
77. Hall, loc. cit.
Bishop of Bathurst in succession to Quinn. 78

The task of finding adequate staff for such a college, situated as it was in the country, cannot have been easy. Nevertheless, Quinn seems to have been successful in finding suitably qualified men as presidents and as teachers. 79 An interesting "memo of agreement between the President of St. Stanislaus' College and Mr. Joseph P. Buggey, teacher" is found in the letters of Dr. McAuliffe, the third president. 80 In it Mr. Buggey agrees

"(1) To teach during school hours the subjects prescribed by the President or Vice-President.
(2) Salary £80 a year, payable monthly.
(3) A quarter's notice to be given of resignation.
(4) To retire to bedroom at 10 o'clock and to have no light after that hour except in case of necessity." 81

Similar memos are found for other teachers, one of whom agreed in addition "to be present at the College Mass on Sundays." 82

The Grammar Schools' Proposal

Yet there were worrying times ahead for the Bishop

81. ibid.
82. ibid.
in connection with his project at St. Stanislaus' College. The establishment of such a College in a country town and in such a grandiose building must have provoked some criticism and alarm amongst even the most sanguine supporters of the Bishop. Secondary education was by no means popular and Bathurst was certainly not a populous city. The Bishop's relief when the College was successful and well filled was soon to be jolted however with the proposal in 1878 of a Bill by William Windeyer to establish Grammar schools at Maitland, Goulburn, and Bathurst. The Bathurst Record in its editorial of 1st April, 1878 called for

"careful consideration as well as prompt and vigorous action at the hands not only of Catholics but of all who profess to respect the rights of conscience and detest injustice, exclusiveness, and monopoly."84

The Catholic objection was principally to the fact that such schools were unacceptable to the Catholic conscience, but they were also decried because they were "uncalled for". "At Bathurst," they complained, "Catholics and Protestants have made ample provision

83. Rev. J.P. Byrne was the editor.
84. B.R., loc. cit.
for education both elementary and higher." The fears that they would empty the Bishops' Colleges at Bathurst, Maitland, and Goulburn were unfounded. These colleges continued to thrive and their pupils to achieve outstanding successes. But numbers began to decline. The opening in Sydney of the Colleges of the Jesuit Fathers and Marist Brothers restricted the flow of students from the city, and Quinn's plans had by now started to provide schools in many country parts of his diocese. During his visit to Europe in 1884, therefore, Quinn made arrangements with the Vincentian Fathers in Dublin to take over the management of St. Stanislaus' College. They took control of the College on January 1st, 1889, just four years after Quinn's death. Such a move was in the interests of the future stability and permanence of the College.

85. ibid.
86. A Mr. H.A. Manning went directly from St. Stanislaus' for a B.A. Degree. It was claimed that St. Stanislaus' was the first college from which a student had presented himself for a B.A. Degree. F.J., 29/3/1884, p.9.
87. Hall, op. cit., p.56.
88. The number of city students who attended the country colleges instead of Lyndhurst had provoked a sharp reaction from Polding, vide Birt, op. cit., p.361.
89. Hall, loc. cit.
90. ibid, p.60.
It was also in accordance with previously determined policy.

Quinn had earlier "offered to hand over his fine College to the (Marist Brothers) as a Boarding School and Novitiate".\(^{91}\) The Brothers however had not accepted or perhaps more accurately, as will become apparent in chapter 6, reached no finality on the matter. Quinn also entered into negotiations with the Christian Brothers and Jesuit Fathers to come to his diocese\(^ {92}\) though whether he offered the College to them is not clear. One very significant feature of his educational policy was however the establishment and expansion of this College and its final transferal, in what was practically his last act in the educational sphere,\(^ {93}\) to a Congregation which could staff it adequately and bring to its administration some measure of stability.

In the founding of this College, he was followed by the Bishops of Goulburn and Maitland who founded their Colleges of St. Patrick and of the Sacred Heart. Similarly too, these Colleges were subsequently transferred to the care of Religious Consecrations - Saint Patrick's Goulburn going to the Christian Brothers.

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93. Hall, loc. cit.
McAlroy's Scheme for Country Colleges

Matthew Quinn had led the way in providing a country Boarding College for boys and his example had been followed by the Bishops of Goulburn and Maitland and admired by the Bishop of Armidale. Yet some credit for the initiative in this regard seems to belong to Rev. Dr. McAlroy. He had been sent to Goulburn in 1863 to complete the convent for the Sisters of Mercy and a wing for a girls Boarding School and thus began Our Lady of Mercy College, Goulburn. He then turned his attention to providing similar accommodation for boys and to that end purchased property in Goulburn in 1866. The project was delayed by the death in 1684 of Rev. Dr. Geoghegan who had been named first Bishop of Goulburn. However, when Bishop Lanigan became Bishop of Goulburn in 1867,

94. Saint Stanislaus' College still continues under the care of the Vincentian Fathers and Saint Patrick's College under the care of the Christian Brothers. Sacred Heart College was maintained by the Marist Brothers till 1904 when its boarders were transferred to Saint Joseph's College, Hunters Hill, and its day pupils to Saint John's Marist Brothers' High School, Maitland.

McAlroy, in welcoming him, outlined the pressing needs of the Diocese, placing in the first rank the building of a Seminary (i.e. boys college). Dr. Lanigan went ahead with the scheme but not on McAlroy's land. In 1867, land was dedicated by the Government for a Catholic Episcopal Residence and Seminary, and four years later, Lanigan purchased a further eleven acres at a Government Land Sale.96

Hence it would seem that to Dr. McAlroy must go the credit of having conceived the idea of establishing the first secondary school for boys in any country district of N.S.W. At the opening of St. Patrick's College, Goulburn in 1874, Quinn said that "he had heard of the work of Dr. McAlroy before he came to Australia and whatever little energy he used for the advancement of the same cause had been largely excited by his example."97

Earlier in 1867 in a letter to Dr. Croke his Vicar-General in Ireland, Quinn had referred to McAlroy whom he was intending to meet in Goulburn, as his friend and "one of the ablest missionary priests in Australia."98 Perhaps on this occasion, (June 1867) which could have been their first meeting in

97. ibid.
98. B.C.A., Quinn to Croke, 30/3/1867.
Australia, Quinn discussed the High School, which he had founded in January of that year, with McAlroy. It may even be that it was a result of this discussion, that Boarders were received at Saint Stanislaus'. They were certainly received in 1867, though the exact date is not known. The idea may indeed have been McAlroy's, but to Quinn must go credit for having first executed the idea and demonstrated to his Brother Bishops its practicality and perhaps its necessity.

The establishment and growth of Saint Stanislaus' College has been developed here at length because in the eyes of its founder, it was such a significant venture. Associated with its development however from 1875-1891 was Saint Charles' Ecclesiastical Seminary for the education and training of priests.

Efforts to Establish an Ecclesiastical Seminary

As soon as he was appointed Bishop, Quinn recruited priests and ecclesiastical students for his diocese. Subsequent to his arrival in the colony, he continued to send back to Ireland for more priests but he also

100. vide supra, p.61.
1. B.C.A., Quinn to Croke, 28/5/1867, p.77.
sent back students to Ireland to be trained at All Hallows and Carlow Seminaries.\(^2\) This was expensive but a satisfactory sum was allocated annually to this purpose by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Paris.\(^3\) By 1872 however, this Society was no longer able to contribute its usual £350 per annum to this cause and Matthew Quinn had to appeal to the clergy of his diocese to help him liquidate a debt of £400 owing to All Hallows College.\(^4\) In the meantime various steps had been taken by him to ensure a continuous supply of well trained priests for his own and other Australian dioceses.

Reference has already been made to a property referred to as "Gayfield House," which the Quinns owned in Dublin.\(^5\) James Quinn, Bishop of Brisbane, and eldest of the four Quinn brothers was responsible for this property. In 1867, he authorised Rev. Andrew Quinn, his brother, still in Dublin, to negotiate the sale of the property.\(^6\) Apparently, prior to his departure from Ireland, Matthew Quinn, with the

\(^2\) B.C.A., undated letter, Quinn probably to Croke.
\(^3\) B.C.A., Quinn to President of Propagation of the Faith, 30/5/1867; also Quinn to Croke, 30/3/1867.
\(^4\) F.J., 19/10,1872, p.7.
\(^6\) B.C.A., Quinn to Croke, loc. cit.
concurrence of his brother James, had suggested that this property might be purchased by the Ecclesiastical authorities and set up as a college for the training of clergy for Australia.  

Bishop Murray of Maitland disagreed with the idea, favouring instead the setting up of a college in Rome. However when he learned that Cardinal Cullen and Dr. Moran were interested in the idea of "Gayfield House" as an ecclesiastical seminary, he indicated that he would "be disposed to yield and give up (his) own opinion in the matter." Bishop Lanigan of Goulburn seems to have approved the idea in principle but to have had no money available to expend on the project.

The scheme foundered on financial grounds.

Apparently acting on instructions from Rev. Andrew Quinn, Rev. Father O'Donohue arranged with the Irish Ecclesiastical Authorities for the property to be purchased and held in trust for an Australian College. In the meantime, James (whose business and financial administration seems to have been chaotic and even a cause of scandal) had mortgaged the property to raise

8. ibid.
9. M.C.A., Murray to Lanigan 22/7/1867. This is the implication of the reply of Murray to Lanigan. Lanigan's letter to Murray is not available.
10. B.C.A., Matthew Quinn to James Quinn, 15/1/1868.
a loan of £5000 from Dean Lynch of Armidale, to help
him over other financial difficulties.\(^{11}\) This step
finally killed all negotiations. The property was now
mortgaged for £1380 more than its value\(^{12}\) and this
caused "utmost dissatisfaction" to the ecclesiastical
authorities and "considerable difficulties" in the
whole question of an Australian College.\(^{13}\) Father
O'Donohue writing to Matthew Quinn and quoting Dr.
Moran, who he said "speaks for the Cardinal and the
Ecclesiastical authorities" stated –

"While mortgaged (the property) will
remain in the hands of the Quinns...
a mere family property, and so long as
it continues such, so long will it look
for the approbation of the authorities
of this (Dublin) Diocese."\(^{14}\)

Matthew Quinn renounced all right and title to
the property, urged O'Donohue to continue and complete
negotiations with James, and arranged for Bishop
Murray whose judgment he respected to write to Dr. Moran

\(^{11}\) B.C.A., Matthew Quinn to James Quinn, June 1867.
\(^{12}\) B.C.A., Quinn to O'Donohue, 31/1/1868.
\(^{13}\) ibid.
\(^{14}\) ibid.
\(^{15}\) ibid.
and Cardinal Cullen about the matter. Murray, in his letter reiterated his opposition to the project especially on the score of the "expenses, which (he knew) would be considerable" under the circumstances, and his preference for a Roman College, and here the matter seems to have rested.

About the same time as these negotiations were in progress, Quinn was investigating another possibility of providing for the education of priests for the Australian mission. Rev. James Kavanagh, President of Carlow College had suggested to him "that the Australian Bishops raise a fund to found a dozen places in Carlow exclusively for the Australian Mission". Quinn did not think the scheme very feasible and referred Kavanagh to Dr. Birmingham, a priest then on leave from Australia in Ireland who he said "knows the Australian Bishops fairly well." He himself did promise to propose the plan to the Bishops when they next met. The bishops did not meet for some time. Bishops Sheil and Gould had just sailed for Europe and Archbishop Polding had not returned to the colony.

18. ibid.
20. ibid.
21. ibid.
In addition this plan was encumbered by negotiations over finance resulting from the mismanagement of the late Dean Grant's will.²² And so this plan too seems to have foundered on the matter of finance. When the Bishops did finally meet in Melbourne in Provincial Council in 1869, Quinn kept his word and raised the question of a seminary. He even suggested the establishment of a Provincial Seminary in Melbourne, under the care of the Jesuit Fathers.²³ No action was taken on the suggestion however.

Saint Charles Seminary Founded

In 1874 Quinn returned to Europe and reported to Rome. He also visited his homeland where he recruited personnel for his diocese. On his return to the diocese in 1875, other efforts having now failed, he brought with him twelve ecclesiastical students from

²². B.C.A., Quinn to Croke, 30/3/1867.
Very Rev. John Grant D.D. was Parish Priest of Bathurst, 1853 to 1864. As Parish Priest he was responsible for the erection of the Church of St. Michael and St. John which became Bishop Quinn's Cathedral.
He left £1000 for the Sisters of Mercy to be established in Bathurst and it was this sum which was wrongfully applied by the Executors of his will to the training of priests for the Diocese of Bathurst at All Hallows College and Carlow College. Matthew Quinn straightened out affairs when he arrived in Bathurst in 1866.

Ireland. These he established in two houses in George Street, Bathurst, known as "Redruth Villa" and thus he inaugurated the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Saint Charles Borromeo.\(^{24}\) It would seem that the initiative for this step came from Rome.\(^{25}\) Murray confessed at the ceremony of the blessing of the foundation stone for the new buildings for the ecclesiastical seminary in Bathurst, 19 September, 1875, that several had asked him when he was in Rome a few years previously to found a seminary in his own diocese,\(^{26}\) but he felt that "circumstances would not permit". In fact, he felt candidly that the present step was "premature" and "several priests agreed with him."\(^{27}\) Likewise, Bishop Reynolds of Adelaide had "been thinking of opening an ecclesiastical seminary".\(^{28}\) He had recently received a letter from Cardinal Barnabo in Rome concerning the state of his diocese and the report of the Apostolic enquiry

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25. It is interesting to speculate that Rome's suggestion may have emanated from references made to this project in Melbourne in 1869, and no doubt reported faithfully by Quinn to his Roman correspondent, Kirby.
27. *ibid*.
conducted by Bishops Quinn and Murphy,²⁹ so perhaps a similar suggestion had been made to him.

It was left to Matthew Quinn once more, even if the idea was not his, to initiate the project. Bishop Murray said "Matthew Quinn steps straight in at the suggestion of Rome, full of faith and trust."³⁰

In February 1878 the ecclesiastical students transferred to new premises which had been added to St. Stanislaus' College to provide accommodation for St. Charles' Seminary.³¹ Thus Quinn now had his seminary and college under the one roof as he had had in Dublin at Harcourt Street. St. Charles' Seminary continued thus in close liaison with St. Stanislaus' under the one President except for the first few years,³² until 1891, when it closed.³³ Its closure was hastened when in 1889 Cardinal Moran opened his St. Patrick's

²⁹. vide supra, p. 110.
³⁰. F.J., loc. cit.
³¹. Hall, op. cit., p.42.
³². Its first President was Rev. John Ryan. He studied at the Irish College in Rome and when he completed his course, came to Bathurst where he was appointed President of Saint Charles'. In 1879 he resigned as President and was admitted to the Society of Jesus. His career as a Jesuit was distinguished and he was Superior of the Jesuits in Australia from 1901 to 1907 and 1913 to 1917. He died in 1922.
³³. Hall, op. cit., p.98.
Ecclesiastical Seminary at Manly (Sydney). During the next two years the numbers dwindled. Still, twenty-seven of its students were ordained to the priesthood and two of them subsequently became Bishops in New South Wales. Eight of its ex-student priests spent all the years of their ministry in the Bathurst Diocese and a further three spent some of their time there. The Seminary certainly returned to Matthew Quinn and his diocese what he had hoped for, and fulfilled its purpose. The Freeman's Journal declared that St. Charles' Seminary "complements all the other educational works of Bishop Quinn."

Model Schools for Teacher Training

Another sphere of activity for Quinn in his efforts to promote Catholic Education, was the

34. ibid.
35. ibid. They were:— Bishop Patrick Vincent Dwyer, Co-adjutor Bishop of Maitland 1897-1909; Bishop of Maitland 1909-1931. He was the first Australian-born Bishop, and Bishop Joseph Dwyer, his brother—first Bishop of Wagga 1918-1939.
36. ibid.
recruiting and training of teachers. Addressing the clergy at Bathurst in July 1880 he said, "Three things are required to establish an efficient system of education — training schools to procure good teachers, a thorough inspection of these teachers' work, and the means to maintain both." Coming as he did from the "University Collegiate House" at Harcourt Street, Dublin, to the Certified Denominational Schools of Bathurst, Quinn would certainly have had forcefully demonstrated to him, the need for qualified and competent teachers. He undertook to supply this need. Speaking at the Annual Examinations of the Certified Denominational Boys' School, Bathurst in December 1867 he said —

"It is my intention to make this school the Model School of my diocese and to train up teachers in it to supply the Catholic Schools. I trust I shall be assisted by the Council of Education in this design, but whether or no, such is my intention, and in these exertions for the advancement of education I am certain of success, for I shall have ample assistance...in the strong, united voice and co-operation of the Catholics of the Western District."  

38. Quinn to Bathurst clergy 7/7/1880, in B.R., 15/7/1880, p.326.  
40. F.J., 4/1/1868, p.11.
Writing to Parkes, the President of the Council of Education, on 4th January, 1868, Quinn pointed to the necessity of developing both his Boys and Girls schools into model schools. Quoting from the Progress report of the Council of Education to 31st August, Quinn showed that the establishment of model schools was strongly recommended by the Conference of Inspectors. The report's own definition of a model school as

"one in which there is a reasonable excellence in all... respects and which in addition is either attached to an institution for the training of young teachers, or is itself along with being an elementary school, a seminary for the same purpose", was, he claimed, exactly applicable to his own schools.

He further proposed that "all future students of our model schools who wish to become teachers shall matriculate and take a degree in the University of Sydney." This, at a time when even teachers trained under the pupil-teacher system were difficult to find, certainly marked Quinn as an educational thinker ahead of his time.

42. ibid.
43. ibid, p.2.
44. ibid.
45. ibid.
His appeal however, does not seem to have been very enthusiastically received.\textsuperscript{46} The Report of Mr. Gardiner on the Certified Boys Denominational school the following year was rather grudging in its comments. "Taken as a whole...the external organisation is considerably above the average prevailing in country schools," it said, "but this does not exonerate the teacher from neglect of details of some regulations."\textsuperscript{47} "His claims are not unworthy of favourable consideration by the council," it continued, "but they are not entirely satisfactory."\textsuperscript{48}

The relations between Quinn and the Council of Education do not appear to have ever been satisfactory from Quinn's point of view. They will be examined in more detail in chapter 7. It is sufficient here to mention that Quinn appreciated the need for and did genuinely attempt to provide qualified teachers for his schools.

By the time of the 1880 Act, Quinn could claim that already there were two establishments in his

\\textsuperscript{46} Parkes' reply to Quinn's letter of 4/1/1868 is not available. The records of the C.E. in possession of the Archives Office of New South Wales commence after this date.

\textsuperscript{47} M.L., C.E., 1/840 Vol.108,Entry 189-191, 1869,

\textsuperscript{48} ibid.
diocese for the training of nuns to teach in his schools\textsuperscript{49} and that he had "taken steps to procure a religious congregation for that purpose" for the boys schools.\textsuperscript{50} In fact in 1874 when in Dublin, Quinn had discussed with Dr. Moran the possibility of establishing a special novitiate and training house of the Sisters of Mercy for Australia in that diocese,\textsuperscript{51} and prior to his departure from Bathurst on that occasion he had already offered Saint Stanislaus' College to the Marist Brothers to establish a similar institution.\textsuperscript{52}

**Saint Johns College**

Saint John's College, University of Sydney, was another educational institution to receive Quinn's attention. This College had been incorporated in 1857 and opened in 1860 on a site of eighteen acres granted by the Government.\textsuperscript{53} Interestingly enough, the people of Bathurst in 1857 contributed £1400

\textsuperscript{49} B.R., 15/7/1880, p.326.  
\textsuperscript{50} \textit{ibid.}  
\textsuperscript{51} M.C.A., Moran to Murray, 13/1/1875.  
\textsuperscript{52} M.B.A., \textit{loc. cit.}  
\textsuperscript{53} Fogarty, \textit{op. cit.}, p.447.
towards the £6000 which the Catholics had to raise in order to receive an equivalent grant from the Government.\(^{54}\) When Quinn arrived in the colony, Saint John's was in serious financial difficulty. In March, 1868, he wrote to the Council of Saint John's assuring them that their circular about their financial difficulties had his attention and that he would bring the matter before his brother Bishops when next they met.\(^{55}\) "I have founded a High School in Bathurst which I hope will contribute to an increase in its students," he concluded.\(^{56}\) Speaking at the official opening of St. Stanislaus' on 7th September, 1873, Dr. Forrest, the Rector of Saint John's, expressed the same hope and this was re-echoed both by Bishop Murray and Archbishop Vaughan on subsequent occasions.\(^{57}\) The condition of Saint John's was certainly deplorable, and the fact that the Anglican College was facing the same difficulties did not make the state of affairs any more palatable.\(^{58}\)

Early in 1873, Dr. Polding wrote to Quinn asking him what he considered to be the "causes of the

55. B.C.A., Quinn to Council of St. John's, 12/3/1868.
56. ibid.
57. F.J. 26/12/1874, p.9.
present lamentable condition of St. John's", and "probable and practical remedies for this state." Quinn, although he had constitutionally no status with respect to Saint John's, undertook "to seek all the information within (his) reach on the subject" and to "give an out-spoken opinion" in the second week after Easter, when he hoped Polding would convene a meeting of the Bishops.

The Meeting was postponed, and finally held in September, 1873. Quinn was not very optimistic about the reasons for its postponement and, in a letter to Dr. Kirby from St. John's on 17th May, 1873, complained that Polding's real object in assembling the Bishops was to revive ideas of handing over St. John's College to the Benedictines. A further meeting was held at Saint John's in September. Quinn seems to have satisfied himself as to what St. John's main need was. "It's a scandal at present," he wrote

59. B.C.A., Quinn to Polding 1/4/1873.
60. Ibid.
61. B.C.A., Matthew Quinn to James Quinn, 24/4/1873.
63. Archives of Irish College Rome, transcript by O'Reilly in possession of Archbishop O'Brien, Canberra.
64. M.C.A. - Murray to Barnabo loc. cit.
to Lanigan, "a new rector must be appointed." He recommended a Jesuit, since no secular priest was available and qualified and Quinn himself went to Sydney to negotiate for the Jesuits on behalf of Father Cahill, S.J., the superior of the Jesuits. Dr. Forrest had indicated that he would retire for the payment of a suitable sum of money. This was the stage negotiations had reached when Murray wrote to Quinn, told him he did not approve of his act and felt that the Suffragan bishops would not approve either. Quinn thought Murray was wrong, and told him so, and feared that Vaughan who had but that very month arrived in Sydney as C-adjutor would appoint a Benedictine. In fact his fears (if such they may be called) were right, for on his arrival in the colony, Vaughan, himself a Benedictine, took up residence at Saint John's and acted as Rector.

Under Vaughan some stability came to St. John's and things began to improve. Later writers have suggested that Vaughan "gave the college, the only

65. G.C.A., Quinn to Lanigan, 24/12/1873.
66. ibid.
67. ibid.
68. ibid.
period of brilliance in its history." But perhaps it is too facile to suggest that Quinn was right and that all St. John's needed was a new Rector. Perhaps even when the Rector was a man of Vaughan's stature this was not particularly significant and the correct answer to St. John's problems had been found elsewhere by Quinn in the establishment of Saint Stanislaus' College, which was so quickly followed by Saint Patrick's, Goulburn, and Sacred Heart, Maitland.

Effect of Quinn's Policy

Quinn's policy in education was to provide a complete system of schools for Catholics separate from and independent of the State schools. On his own evidence he had envisaged and prepared for this quite early in his episcopate in Bathurst. By 1870 he was able to declare

"Up to the present I have established thirty schools. I think ten years will suffice. With the blessing of God, I shall, in that time, have a Catholic school everywhere that a sufficient number of Catholic children can be found." 

72. Quinn to Meeting Bathurst, 20/1/1870 in support of Quinn in argument with S.M.H., F.J. 22/1/1870, p.9.
Indeed, he was as good as his word. To the clergy, assembled at his residence in 1880 to "take mutual counsel on the best means to be adopted to provide for the education of our children when State assistance is withdrawn in 1882", he was able to report that there were only fourteen schools in the diocese receiving aid, and that there were more than forty Catholic schools in the Diocese. Then in 1884 he was able to claim -

"In this diocese, (we have) lost not even one school since the withdrawal of aid, but many (have) been added to their number." 75

Finally, his policy was endorsed by the other Bishops and enthusiastically applauded in the press. The Freeman's Journal of February 18, 1882 commented in its editorial:

"It is impossible to overestimate the significance and exaggerate the value of a course of procedure which testifies on the one hand to a complete independence of state support, and on the other to the control of educational machinery which has proved equal to the severest tests to which it could have been subjected. Nothing could have been more prudent than the action of the Bishop in stamping by means of the University the quality of the education which he was offering to Catholic.

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73. B.R., 15/7/1880, p.326.
74. Ibid.
75. B.R., 14/12/1884, Quinn speaking at Boys' School, Bathurst.
youth before embarking on the great enterprise which he has just undertaken." 76

The following chapters consider his activities with the Religious, the government, the Hierarchy and the laity in achieving general acceptance of his policy.

76. F.J., loc. cit.
Rockley Church, built by Bishop Quinn in the 1870's.

Architect's Drawing of Saint Stanislaus' College 1873
CHAPTER VI

QUINN AND THE RELIGIOUS

His Plan to Use Religious

Quinn's policy for Catholic education required the establishment of a system of Catholic schools, independent of the government system.¹ A necessary part of that system was a ready supply of Religious to staff the schools.² Having once determined the policy, he set about recruiting Religious.

He had brought a band of Sisters of Mercy with him to the colony³ and these formed the nucleus of his band of religious teachers. Their number he swelled by recruitment both from Ireland, and from his diocese. Between 1866 and 1875 no fewer than thirty-eight Sisters of Mercy came to the Bathurst diocese from Charleville, County Cork, Ireland.⁴

In 1872, he invited the Sisters of Saint Joseph, an

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1. vide supra, p.100.
2. ibid.
3. vide supra, p.61.
Australian Congregation, to his diocese, to staff smaller schools in the more scattered centres.\textsuperscript{5} His dispute with the superior of these Sisters, Mother Mary of the Cross over their administration and other rules does not appear to have greatly hindered their work, but it did finally oblige him to establish a separate congregation of the Sisters of Saint Joseph in his diocese. The dispute had a further implication for his policy in that it frustrated to some extent, his efforts to introduce a congregation of brothers to staff the boys' schools of the diocese. His negotiations with the Marist Brothers extended over several years before they were finally terminated.\textsuperscript{6} This delay meant that, except for St. Stanislaus' College, he really had not been successful in providing what he would consider an adequate Catholic education, under the care of Religious for the boys of his diocese, by the time State-aid was lost in 1882. The Brothers of Saint Patrick finally arrived in 1884 to staff the boys' schools at Bathurst and Dubbo.\textsuperscript{7}

Nevertheless, difficulties notwithstanding, Quinn

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{vide infra}, p.160. \\
\textsuperscript{6} \textit{vide infra}, p.185. \\
\textsuperscript{7} \textit{vide infra}, p.195.
could claim some measure of success in establishing Catholic schools under the care of Religious by 1885. That achievement will now be examined.

The Sisters of Mercy

As already mentioned, when Matthew Quinn arrived in the colony in 1866 he brought with him a community of seven Sisters of Mercy, whom he intended for work in the apostolate of Catholic education. This in itself was unusual. The Sisters of Charity and Polding's own foundation of the Sisters of the Good Samaritan were already at work in the colony, but were employed in social work. So too were the Benedictine Nuns. Polding had permitted the introduction of a Community of Sisters of Mercy from Westport (Ireland), to Goulburn in 1859 and a further community from Liverpool mistakenly delayed by Quinn had established themselves at North Sydney in November 1865.

Dean Grant, former parish priest

1a. Meagher, loc. cit.
2a. Fogarty, op. cit., p.270.
3a. This Institute was founded at Sydney in 1857 by Archbishop Polding, O.S.B. for the care of Penitent Women and the instruction and education of adults and children. C.Y.B.,1966-68, p.421.
4a. Fogarty, op. cit.,p.261. 5a. vide supra, p.70.
of Bathurst who died in 1864, had made similar attempts and had left a legacy of £1000 to establish the Sisters of Mercy in Bathurst. 6a

The practice of employing Religious teachers in the Catholic Schools of the colony was not yet general. Matthew Quinn seems to have been in a better position than others to appreciate the wisdom of such a step. Since 1859 he had been acting as agent in Ireland for his brother James, Bishop of Brisbane, and had supervised and organised the departure of nuns for his brother's diocese. James Quinn had likewise brought a community of nuns with him to Queensland in 1859 and "had obviously thought all along in terms of religious teachers." 7a

Even so, Matthew Quinn seems to have considered the use of the nuns for social work too. No sooner had he arrived in Bathurst than he commenced an orphanage under the care of the Sisters of Mercy 8 and he also had plans for a hospital. 9 "To prepare for such an event, the Bathurst Sisters at Charleville should be sent for a time to the 'Mater Misericordiae' hospital"

6a. B.C.A., Quinn to Croke, loc. cit.
7a. Fogarty, op. cit., p.266.
8. Vide supra, p. 75.
9. Quinn to Croke, 28/5/1867.
in Dublin," he wrote to Dr. Croke.\textsuperscript{10} The hospital did not eventuate - possibly because Quinn quickly appreciated the more urgent need for the Nuns as teachers in his schools.\textsuperscript{11} Murray had not brought any nuns with him to Maitland, but he soon recognised the need and wrote back to Ireland by the first mail after his arrival, for a community of nuns who were "wanted very badly."\textsuperscript{12} This arrangement of entrusting schools to the Religious continued to be the trend until by 1872 Matthew Quinn had really espoused it as a matter of policy\textsuperscript{13} and this policy was adopted by Murray and Lanigan, and subsequently too by Vaughan.\textsuperscript{14}

Meantime, Quinn continued to increase the number of nuns in his community by further recruiting in Ireland. In 1868, six professed Sisters and one novice arrived on board the 'Zelandia'.\textsuperscript{15} These were followed in 1873 by two more professed Sisters and four postulants.\textsuperscript{16}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{10} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{11} St. Vincent's Hospital, Bathurst was opened in 1922 and committed to the care of the Sisters of Charity. (ACD, 1966 - p.138). The Bathurst Sisters of Mercy opened a 'Mater' Hospital in Forbes in 1951 - ibid p.163.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Fogarty, \textit{op. cit.}, p.262.
\item \textsuperscript{13} \textit{vide supra}, p.113.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Fogarty, \textit{op. cit.}, p.260.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Meagher, \textit{op. cit.}, p.20; B.C.A., Quinn to Rev. Mother 17/6/1868.
\item \textsuperscript{16} ibid.
\end{itemize}
In June 1874 Quinn left the colony for a visit to Rome and his homeland. The effects of his visit are seen in the numbers of Religious and aspirants arriving in his diocese. In 1875 two separate groups arrived. The first, thirteen in number, comprised two professed Sisters, one novice and postulants; the second, ten postulants. In addition, Quinn also sent out several postulants to the Sisters of Saint Joseph at Perthville.

Quinn had the great joy of conducting the first profession ceremony for nuns in Bathurst on August 7, 1869 and from then on such ceremonies were held regularly and afforded the Bishop opportunity to dilate upon the question of Catholic education. The nuns "continued to delight" Quinn and to be "everything that could be desired; as devout, as loyal, and as true as ever set out on a mission", and "just the right sort for laying the foundation of a new diocese." But "they are worked beyond their

17. ibid.
   The number of postulants sent to Perthville is not clear. In April 1876 Quinn gave the habit to 7 postulants - then in July he clothed the "remaining postulants to the number of a dozen or so."
22. B.C.A., Quinn to Croke, 30/3/1867.
strength," he continued, "so let nothing prevent you from sending them help." 23

Needless to say, these ventures were financed for some years with grants from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Paris. 24 Eventually these grants dried up as greater demands were made elsewhere upon the limited funds. Eventually too the supplies of recruits, especially of religious Sisters, became severely overtaxed as Bishops from Australia and elsewhere sought them so that by 1874 Matthew Quinn was seriously considering establishing a novitiate of the Sisters of Mercy in Dublin to supply his own diocese. 25

First Foundations
Meantime, back in Bathurst, Quinn was working to establish the Sisters firmly in his diocese. Very soon after his arrival he had vacated his own house in Bathurst and installed the Nuns there, and entrusted to them the care of the Certified Denominational Girls School, St. Mary's High School for girls and the Orphanage. 26 Soon however some arrangements had to be made...

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23. ibid.
24. ibid.
26. vide supra, p.72.
made for the more permanent and adequate accommodation of the Sisters. A "monster" meeting was therefore held in the schoolrooms on February 9, 1868. The correspondent to the Freeman's Journal declared that "the schoolrooms could accommodate one thousand and all could not get in" so it must indeed have been a "monster meeting". This meeting and the ceremonies associated with the erection of the convent were used by Quinn as a rallying point for his flock in the struggle for Catholic education. It was resolved and carried at the meeting "that there exists an absolute necessity for the erection of a convent, an abode for the Sisters of Mercy, and of scholastic buildings to enable them to properly carry out the objects of their vocation." 

In his speech on that occasion Quinn spoke of the numerous applications from the country that had to be refused because of insufficient accommodation. Yet he could point to some achievement. "The Female Denominational school (was) now able to compete with

27. Meagher, op. cit., p.28.
28. ibid.
29. ibid.
30. ibid.
any in the colony, a High School (had) been established in which the wealthier, for a moderate sum could receive an education, and seventeen to twenty orphans (had) already been rescued from near starvation and (had) found a humble and happy home." 31 He repudiated the assertion that Catholics were at variance with their clergy over the Public Schools Bill.

"The man who is not satisfied with merely asserting his attachment to the cause he upholds, but who, to forward its interest, and prove his attachment to the cause, expends a liberal share of his hard earned savings, can no longer be accused of insincerity. ... I hope that when Mr. Parkes fully perceives that the Catholics are badly treated, in being deprived of their just and legitimate rights, he will in a statesmanlike manner, amend the Act." 32

The Foundation stone of the new convent was laid the following Sunday, February 16, 1868 by the Bishop of Maitland, Dr. Murray and Bishop Lanigan of Goulburn was also present. 33 The Catholics of the district certainly responded to the challenge issued by their Bishop the previous week and more than £3000 was laid on the foundation stone. 34 Rev. Dr. Forrest, Rector

32. ibid.
33. Meagher, op. cit., p.34.
34. F.J., 29/2/1868, p.6.
of St. John's College delivered an address for an hour and a quarter on Catholic education. The architect was a Mr. Gell who was also responsible for St. Stanislaus' College and other ecclesiastical buildings in Bathurst diocese. When the seventeen Sisters moved into residence on July 10, 1869, already the effect of Quinn's recruiting was evident — three of the Sisters were Australians. No sooner was the building completed than the Freeman's Journal carried an advertisement announcing that Saint Mary's Convent, Bathurst, was now occupied by the Sisters of Mercy and hence they were now able to take a large number of boarders.

From this Convent, the Sisters made other foundations throughout the diocese — Carcoar 1875, Mudgee 1875, Orange 1878, Dubbo 1880, Forbes 1881, Wellington 1883, Cobar 1884 and Bourke 1890. In the whole Bathurst diocese in 1866 there had been only five Catholic schools — Bathurst, Mudgee, Wellington, Orange, and Sofala — with a total enrolment of 338. By 1877 the Sisters of Mercy were conducting three

35. ibid.
36. cf. F.J., 31/1/1874.
38. F.J., 17/7/1869, p.2.
High Schools and five primary schools with an enrolment of 713, and the Sisters of St. Joseph were also conducting eight schools with an enrolment of 377.

Under the impact of Quinn's determined policy to entrust Catholic schools to religious teachers, the number of nuns in his diocese steadily grew. When by 1878 he was referring to the Sisters as "the official educational body" of the diocese there were ninety nuns (including Sisters of Saint Joseph) at work in the diocese.

The Sisters of Saint Joseph

It is in his efforts to introduce the Sisters of Saint Joseph into his diocese that his firm and determined policy in this matter can be best studied, as also some of the difficulties which he encountered.

This Congregation of nuns was founded at Penola in South Australia in 1866 by Rev. J.E. Tenison Woods and Mother Mary of the Cross (McKillop) for educational and

40. These Schools and their enrolments were - High Schools: Bathurst (75), Carcoar (30, Mudgee (20), - Primary Schools - Bathurst (308), Orphanage (50), Mudgee (160), Carcoar (70).

41. Meagher, op. cit., p.43.

42. B.C.A., Byrne to Council of Education, 30/6/1878.

charitable works, and especially for the religious instruction of poor children.\textsuperscript{44} By the time the first band set out for the Bathurst diocese in July 1872, their work had been expanded in South Australia. They had their difficulties however, and strangely enough, Matthew Quinn (though so dedicated to the good of religion and the cause of Catholic education) was one of the principal sources of difficulty. This was painful to both Mother Mary and the Bishop. Each was naturally inclined to peace and charity.\textsuperscript{45}

In September, 1871, Matthew Quinn appealed to Bishop Sheil "to send him a party of those Josephite nuns whom he had highly commenced to his brother of Brisbane and himself."\textsuperscript{46} Quinn had been in Adelaide in July\textsuperscript{47} and had therefore seen at first hand the sisters about whom he had heard so much during the Melbourne Provincial Council in 1869. His appeal could hardly have come at a more unsuitable time, since that very month Bishop Sheil had solemnly excommunicated Mother Mary, the superior, "for disobedience and rebellion".\textsuperscript{48} Under the circumstances the reply he

\textsuperscript{44.} C.Y.B. 1966, p.429.  
\textsuperscript{45.} cf. O'Neill, op. cit., p.124.  
\textsuperscript{46.} O'Neill, op. cit., p.208.  
\textsuperscript{47.} F.J., 15/7/1871.  
\textsuperscript{48.} O'Neill, loc. cit.
received could have been expected. By letter and telegram, Sheil informed him that he could not give him any sisters. In his letter, Sheil explained,

"I ordered an examination to be held... the result was that many (Sisters) were thoroughly incompetent to teach. So then I proposed to make them Lay-Sisters. This they would not accept.... Many of the Sisters challenge my power to alter or modify their rule, which derived all its force solely from my approbation... Their Superior-General I have expelled from the Institute and excommunicated because she excited the Sisters to rebel against my authority."50

Both the request of Quinn and the reply of Sheil are interesting because of the attitude they display on the part of each to the problem of the government of this Institute which was to be of such significance in years to come.

The Administration of Religious Congregations

Perhaps it is appropriate to expand a little on this point. Religious orders have arisen from time to time in the life of the Church. They all propose as their primary end the sanctification of their members through the observance of the vows of religious life,

50. ibid.
and generally too propose some secondary end such as the care of the sick or the education of the poor.\footnote{cf. Constitution of Marist Brothers.}

In general they can be divided into two types - Pontifical and Diocesan - according to the source and nature of their approbation within the mission of the church. A Diocesan congregation is one which has been approved for a particular diocese and whose Superiors (and therefore subjects) are dependent on and subject to the Bishop of the Diocese in a manner defined in the terms of approbation, or whose administration is so organised that the Bishop in whatever diocese the Congregation is established is the first superior of the Congregation. A Pontifical congregation is one which has its approbation from the Congregation of Religious in Rome. The bishop of the diocese cannot change the constitutions, nor take away or lessen the authority they confer on Superiors as to appointments of members, visitation of houses, general chapters, and other things of this kind. Pontifical congregations may therefore be said to have central government under a superior general. Diocesan congregations have diocesan-government with the Bishop as superior.

Matthew Quinn, then, in requesting Bishop Sheil
for a community of Josephite Sisters was acknowledging him as rightful superior. Sheil in refusing his request was acting as superior. 52

Just prior to this exchange of letters, Quinn and Father Woods had been on visitation throughout the Bathurst diocese at Dubbo, Wellington, Orange and other centres. 53 Quinn had been impressed with Woods' learning. In presenting him to an audience in Bathurst, he had declared him "a scholar of more than ordinary geographical acquirements and a writer on Australian subjects." 54 He had also been impressed by his ability to win souls back to God. "Whenever Father Woods appear(s) almost everyone (is) sure to avail themselves of the opportunity of making their peace with God." 55 Woods in his turn had been impressed by the countryside and its suitability for the Sisters of Saint Joseph. 56

Accordingly he also sent off a telegram to Mother Mary, urging her to arrange to send Sisters to Bathurst. 57

54. ibid.
57. O'Neill, op. cit., p.95.
No doubt, in the troubled times in Adelaide, the distant diocese of Bathurst appeared to both Mother Mary and Father Woods as a heaven-sent haven. By January, 1872, Mother Mary was able to inform Father Woods that three Sisters were about to set out for Bathurst. In fact they did not leave until July, because of difficulty in finding money for their passage. By this time the Apostolic Commission had taken evidence in Adelaide. It is interesting to speculate that perhaps Bishop Quinn helped to solve this difficulty of finance for the journey to Bathurst. Leaving as they did however after the Commission, there can be no doubt that they did so with his full consent and approval. He solemnly blessed their convent and welcomed them to his diocese on November 20, 1872.

Quinn Objects to Some of the Rules of the Sisters of Saint Joseph

But already a storm was brewing. Quinn, appreciative of the order's troubles, was willing to "welcome

58. *ibid.* p.115.
59. *ibid.*
60. *vide supra,* p.112.
all the Sisters to his diocese. He was also anxious that they set up a Novitiate in his diocese, but stipulated the condition that the Sisters be not forbidden to teach music, as the rule required. This was to be a major stumbling block. This rule was considered essential to the foundress, Mother Mary, if the Congregation was to retain its identity and dedication to the poor and scattered children of the bush and not be swamped with appeals to found city schools. In 1873, in an effort to settle the difficulties that had arisen between herself and Bishop Sheil and to provide appropriate guidelines for any similar future contingencies, Mother Mary had been prevailed upon to set out for Rome to obtain approval for her Congregation and its rule.

Meantime Bishop Quinn had been discussing his ideas for the congregation with Father Woods in December, 1872. In March, 1873, he wrote to Mother Mary en route for Rome, candidly telling her of his "very decided opposition" to some points of the rule and of his intention to oppose them with the

62. Woods to Mary 20/10/1871, quoted Thorpe, op. cit., p.121.
64. O'Neill, op. cit., p.152.
Roman authorities. He objected to the vagueness and generality of the rules and to the prohibition of the teaching of instrumental music. His principal objection however was to central government.

"I believe there should be no general superior, but, like the Sisters of Mercy, the bishop of each diocese where they may be established should be superior. There is no need of many reasons on these points. My mind is finally made up on them." 67

In spite of the difficulties, the work of the Sisters was crowned with success. The Bishop and his Vicar General, Father McAuliffe, were extremely kind and attentive to their needs. 68 New foundations were made - Wattle Creek, 1873, Trunkey Creek, 1874, German's Hill, 1874, Borenore, 1874. 69 Interestingly, some needlework from Wattle Flat was taken by Mother Mary to Rome to convince Rome that good work was being done in the bush schools. 70 Interestingly too, Mother Mary set out for Rome, armed with a letter of

66. Quinn to Mother Mary, March, 1873, quoted ibid., loc. cit.
67. ibid.
68. ibid., p. 264.
70. ibid.
recommendation from Matthew Quinn. In reply to her letter informing him of her intended journey to Rome, he sent her his best wishes for her undertaking and assured her that his interest at Rome was at her disposal. He expressed his highest satisfaction with the Sisters who were in his diocese and the quality of the work they were doing. Nevertheless he reiterated his opposition to her Rule on various grounds, principally on that of central government. Mother Mary was truly appreciative of Quinn's friendly services and in May, 1873, she wrote to her Sisters from Rome of "Dear, kind Dr. Matthew Quinn, to whom we owe far more than I can tell, so ever pray for him as one of the truest benefactors of the Institute." When Mother Mary arrived in Rome, the Rule drawn up by Father Woods in 1868 was found, as Matthew Quinn had said, to be too vague. Accordingly, a new version of the Rule was drawn up by Father Bianchi O.P., a consultor of the Congregation of Propaganda, and presented for approval. It retained however the idea of central Government. In July, Mother Mary had written to Bishop Quinn to prepare him for the Roman

72. ibid.
73. O'Neill, op. cit., p.296.
decision which she believed to be imminent, and which
she knew would be contrary to his desires.74 His
reply of 5th September is interesting because it shows
his utter conviction of the correctness of his own
view and the motive for his perseverance - the cause of
Catholic education in his diocese. He was certainly
not just being stubborn:

"I entirely agree with you that the matter
regarding the two rules of your Institute
to which I take exception being now in
the hands of the proper authorities, we
should only pray that the Holy Spirit
may guide those authorities to carry out
His holy will. At the same time, as I
feel that I am bound as a Bishop to do
the best I can for the education of the
little ones of my flock, as I feel that
the Sisters of Saint Joseph would not be
at all so efficient for this purpose,
unless the two rules of which I spoke to
you before, were changed according to my
views, I feel it is my duty to make
strong representations to Mgr. Kirby to
prevail on the legitimate authorities
to carry out these views. I have very
strong convictions on this matter, and
most of the bishops to whom I have
spoken are of my opinion. I think if I
were near I would be able to convince you
that I am right."75

Shortly after this Quinn proceeded to Adelaide to
assist in the Consecration of the new Bishop of

75. ibid.
Adelaide, Dr. C.A. Reynolds. No doubt, he was interested here to discover the attitude of the new Bishop to the Sisters of Saint Joseph. Dr. Reynolds was not sympathetic to his views but apparently Rome had listened to them. When finally Mother Mary received the proposed Constitutions from Rome on 21st April, 1874, she was instructed to "submit them to (the) diocesan bishop together with the letter (of commendation)...in order that with his consent, they (might) be put into practice. Should they stand the test of some years' trial," the letter continued,"they should be returned to this Sacred Congregation for approval, together with the proposal of those modifications which might seem advisable according to the end of the Institute and (the) particular position in Australia."79

Clearly then, the way was open for Quinn if he did not like the constitution, to refuse to approve the Congregation for his diocese. This he proposed to do but there was one difficulty. He had departed

77. ibid.
78. Thorpe, op. cit., p.164.
79. ibid.
80. ibid, p.171.
from Australia in June 1874 for a visit to Rome and Ireland. Mother Mary, now ready to return to Australia, would be home before him. He had recently been in Rome and knew that Rome had left the matter unsettled so that each Bishop could act for what he thought best in his own diocese. He was willing to come to terms concerning the withdrawal of the Sisters to Adelaide. He had quite clearly made up his mind to constitute the Sisters as a diocesan Institute, but he needed time to effect his plan. In particular, he felt he could convince the Sisters now in Bathurst to remain with him and form the nucleus of his own Institute, but only if Mother Mary, knowing his intention, did not exercise her right of removing them before he returned to his diocese. Accordingly he arranged to meet Mother Mary at the Mother House of the Sisters of Mercy in Baggot Street, Dublin, on October 10th. The time and the place were his own choosing and gave him a certain advantage, in that the Sisters of Mercy were a diocesan Institute and the efficiency of their apostolate, and the uniformity of their constitutions and customs afforded proof that

81. ibid.
there was no need for central control. At this meeting, Mother Mary agreed to leave the Sisters in Bathurst until the Bishop's return. He promised that they could have full liberty in choosing to return to Adelaide or to stay in Bathurst.  

A New Congregation is Founded

When Quinn returned to his diocese towards the close of 1875 he brought with him a number of postulants for the Sisters of Saint Joseph. He therefore had to come to a decision concerning the status of the Sisters in his diocese as there were ceremonies of reception of the habit and religious profession to be held, and these could only be held in terms of one or other constitution. He held a visitation at the Vale Convent on Christmas Eve, 1875, during which he invited the Sisters to choose for the new rule (as he called Mother Mary's) or the old. Nearly all the professed Sisters opted for Mother Mary's Roman Rule. Six novices, and all the new

82. ibid.
83. O'Neill, loc. cit.
postulants favoured the Bishop. One Sister Hyacinth, though she favoured Mother Mary's rule, was placed in charge at the Vale, where the seventeen new Postulants remained. Mother Mary's supporters were sent by the Bishop to country convents. Quinn wrote to Mother Mary in January:

"Until Sister Teresa gets better, I have put Sister Hyacinth in charge of a number of postulants I sent out and brought with me. When she does recover, you will, I am sure, allow her to remain...to train my sisters. I presume you will leave Sister Joseph in charge of those who have chosen for the new Rule. I will give them the convent at Wattle Flat for their headquarters and they can carry on their schools as usual under Sister Joseph, until we get the answer from the Holy See."

If Mother Mary had been inclined to accept this state of affairs for the good of religion, the Sisters who formed her council were not. They were grateful to the Bishop of Bathurst for his kindness. He had certainly been a "friend in need." But compromise on this issue was impossible. Accordingly

84. ibid.
85. ibid.
86. Quinn to Mother Mary, 5/1/1876, quoted by O'Neill, op. cit., p.205.
on 8th February, 1876, Mother Mary wrote to the Bishop informing him regretfully that she would have to withdraw her Sisters from his diocese.\textsuperscript{89} The Bishop was left to manage as best he could. He gave the religious habit to seven postulants in April, 1876, and the schools were closed till July.

In June, 1876, a rescript had come from Rome approving Mother Mary’s actions, in withdrawing the Sisters who wished to remain attached to the Adelaide Mother House and also acknowledging that "Dr. Matthew Quinn is already provided with other Religious for the instruction of Youth".\textsuperscript{90} Thus the links between Mother Mary’s Congregation and the diocese of Bathurst were officially broken.\textsuperscript{91} Quinn then gave the habit to the rest of the postulants and these raw and inexperienced Sisters were sent to start work in the lonely little bush stations.\textsuperscript{92} Quinn devoted as much time and effort to the training of these sisters as he could and appointed a pious and devoted confessor, Father Pierce Corcoran, to assist them.\textsuperscript{93}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{89} O’Neill, \textit{loc. cit.}
\item \textsuperscript{90} O’Neill, \textit{op. cit.}, p.233.
\item \textsuperscript{91} \textit{ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{92} O’Neill, \textit{op. cit.}, p.268.
\item \textsuperscript{93} \textit{ibid}, p.302.
\end{enumerate}
In this respect, as in most others, Quinn held quite decided and practical views. He considered Woods reckless in taking unfit candidates, and misguided in trying to elevate them to emotional and mystical spirituality for which they were unsuited and which led to folly and disobedience. His own ideal for his teaching nuns was above all that of a sound mind in a sound body, together with practical training for their work.94 Thus the institute survived, and soon began to flourish again. At the close of 1877, the Sisters were conducting eight primary schools with a total enrolment of 377.95 The Sisters were devoting themselves "exclusively to the education of poor children scattered through the bush", and their labours in the diocese were "specially blessed."96 The progress of these Sisters became Quinn's special cause. Where previously he had recommended the Orphanage, St. Stanislaus' or Saint Charles' Seminary to the charity of his flock for Lent, in 1880 it was an appeal for the Novitiate of the Sisters of St. Joseph at the Vale.97 "This excellent

94. ibid, p.312.
95. See Appendix II.
96. ibid.
97. Quinn, Lenten Pastoral, 1880.
Sisterhood...has been raised up by a merciful Providence to secure the faith of the little ones of Christ, scattered through the Australian bush."98 And it did just that. During the long dispute Quinn's brother Bishops, Lanigan and Murray, had held aloof. After the situation settled, each applied to Quinn for a community of Sisters for his own diocese,99 and thus the Congregation spread to Goulburn in 1882 and Lochinvar in 1883.100

Quinn's Attitude in the Dispute

This dispute between Quinn and the Sisters over the problem of central government as opposed to diocesan government has been developed at some length. On the surface it may seem to have been an unnecessary dispute. To Quinn, in his policy of providing Catholic education, it was vital and this is why he was quite unwilling to yield even when he fully appreciated Mother Mary's point of view and she his.1

He was measured, courteous and dignified in opposition.

98. ibid.
yet above all firm.\textsuperscript{2} It obliged him to close a number of his schools in 1876\textsuperscript{3} and even though out of the dispute there developed a new congregation of Sisters,\textsuperscript{4} it cost him the services of another which would have been very useful to him.\textsuperscript{5} It frustrated his rather protracted negotiations with the Marist Brothers to provide for the Catholic education of boys in his diocese\textsuperscript{6} and also his efforts to gain the services of the Jesuits\textsuperscript{7}. Finally it was the overriding influence in his choice of the Patrician Brothers for his diocese just shortly before his death\textsuperscript{8} and ultimately the very reason for the withdrawal of these same Brothers from the Maitland diocese whither they had also gone.\textsuperscript{9}

Why did he then take this stand? In the first place he seems to have shuddered before the thought of possible "outside" influence in disposing of religious in his diocese. He did not want Adelaide to be

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{2} \textit{ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{3} \textit{vide supra}, p.173.
\item \textsuperscript{4} O'Neill, \textit{op. cit.}, p.233.
\item \textsuperscript{5} \textit{ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{6} \textit{vide infra}, p.185.
\item \textsuperscript{7} B.C.A., Quinn to Dalton, S.J., \textit{loc. cit.}
\item \textsuperscript{8} G.C.A., Quinn to Murray, 4/1/1884.
\item \textsuperscript{9} Letter, Rev. Brother Rodan, Provincial\textsuperscript{3} of Patrician Brothers to Author, 10/6/1867.
\end{itemize}
dictating policies for his diocese. An especial concern here was that he suspected the influence of the Jesuits over the Sisters of Saint Joseph.\textsuperscript{10} Secondly, and perhaps even more importantly, he was most anxious in these critical times that any Religious recruited in and for his diocese should be employed in it.\textsuperscript{11} He feared the possibility of capable religious being transferred from his diocese, and himself powerless to stop it, though his critics questioned whether he would have been so anxious if the position were reversed and capable and competent religious were added to his diocese.\textsuperscript{12} He felt sufficiently strongly on this issue to have it mentioned specifically in contracts which he proposed with both the Jesuits and the Marist Brothers.\textsuperscript{13}

Such determination paid dividends. Although in his report on "Catholic education in the Diocese of Bathurst" in December 1877, the Rev. J.P. Byrne declared

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{10} O'Neill, op. cit., p.269. The Jesuit Fathers at Norwood S.A. befriended and assisted Mother Mary in Adelaide, especially during the trying time of her excommunication.
  \item \textsuperscript{11} cf. M.B.A., Annales, p.186.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} O'Neill, op. cit., p.237.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} B.C.A., Quinn to Fr. Dalton S.J., 26/3/1879; M.B.A., Brother John to Superior General 10/2/1876.
\end{itemize}
Saint Stanislaus' College in Quinn's Time

(i) Building under construction 1872.

(ii) The College Entrance Hall.

(iii) One of the College Classrooms.

(iv) The Dormitory.
"what has been done (is) not to be compared with the work done in the more populous dioceses," the facts give the lie to this and Bathurst was indeed one of the best equipped.

The Marist Brothers

While discussions were in progress with the Sisters of Saint Joseph, Matthew Quinn was also negotiating to introduce a religious Brotherhood into his diocese to provide for the education of boys. His first choice was the Marist Brothers.

The Institute of the Marist Brothers was a congregation which had been founded in the South of France near Lyons in 1817 by Father Marcellin Champagnat. Their work quickly spread throughout France and Belgium and by the middle of the century the new Institute had made foundations in the British Isles. Father John McEncroe, pastor of Saint Patrick's, Church Hill, Sydney had been in Europe in

14. B.R., 1/1/1878, p.122; vide infra, p.318; vide Appendix IV.
15. See Appendix IV.
search of a Rector for St. John's College, University of Sydney.\textsuperscript{17} The work of the Brothers impressed him and on his recommendation and that of the Marist Fathers, an invitation was extended to the Marist Brothers to establish themselves in Sydney and to conduct a model school to train Catholic teachers.\textsuperscript{18} The invitation came from the Catholic Association for the promotion of Religion and Education and the Order's credentials and the qualifications of the members to be selected for Sydney were explained in a letter of Rev. Eugene Luckie, Secretary of the Association. This letter was published in the Sydney Morning Herald in February, 1872.\textsuperscript{19}

The Brothers opened their first Australian school, Saint Patrick's, in Harrington Street, Church Hill, Sydney on 8th April, 1872.\textsuperscript{20} Interested visitors on that day included Archbishop Polding, Archpriest Sheehy, Father Tenison Woods and other clergy.\textsuperscript{21} The next day Bishop Quinn visited the school. He noticed that the children were unruly — indeed he could hardly have failed to —

\begin{itemize}
\item 17. Corrigan, \textit{op. cit.}, p.83.
\item 18. \textit{ibid.}
\item 19. \textit{ibid}, p.85.
\item 20. M.B.A. — Journal.
\item 21. \textit{ibid.}
\end{itemize}
"Pens, ink and paper were distributed but instead of the intended use being made of them, the pens were broken, the ink spilt, and the paper covered with blots and caricatures" wrote Brother Ludovic, the Principal, in his diary.22

Expressing sentiments of compassion for the Brothers, Quinn declared that it would be a miracle, if they succeeded in obtaining discipline.23 Apparently with a view to being on hand if and when the "miracle" occurred, and also (as later became evident) to observe the competence of the Brothers, whom he was wanting to obtain for his own diocese, Quinn paid frequent visits to the school during the initial stages. By May 15th, the occasion of his fourth visit to the school, he was happy to observe that "devils had been changed into angels, or wolves into lambs,"24 and he accordingly made official application for three Brothers to go to Bathurst.25

The Superior of the Brothers, Brother Ludovic, subsequently visited Bathurst with Father Monnier, a Marist Father from Saint Patrick's, whom Quinn engaged to conduct Missions in his diocese.26 The Bishop showed them the house he intended for the Brothers and

24. ibid 25. ibid.
26. ibid, p.56.
the school buildings, and these appeared quite satisfactory to Brother Ludovic. But the Bishop's plans did not end there. He wanted also two Brothers for a boys' orphanage which he proposed to found. He also offered St. Stanislaus' College, then in course of construction to the Brothers as a Boarding College and Novitiate, promising the Brothers the sum of 250 francs (French) for every novice received, an annual grant of 2500 francs for the support of the Novitiate, and "several other very advantageous conditions."29

The request was referred by Brother Ludovic to the Superiors of the Marist Brothers in France, and in spite of Quinn's persistent appeals, there the matter rested for a time. In 1872 however, Bishop Murray of Maitland was in Europe. He was charged by Quinn to get Brothers for the diocese of Bathurst. He visited the Marist Brothers' Training Centre at Beaucamps (France) in January, 1873, where he applied for Brothers for Bathurst and Maitland.31 At Beaucamps Murray found

27. ibid
28. vide supra, p.125
31. M.B.A., ibid, p.69. Beaucamps was the centre at which Brothers for the British Isles were trained.
only four English postulants and one Brother available, so he departed "with promises but no Brothers." As a result of his visit however, Brother Theophane, the Superior General instructed Brother Ludovic to negotiate definitively with Bishop Quinn and draw up a contract for the Bathurst opening. He even suggested which Brothers he thought would be most suitable to make the opening.

The Bishop apparently agreed to some form of contract in Sydney in February, 1874. However, he was rather anxious that the Brothers be certified as teachers under the Council of Education. The Director of the Brothers was also anxious for this, as too was Archbishop Vaughan and six Brothers were preparing to sit for the examination. At the same time, it appears, the lay teacher in Bathurst was working hard not to lose his place, and he succeeded in gaining the protection of the priests of the parish. This gave rise to further misunderstanding between the Bishop and the

32. ibid.
33. ibid, p.101.
34. ibid, p.104.
35. ibid. It is interesting to note that the Brothers experienced similar opposition to their opening in Sydney at Church Hill, because a loss of pupils from the existing Catholic School at Millers Point would mean a loss in Government assistance to the teachers there.
Brothers, and as Bishop Quinn was preparing to go to Europe (he left in June 1874), Brother Ludovic who had visited Bathurst in June, 1874, in an effort to bring some finality to the negotiations suggested that he complete negotiations with the Superiors in France himself. Hence the Brothers' departure for Bathurst was further delayed. The negotiations over the certification and examination of the Brothers caused some public controversy, and will be dealt with in the next chapter. Meantime Quinn himself was in Europe pressing his claims for Brothers for his diocese, and local negotiations ceased.

Quinn visited the Mother House of the Marist Brothers at Lyons, and was apparently promised that he would have some Brothers within six months, that is Christmas, 1875. On his return to the colony in October, 1875, he renewed negotiations with the local superior, now Brother John. On a visit to Saint Patrick's in November, he expressed indignation at the way he had been treated by the superiors in France. Apparently, the principal cause of complaint was that

36. M.B.A., Brother Augustine's Diary, June 8, 1874.
he had been asked to pay more for the Brothers than had been requested of the Sydney diocesan authorities. The difference was that the Sydney foundation had been financed principally from the estate of the late Archdeacon J. McEncroe. Quinn seems to have appreciated this point and so agreed to pay more than the £50 per Brother which was requested, but he then introduced a further complication by making the increase on condition that "he was promised that the novices who came from his diocese would remain in his diocese, or at least, that as many Brothers would be sent to his diocese as there came novices from it."39 This was beyond the jurisdiction of the local superior to promise and hence he referred it to the Superiors in France by letter on 27th November, 1875.40 Subsequently a contract between Quinn and the Marist Brothers was drawn up in Sydney (and subsequently too it was altered by Quinn in Bathurst)41. Since the Sydney contract had been a compromise, the result of several hours of discussion, Brother John wrote to Quinn informing him "I regret that I cannot

40. ibid, p.187.
41. See Appendix III.
see my way clear to recommend your Lordship's proposal to the acceptance of my superiors." 42 Further correspondence on this issue seemed to be achieving nothing, so Brother John did not answer the Bishop's later letter. 43 However, on instruction from the Superiors, Brother John did write "a pretty conciliatory letter" 44 to Bishop Quinn and invited him to write to Brother Theophane, the Superior General, himself. 45

Thus the negotiations dragged on. Twelve months later Brother John complained to the superiors that he still had "no word about Bathurst". 46 He went on:

"It is simply thought that I am not sincere and that I wish to gain time, or do not wish to communicate any reply. At Bathurst they regard me as the cause of all the delay." 47

Finally, Bishop Quinn broke off negotiations in August, 1877 48 and began to look elsewhere for Brothers for his schools. Even then, he surprised the Brothers at Saint Patrick's in February of the following year, when he again appeared asking for Brothers. 49

42. M.B.A., Brother John to Quinn, 18/2/1876.
43. M.B.A., John to Superior General, 10/2/1876.
45. ibid.
47. ibid.
Protracted Negotiations to Secure Brothers Fail

In five years of negotiations, he failed to obtain the services of a religious Brotherhood to staff his boys schools. This was a project very dear to the Bishop's heart. In fact it was with him a matter of determined policy. The Brothers themselves were keen to open in Bathurst. Why then were the negotiations unsuccessful?

It is difficult to determine the exact cause of the breakdown. In Bathurst they blamed the Brothers whilst the Brothers were inclined to blame the Bishop. Perhaps it was neither.

In a letter to the Superior General, Brother John wrote -

"I think it would have been easy for us to come to an agreement with Bishop Quinn if it was not for some priests of his entourage who stirred up difficulties whilst claiming to be our friends. They have acted like-wise (or worse) in regard to the Sisters of Saint Joseph who are or were pretty numerous in the diocese of Bathurst."

51. vide supra, p.185.
52. M.B.A., John to Superior General, 9/7/1877.
53. M.B.A., John to Superior General, 10/2/1876.
The opposition of the clergy seems to have stemmed from their ultra-Irish nationalism and the fact that the Marist Brothers were of French origin (though the original Brothers to come to the colony were a Scot, two Irishmen, and the only Frenchman, the Superior, had considerable teaching experience in the British Isles). Quinn himself was very pro-Irish too, but he would not have let this interfere with the advancement of religion, and he really did want the service of the Brothers in his diocese.

The opposition of the local teacher at the Catholic school, who seemed to have the support of the priests, has already been mentioned. He had been warned of his impending dismissal. To this can be added the opposition of the laity who were loath to forego the Government subsidy they were receiving for their schools. The laity of Bathurst were in general enthusiastic in their

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55. B.C.A., Quinn to Kirby 29/10/1881.
56. vide supra p.182.
support of any of the Bishop's undertakings so this need not have been a major factor. The request of the Bishop that the Brothers submit to an examination by the Council of Education, and the delays occasioned by these requests did however protract the negotiations with the Brothers to open in Bathurst. In all this, the failure of the major superiors of the Brothers in France to communicate any decision on the projected opening in 1876 and 1877 is the most frustrating factor. Even Brother John complained of this in his letters. Apparently they had given the Bishop a firm promise of Brothers by Christmas, 1875.

Although there is no direct evidence, it seems not unlikely that the superiors delayed whilst awaiting the outcome of negotiations then underway in Rome between Bishop Quinn and the Sisters of Saint Joseph. Certainly they had been informed of them by Brother John, and the account they received

59. vide infra, chapter 9.
60. vide infra, chapter 7.
62. ibid. The Bishop even expected Brothers Sulpice and Philip whom he met at St. Genis, the Mother House of the Brothers in France, and whose names he remembered. John to Superior General, 19/2/1876.
63. vide supra.
64. M.B.A., John to Superior General, 10/2/1876.
(Brother John had learned it from the Marist Fathers) was not very favourable to the Bishop.\textsuperscript{65} Further evidence to support this claim is found in a later letter of Brother John to the Superior General. Informing him of requests for communities of Brothers from Bishop Reynolds of Adelaide and Bishop Griever of Perth, he speaks of the former as "he who constituted himself the Protector of the Sisters of Saint Joseph when the Bishops of Bathurst and Brisbane opposed the administration of a Superior General."\textsuperscript{66} Then again the two very issues which were the subject of the dispute in Rome - central administration by a Superior General, and the transfer of recruits from the diocese - were the contentious issues in the proposed memorandum drawn up between Bishop Quinn and the Brothers.\textsuperscript{67} Again these issues loomed large in a proposal Quinn made to Very Rev. Father Dalton S.J. when subsequently he invited the Jesuits to take charge of St. Stanislaus' College and St. Charles' Ecclesiastical Seminary.\textsuperscript{68} Likewise the fact that they were Congregations of Diocesan rite was one of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{65} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{66} M.B.A., John to Superior General, 16/2/1878.
\item \textsuperscript{67} See Appendix III.
\item \textsuperscript{68} B.C.A., loc. cit.
\end{itemize}
the very appealing features of the Patrician Brothers whom Quinn finally received into his diocese. 69

It seems then not unreasonable to suggest that this dispute between Quinn and the Sisters of Saint Joseph's was a major contributing reason for his initial lack of success in trying to obtain the services of a Religious Brotherhood for his diocese.

The Brothers of Saint Patrick

But if he had failed to gain the services of the Marist Brothers, Quinn had not renounced his avowed policy of providing Brothers for the boys' schools of his diocese. He appealed to the De La Salle Brothers in France 70 and when this appeal was unsuccessful tried the Patrician Brothers in Ireland.

The Brothers of Saint Patrick (known as the Patrician Brothers) had been founded on 2nd February, 1808, at Tullow, County Carlow, by Dr. Daniel Delaney, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. 71 In 1810, four Brothers went to Mountrath where in 1827, encouraged by the Bishop, Dr. Doyle, they opened a Boarding College.

69. G.C.A., McAlroy to Lanigan, 19/11/1873.
70. Fogarty, op. cit., p.262.
In 1838, two brothers went to Rome to apply for Pontifical approval for the congregation, but even though they were accompanied by Dr. Cullen, a family friend of one of the Brothers, and a very influential ecclesiastic in Rome, the approval was not given, because they had forgotten to bring the necessary letter of commendation from the Bishop of their diocese. Temporary approval was obtained on January 6th, 1888.

In 1880 the bishops of Maitland, Bathurst, and Goulburn made an appeal to the Brothers of St. Patrick at Mountrath to staff schools in their dioceses. The Brothers at this time were a diocesan congregation, and this was a matter of rejoicing to all the Bishops in view of their previous difficulties on this problem of central versus diocesan administration. Bishop Lanigan had previously applied for Brothers to the Christian, Presentation, and Carmelite Brothers in Ireland and the Marists in Australia. Quinn had previously applied to the Marist and De La Salle Brothers. It cannot be claimed then that the Brothers

72. ibid, p.344.
73. ibid.
74. ibid.
75. G.C.A. Lanigan to Wagga Catholic School Committee, 21/1/1882.
were invited because they were a diocesan congregation. Rather it appears to have been a pleasing coincidence for the Bishops. Nevertheless, the Australian Bishops did exert considerable pressure to retain the diocesan status of the Congregation when in 1885 the Brothers appealed to Rome for approval for a new Constitution which placed them under a Superior General. Matthew Quinn seems to have been the only one of the traditional antagonists of the move to change his mind and approve it. He was in Rome in 1884 when negotiations were underway, and he joined in discussions of their new Rule with the Brothers in Rome. He was convinced that the Brothers did not mean "to put anything objectionable into their new rules", and so he tried to convince his brother Bishops, apparently without success.

77. G.C.A., Dean O'Keefe to Lanigan from Ireland 21/10/1885; Murray to Lanigan 12/1/1884; Brother A. Delaney (Mountrath) to Lanigan 28/10/1885; Murray to Lanigan 31/12/1885; J.P. Byrne to Lanigan 24/12/1885.
P. Dunne to Lanigan Wagga 14/8/1884; J. Byrne to Lanigan 10/9/1885; Murray to Lanigan 12/9/1885; Byrne to Lanigan 28/1/1886.

78. M.B.A., John to Superior General, 9/10/1884.
79. Quinn to Murray 4/1/1884.
80. Ibid.
81. G.C.A., Murray to Lanigan, 12/1/1884.
It is significant however that Bishop Quinn did yield on this point. He had already lost the services of the Sisters of Saint Joseph (and founded his own Congregation) and the Marist Brothers on this very issue. The reason for the change is not so apparent. Perhaps it was the influence of Dr. Moran, at the time Bishop of Ossory (Ireland) and soon to be named Archbishop of Sydney. He was known to support the move. Perhaps it was the realisation that his previous opposition on this point had not been to the advantage of the education of Catholic boys in his or other dioceses. Perhaps it was the evidence he now had that the Marist Brothers' Schools flourishing in Sydney had been no cause/embarrassment to the Archbishop because the Brothers were subject to a Superior General. Perhaps finally it was the realisation that in the desperate circumstances set up by the Public Instruction Act of 1880 the establishment of Catholic Boys Schools (which were not as advanced in his diocese as he would have wished) was of greater importance than petty bickering over their administration.

Quinn died in January, 1885, before the final discussions on the issue of the Brothers' constitutions.

82. Mac Suibhne, loc. cit.
were complete, but it is significant that before he
died he had yielded in his vigorous opposition and
so once again given the lead to his Brother Bishops
and helped advance the cause of Catholic education.83

In 1880 however, the problem was to find Religious
teachers for the boys schools before the Government
aid was withdrawn in two years time. Already
valuable time had been lost in fruitless negotiations.
The Brothers of Saint Patrick seemed to be the answer
to the Bishops' quest. "They give a solid education,"
wrote Dr. Moran to Bishop Murray, "and all persons
connected with Mountrath speak highly of them."84

The Bishops recruited candidates in Ireland and
sent them to Mountrath to train for their respective
dioceses. Lanigan, on his visit to Ireland in 1881,
placed eight candidates in training and hoped to be
able to entrust two or three schools in his diocese to

83. When Papal Approval was given to the Patrician
Brothers in 1888 and they were established under
a Superior General, Bishops Lanigan and Byrne
(Bathurst) followed the lead given by Quinn and
made no difficulties about the change. The Brothers
subsequently withdrew from Goulburn and Bathurst in
1898 and 1928 respectively over financial problems.
Bishop Murray of Maitland refused to accept the
Brothers under a Superior General and asked them to
withdraw from Maitland in 1888 – Patrician Brothers
Archives.

84. M.C.A., Moran to Murray, 30/8/1880.
their care. 85 Quinn entrusted the selection of candidates for his diocese and for Maitland to a priest who had returned from Australia. 86 On his visit to Mountrath he expressed himself very pleased with their progress, 87 and apparently the candidates had been well selected. 88

In April, 1883, the Brothers took charge of Saint John's Boys School, West Maitland, 89 and the following year in October a further thirteen Brothers arrived. 90 These Brothers took charge of the Boys Schools at Bathurst 91 and Goulburn. By 1885, they had also opened in Albury 92 and Bishop Lanigan was able to report:

"I have reason to be pleased with the success of the Brothers both here (Goulburn) and in Albury in the schools, and with the respect which, before the people, they have commanded." 93

Similar enthusiastic comments on their work came from Bathurst. 94

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86. M.B.A., John to Assistant General, 12/6/1883.
87. G.C.A., A. Delaney (Superior of Mountrath) to Lanigan, June 1883.
89. F.J., 14/4/1883, p.15.
90. M.B.A., John to Assistant General, 9/10/84.
93. ibid. 94. F.J., 22/11/1884, p.15.Welcome to Quinn on return (from Europe).
The Religious Established in Education

By 1885, then, Quinn's efforts to entrust Catholic schools to the care of Religious had been successful. The original band of seven Sisters of Mercy had increased to 87 and they were assisted in their work of education by 115 Sisters of Saint Joseph.95 Five Brothers of Saint Patrick were already at work in the diocese96 and more were expected. His policy in regard to the Religious had not been implemented without setbacks, but Quinn, with typical determination and vigour, had carried it out.

The long and protracted negotiations over the administration of the Religious within his diocese have been a subject of discussion amongst writers. Since most of the published works concern the Sisters of Saint Joseph,97 the tendency has been to treat Quinn's point of view unsympathetically. It has even been suggested that the present moves to amalgamate the various diocesan branches of the Sisters of Saint

95. C.Y.B., 1886.
96. ibid.
Joseph have vindicated Mother Mary's point of view. It could equally well be asserted on the other hand however, that the presence of Mother Mary's Sisters at Universities and in High Schools today has vindicated Quinn. One fruit of the dispute is that there are now two congregations of the Sisters of Saint Joseph instead of one.

Notwithstanding the disputes, Quinn had persevered in his policy of entrusting Catholic schools to the care of Religious. On the evidence, he could justly claim to have been successful.

Catholic Denominational School Bathurst, in which Bishop Quinn inaugurated Saint Mary's High School for Girls and Saint Stanislaus' High School for Boys, 1867.

Cottages in Upper George Street, Bathurst. First Residence of the Boarders of Saint Stanislaus' College.
CHAPTER VII

QUINN AND THE COUNCIL OF EDUCATION

Disadvantages for Denominational Schools

Between the passing of the Public Schools Act of 1866 and the Public Instruction Act of 1880, denominational schools, though provided for at Government level in theory were merely tolerated in fact. On the very day of his arrival in the colony, by the speeches of welcome addressed to him, Quinn became involved in the struggle for Catholic education.¹ That struggle continued throughout his episcopate and ended with his death in 1885. His initial efforts to frustrate the passage of the Public Schools Bill through the Parliament or at least to effect some alteration in those clauses objectionable to Catholics, were unsuccessful.² The Act became

¹ vide supra, p. 64.
² ibid, p. 83.
law on January 1, 1867. Thereafter he applied himself to the task of gaining as much for Catholic education as he could within the provisions of the Act.

The injustice which Catholics alleged was inherent in the Act was exposed and condemned by the Bishops at their provincial Council in Melbourne in 1869. It soon appeared to them that not only was the Act unjust, but its administration partial. Quinn was quick to lay charges of maladministration of the Act against those responsible, and so convincing was his case that even the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which could normally be relied upon to support the Council of Education, supported the Bishop and suggested the need for a Public Enquiry by a Select Committee of the Assembly into the workings of the Act:

"The Act does not make it easy to establish and maintain Denominational schools. We might say that while it patronises one class of school, it tolerates the other class. Only those whose love for the specialities of their Church is strong, will care to tax themselves continuously to maintain successful rivalry with the favourite State Policy."

5. See Appendix II.
6. S.M.H., 6/1/1870, p.4.
7. ibid.
Partial Administration of the Act

Parkes denied that there was any partiality in the administration of the Act. Rashly he appealed for evidence and so much was forthcoming that eventually he was obliged to accept the resignation of two members of the Council of Education and dissociate himself from the decision of the Council in its refusal to certify the Catholic Denominational School at Grenfell. This became something of a "cause celebre" and represented a minor victory to the supporters of denominational education and a stinging rebuff to the secularists. Unfortunately for the Catholics this was just one of many cases of opposition to denominational education which they encountered, and the temporary rebuff to the Council offered them little consolation.

An application for a Certificate for the Catholic Denominational School at Grenfell was lodged on May 22nd, 1871. This was refused by Wilkins, the

Secretary, on the report of Mr. Inspector McCredie who claimed that the school was not housed sufficiently as required in Article 10 of the Regulations. In his report he had said "it is desirable there should be only one school in Grenfell because the applicants for the certificate have not provided a school house expressly for the purpose." The building was a Church, but the Act did specify that a Church could be certified as a schoolhouse and in fact some forty actually were, the school at Tarago being a case in point.

Nevertheless, Wilkins had insisted that "a Denominational School when certified must be erected and devoted to school purposes expressly." The Freeman's Journal commented "either Mr. Wilkins is ignorant or dishonest and should be dismissed." He was not dismissed, though he was censured, but this was not until the pastor at Grenfell, with the

12. ibid.
14. ibid.
15. Fogarty, op. cit., p204.
permission of Bishop Lanigan, had prohibited Catholics from attending the Public School and had organised a public protest meeting and a petition to Parliament. Even after this, the Council still placed obstacles in the way of certification of Denominational Schools.

Similarly the Council in its administration seemed to favour Public Schools at the expense of the Denominational ones. At a Public School near Goulburn with an enrolment of only three pupils, the teacher's salary was increased from £60 p.a. to £72 p.a. while at the nearby Denominational School at Grabben Gullen with more than twenty-five pupils a salary of £48 p.a. was grudgingly given with the threat of reduction to £36 p.a. if attendances were not maintained.

Orange was the scene of an encounter between Bishop Quinn and the Council of Education. The Catholics built a schoolhouse there which was subsequently claimed and recovered by the Council. Nothing daunted, the Bishop promptly acquired more land, built again and established a Catholic school independent of

the Council, under the care of the Sisters of Saint Joseph. The local Public School Board apparently looked upon this as a challenge and in this they were supported by the Council of Education:

"Although no sufficient reason has been given for changing the site recently agreed upon (for the Orange Public School) yet as the Public School Board entertain such strong objections to it, the best plan under the circumstances is to accept the offer of Mr. W.S. Evans for two acres at £650." 

Previously Quinn had been refused a grant of ten acres for St. Stanislaus' College because the value of the grant would then be in excess of £100 and greater than that granted to the Anglican Church. Nevertheless at Orange, no expense was to be spared in outdoing Bishop Quinn. At its Meeting on 11th November 1878, the Council of Education resolved in spite of the Inspector's report to the contrary, "to adhere to its original intention to erect three new buildings at Orange." 

21. B.C.A., Quinn to Minister for Lands, 21/7/1870.
Freeman's Journal felt justified in commenting, probably with some truth,

"It is remarkable that wherever Bishop Quinn establishes an institution, certain parties invariably follow. He erects a college, others follow. He starts a paper, another is ushered to existence....It is not unfair to say that if these institutions were not erected under the leadership and by the counsel of the good and indefatigable Dr. Quinn, we should not have even heard of the other institutions and they'd be even further behind than they are!" 23

Orange was not the only place at which the Catholics were deprived by the Council of Education, of buildings which they had erected. At Arthurville, a Church erected by the Catholics was also used as a provisional school. In 1875 the Council tried to get "the land on which the provisional school stands." 24

Letters were written to the Under-Secretary for Lands 25 and to the Hon. F.B. Sutton, the Minister for Justice and Education, to use his influence to retain the property for the Catholics. 26 Still in 1878, Mr. Inspector Dwyer gave instructions that "Mass can no longer be offered in the little Catholic Church which

25. B.C.A., Byrne to Under Secretary for Lands, 27/6/1877.
has also been used as a Provisional School in Arthurville." Similarly the Council served notice on the Sisters of Saint Joseph to vacate the Public School premises at Germans Hill. This the Catholics opposed on the ground that they had been largely responsible for its erection. On this occasion though, they were somewhat more fortunate as the Government finally returned to the Pastor the sum which the Catholics had contributed and the Bishop erected new premises for the Sisters.

This was just one of many examples of the fact that the Council acted not only partially, but inconsistently. There were many others. In 1876 Vaughan proposed to use his share of the Church and School Lands Fund on a new roof for the boys school at St. Mary's Cathedral. The Council would not approve this expenditure of the whole grant on one school. Yet at its very next meeting, it approved Murray's proposal to spend all his grant to liquidate the debt on his boys school at West Maitland.

27. B.C.A., Byrne to Wilkins, 21/3/1878.
29. C.E. Minutes, 3/7/1876.
30. C.E. Minutes, 17/7/1876.
Quinn's proposal to spend all his grant on a weather-shed for the Bathurst Boys School, was also approved at the Meeting of 25th September.  

Likewise, the Council agreed to rent the Wesleyan School at Orange at £1 per week for use as a Public School, while only the previous year it had reluctantly agreed to raise the annual rent for the use of the Catholic Churches as schools in the Mangrove and Gosford areas from £5 to £10.  

Certainly it was difficult for Catholics to escape the conclusion that they were being partially treated.

**Denominational Teachers Grievances**

Yet another ground on which the Denominational schools were at a disadvantage was in the number and standard of teachers available to them. In Goulburn, Father Dunne claimed "the Council sent the best teachers to be had in Sydney to the Public School (there) with the object of closing up all Denominational Schools." There were seven paid teachers at

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31. *loc.cit.*  
32. C.E. Minutes, 4/11/1878.  
the Public School.35 Twelve months later, he claimed that the Council was still striking at the Catholic schools and sent Lanigan some newspaper clippings as evidence.36 The salaries of teachers in Denominational Schools were invariably lower37 and in some cases, the head teachers in larger schools were exploited and expected to pay their assistants from their own salaries.38 Not infrequently Inspectors neglected to visit teachers who were denied their salaries until inspected39 and not infrequently Quinn felt obliged to advance them a salary.40 Another grievance of the Denominational School teachers was that no residences were provided for them, nor were they given an equivalent allowance to cover this expense as were public school teachers.41 Since they were subjected to the same daily routine and examinations as the others, and were equally servants of the Council of Education, they decried this favouritism to one class of teacher.42

35. ibid.
38. S.M.H., 21/1/1870, p.2.
39. B.C.A., Quinn to Wilkins, 22/2/1869.
40. ibid.
41. F.J., 7/8/1869, p.3.
42. ibid.
Council's answer was swift and unconscionable. It forthwith discontinued rent allowances to public school teachers. This action was in effect a sham. Regulations amended by the Council on 8th March 1869 provided that:

"In Public Schools the Council will contribute towards the cost of erecting teachers' residences on the same conditions as in the case of school buildings."

The deprivation of the public school teachers was therefore short lived, and more apparent than real.

The denominational teachers, in their efforts to achieve justice in the matter of salaries, formed "The United Association of the Teachers of the Western District of New South Wales," of which Mr. M. McGirr (the teacher at the Catholic denominational school, Bathurst), was a joint-secretary. They sought leave (unsuccessfully) to petition the Council for higher salaries. They also waited on Parkes when he visited Bathurst, but to no avail. The

43. ibid.
44. F.J., 21/8/1869, p.10.
46. ibid.
Council's reply was to accept malicious rumours about drunkenness on the part of Mr. McGirr and generally to discredit him even though Quinn and others vouched for his good character. When McGirr claimed in his defence that he had not been neglecting his duty and that one of his pupils had recently been promoted, the Inspector to whom the Council referred the matter for an opinion replied that the pupil had been promoted "so as not to suffer because of his master's neglect!" Indeed it certainly seemed as though the Council had adopted the recommendation of Mr. Inspector McCredie "that it would be prejudicial to the cause of Public education to yield" in all its dealings with the denominational schools, especially the Catholic ones.

On the other hand, Catholics, or at least the Freeman's Journal complained that the Congregational schools seemed to be getting favoured attention. The Anglican Synod of Goulburn likewise complained of the proselytising influences to which the children

of their flocks were exposed. In one place the public school was kept in a Wesleyan Church, the teacher was of that denomination, and also kept a "Sabbath School" and filled the office of preacher. Admittedly the teacher in question was censured by Wilkins and told to discontinue the office of preacher:

"By assuming the character of a minister of religion... a public school teacher forfeits the confidence of parents and is likely to destroy the harmonious co-operation of the different sects in school matters which it is the design of the Public Schools Act to create and foster", said Wilkins.

The Council however seemed unable, or at least unwilling to distinguish this position from that of a teacher in a denominational school. Rev. J.P. Byrne on behalf of Bishop Quinn took issue in the columns of The Empire of 22/4/1868 with Mr. Inspector Coburn who was alleged to have given orders that "the practice of repeating 'The Angelus' or similar ecclesiastical services was a breach of the regulations of the

53. ibid.
The Inspector denied that he had given this instruction. It is easy enough to appreciate the confusion of the Inspector and even of the Council over interdenominational rivalry. The whole situation becomes a little amusing to modern observers however when an Inspector reporting to the Council that the same organist teaches singing at the Church of England and Catholic Schools in Bathurst and he is worried if it is all right, received the reply, "The Council approves so long as the singing taught is of unsectarian nature."

Difficulties with Inspectors

Some Inspectors by their intransigence, inconsistency, lack of co-operation, and straight out hostility continued to be a problem to Quinn. In January, 1867, St. Michael's Catholic Schools at Bathurst were examined for Certification in accordance with the provisions for Section 28 of the Public

56. ibid.
Schools Act. 58 The Certificate was finally issued in June, 1867, but whereas prior to the Act the Bathurst school under Mr. McGirr had been 'one of the most efficient' 59 now he was only "fairly qualified" 60. The Sisters of Mercy who were teaching the girls and had considerable experience under the Irish National Board only "evinced tolerable facility at maintaining the attention of the class" and exercised a "tolerably effective influence." 61 Two years later, when the school was again inspected, this time by Mr. Inspector Gardiner, although "the external organisation (was) considerably above the average prevailing in provincial schools" 62 and Mr. McGirr's claims to promotion "not unworthy of favourable consideration by the Council" 63 the Inspector felt compelled to add they were "not entirely satisfactory". 64 At least the Inspector did visit these schools. On numerous occasions Quinn had to complain to the Council because the Inspectors did not visit schools, thus depriving teachers of salaries, and schools of aid. 65

58. C.E. 1/736 Vol. 2, No. 4, 1867.
60. C.E., 1/736 Vol. 12, No. 4, 1867.
61. ibid.
63. ibid.
64. ibid.
65. B.C.A., Quinn to Wilkins, 22/2/1869.
contended that if the Inspector could not come, the Council should pay, but such injustices continued and multiplied.

In the Fish River district, for example, during 1868 and 1869, Quinn established twelve schools with an enrolment of 286 pupils and entitled to aid under the Act. Only two of the teachers received salaries and then the Inspector took more than six months to visit the schools even though he was only in Bathurst. Meanwhile the teachers were deprived of their salary.

When Quinn drew the attention of Wilkins to this state of affairs, the reply was, "We will take into our serious consideration whether education is wanted in the district." 67

One inspector (Mr. McCredie) "opposed (Quinn) in every way" to such an extent that Quinn believed he had been sent to Bathurst to thwart him. 69 He wrote to Wilkins stating that "the relation between himself and Mr. McCredie (was) such that it would benefit Education in the district if Mr. McCredie were removed elsewhere." 70 McCredie had been known to

66. Quinn to Parkes in S.M.H., 11/1/1870, p.5.
68. G.C.A., Quinn to Lanigan, 11/2/1868.
69. B.C.A., Quinn to Kavanagh, 9/9/1868.
70. B.C.A., Quinn to Wilkins, 8/6/1870.
Quinn in Ireland before they both came to the colony and there was a suggestion that he had been dismissed from the service of the Irish National Board. 71

This opinion that the Inspectors were incompetent was a further source of grievance. When Captain Onslow asked in the Legislative Assembly what were the qualifications of the Inspectors and were any of them graduates or holders of certificates from foreign universities, the Minister sought an answer from the Council and was informed that their qualifications are "a presumed fitness for the office of Inspector." 72 He was further informed that "the Council was not aware if any were graduates." 73 It was about this time that the Council decided to remove Mr. Inspector Huffer from office for alleged neglect of duty. 74 Yet the schools had been suffering the incompetence of some Inspectors for some time. In 1869, Mr. McGirr had defended his improper keeping of registers and programmes to Mr. Inspector Gardiner with the statement that "he could obtain no satisfactory information as to their proper uses when he inquired of Mr. Inspector

71. B.C.A., Quinn to Kavanagh, loc. cit.
72. C.E. Minutes, 13/3/1876.
73. ibid.
74. C.E., Minutes, 24/1/1876.
The Inspector had reported, "This I think is very probable." The opinion soon spread that inspections of schools conducted by Religious were prejudiced, and that even where the tone was fairly conciliatory during the inspection, the report was bound to be unfavourable.

Instances of partial administration of the Act could be multiplied but they were numerous and frequent enough to give Catholics cause for a genuine grievance and to strengthen Quinn's conviction that he must establish an independent system of Catholic schools. There were two other major disputes which brought him into conflict with the Government. One, the problem of the text books approved for use in schools certified under the Council of Education, has already been discussed in Chapter 4. The other was the problem of the certification and classification of teachers.

76. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
Text Books Again

The text-book problem was effectively settled when the Council refused to accede to the request of the hierarchy. However, throughout the existence of the Council of Education, the Bishops continued to remind the faithful of the dangers in the use of the National Text Books, such reminders frequently occurring in pastorals and addresses. One other aspect of this problem is worthy of mention since it involved Quinn in an exchange of views with Parkes and demonstrated also the systematic way in which efforts were made to place Catholics in opposition to their Bishops.

In October, 1867, Parkes had visited the Certified Catholic School in Bathurst and in the course of conversation had asked Mr. McGirr if the books provided by the Council prevented Catholic observances. Unhesitatingly McGirr had replied in the negative. Parkes subsequently wrote to McGirr asking leave to publish his opinion, and this correspondence Parkes mentioned in Parliament on 20th November, 1867,

79. cf. C.E., 1/768, Entry 70, 1867.
praising Mr. McGirr as "The best teacher in the colony."81 This praise he reiterated in a speech at Maitland.82

When McGirr realised what had happened, he wrote to Quinn explaining the situation and to Parkes stating that it was the Bishop's job to determine books.83

Quinn's reply to McGirr is interesting:

"Most unbiased minds capable of forming an opinion consider Parkes' views on education crude and unsound in principle...and oppressive to Catholics; but I always gave him credit for sincerity in maintaining those views...to say nothing of the want of principle in placing a subaltern in a false position through selfish motives...".84

So the dispute over the text books continued, and though the Bishops remained opposed to them the dispute became less significant and urgent as the Bishops under the leadership of Quinn set about establishing their own schools under the care of Religious.

Examination and Classification of Religious Teachers

But that project too brought dispute over the matter of the classification of teachers. When the

82. M.C.A., Byrne to Quinn, 9/4/1872.
83. F.J., loc. cit.
84. B.C.A., Quinn to McGirr, 14/11/1867.
Catholic Denominational Schools at Bathurst were certified under the Council of Education, application was made to have the teachers classified. In due course the two nuns concerned - styled Mrs. Sheehy and Mrs. Duffy - were classified as Class III Section B, and immediately Bishop Quinn wanted to know why they had been appointed to the second lowest rank, since they had not even been examined. At that time the classification of teachers in N.S.W. was Class I with Sections A and B, Class II with Sections A and B, and Class III with Sections A, B, and C. In a further letter to the Council over this low classification, Byrne pointed out that the Council could have satisfied itself as to the competence of the nuns either by personal examination or by the results of their teaching or by the observation of their style and manner of teaching by an Inspector. In support of his claim for higher classification, he quoted the testimony of Mr. Maurice Cross, Secretary to the Irish National Board of Education for over thirty years when he appeared before the House of

85. vide supra, p.212.
86. B.C.A., Byrne to Council of Education 29/5/1868.
87. ibid.
88. Fogarty, op. cit., p.90.
89. B.C.A., Byrne to Council of Education, 30/6/1868.
Lords Committee in 1854. In his testimony he stated:

"I am quite persuaded that in the conventual schools, the literary instruction is conducted with even greater advantage and success than in many of the ordinary schools. That is caused by the fact of the convent schools, being conducted by a number of ladies of superior acquirement, whose vow and duty it is according to their religious order, to attend particularly to the education of the poor, and who take the greatest pain in promoting their literary, moral and religious instruction. Their schools are models with regard to discipline, neatness, and cleanliness. In fact the convent schools present generally the best specimens of education that Ireland can produce. In the Reports of the Head Inspectors strong testimony is borne to the fact I have stated."90

On the 18th November, 1868, Mr. Webster, pro-secretary to the Council of Education, wrote to Rev. M.J. Dwyer, Chairman of the Local Board of the Certified Denominational Catholic School at St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, informing him that the Council

"has agreed (not without reluctance) to dispense with examinations for the time being in the case of religious sisters and to judge them entirely by the results of their teaching...and the Council will not insist on the examination of any teaching sister before the end of next year."91

90. ibid.
91. B.C.A., Quinn to Mr. Duncan 14/3/1873.
Byrne appealed to his decision in his letter to the Council on 24/12/1868, and there the matter rested for a time. Quinn was still dissatisfied with their classification and on the 9th December, 1870, Rev. M. McAuliffe appealed to the Council on Quinn's behalf for the promotion of the teachers. Mr. McCredie, his old enemy, was the Inspector to whom the matter was referred by the Council for comment. He suggested that they should stay on classification III B, if they were unwilling to be examined, otherwise the Council could not consistently refuse the Christian Brothers if they applied. He further pointed out that the success of the school was the work of several nuns, not one, and hence it would be unfair to promote one on work not all her own. Finally, harking back to his old complaint that he could see "no valid reason for exemption from the exam", he concluded, "don't give in; it will only lead to demands for further concessions by Bishop Quinn."

To modern observers, Quinn's objection to the nuns' undergoing an examination is not easy to follow. Bishop Murray felt the same way. He wrote to Lanigan,

93. ibid.
94. ibid.
"I would not object to their examination of the nuns. I don't think they will give annoyance on that head. In fact I don't believe they will examine them at all and our refusal may create a very strong prejudice against us and do quite an injury."95

His original objection seems to have been partly to the fact that it was McCredie who summoned the nuns to the examination and partly that it was to be "in the Public School in the town...with teachers male and female of the district...amongst whom...were some characters whom any lady, much less a nun, could not meet."96 Later on he declared that he "had no objection to the examination of the nuns provided due respect (was) paid to their position, and they (got) ordinary fair play."97 "I believe it is somewhat difficult" he continued "but not at all impossible to combine these in connection with the Council of Education."98 By this stage however, his objection was not so much to the examination, as to the fact that the nuns concerned had been employed by the Denominational Schools Board. When the Board

95. M.C.A., Murray to Lanigan, 2/7/1867.
96. B.C.A., Quinn to Kavanagh, loc. cit.
97. B.C.A., Quinn to Duncan, loc. cit.
98. ibid.
merged into the Council of Education by Act of Parliament, the teachers were to have passed to the Council of Education as a matter of course and without prejudice, according to Section 20 of the Act. 99 Furthermore five years had elapsed since that time and in demanding an examination the Council was going back on its word. 100

The demand for examination arose from the fact that the Council had decided the previous year to rescind its decision to allow nuns an exemption. 1 This caused concern to Byrne who at the time was administering the Maitland diocese in the absence abroad of Murray. If the nuns were not examined, they would forego their salary. If they were examined, they would be unfairly treated. If they did forego the salary the people would wonder why. 2

The Dispute Raised in Parliament

Things gradually came to a head. About this time application was made to Wilkins on behalf of six

99. ibid.
100. vide supra, p. 220.
2. M.C.A., Byrne to Quinn, 5/7/1872.
Marist Brothers for appointment and classification as teachers under the Council. Quinn proposed to employ some at the boys' school he hoped the Brothers would direct in Bathurst and Vaughan wanted to employ others at Saint Benedicts (Broadway) and Parramatta. Mr. Dibbs asked the Colonial Secretary in Parliament:

"(1) Is it a fact that a proposal has been made by ecclesiastical authorities of the Church of Rome in this colony to the Council of Education to the effect that the Marist Brothers should be employed as teachers under the Council?

(2) Is it a fact that application has been made that the Marist Brothers should be examined in June next with a view to their being certified as teachers in Denominational schools under the Council?

(3) What are the conditions on which the application has been made?

(4) Does the Council of Education intend to accede to the applications?"

Mr. W. Forster replied -

"(1) Yes.

(2) No; but it has been intimated to the Council that certain Marist Brothers will offer themselves for exam with a view to their being employed as teachers in Denominational Schools.

(3) Answered by No. 2.

4. ibid.
5. S.M.H., 2/6/1875, p.4."
(4) Council has not acceded to the proposal to employ the Marist Brothers as teachers. 6

At this the house broke into prolonged cheering. 7 It was easy to see where sympathies lay, and another effort by the Bishops to retain government assistance for their schools had been thwarted. Thereafter Quinn became even more determined on his policy of setting up a Catholic School system independent of the State, and Vaughan was induced to follow him.

Dibbs then introduced an amendment to the Public Schools Act of 1866 to discontinue, after reasonable notice, all assistance from public funds for Denominational Schools. 8

Quinn did not easily give up. He wrote to Mr. Duncan, a member of the Council to enlist his support for his campaign to employ the Marist Brothers in the Bathurst Certified Catholic Boys School. The Council resolved however "that under the circumstances it (was) unnecessary to consider the general question of employment of the Marist Brothers." 9 Subsequently

6. ibid.
7. ibid.
8. ibid.
9. C.E. Minutes, 26/2/1877.
the Council deferred decisions on applications for the examination of nuns by Byrne at Bathurst and Walsh at Goulburn\(^{10}\) and then stated that it did not "examine any person for classification except with a view to their employment in schools under its supervision."\(^{11}\) Nevertheless the Council did later approve the examination of some Sisters at Bathurst\(^{12}\) whilst refusing a similar request from Goulburn.\(^{13}\)

This final inconsistency in the decision of the Council would not have surprised Quinn. He was used to it. He had wrung another reluctant concession from the Council of Education. The general climate of opinion however did not escape him. Previously it had been isolated but persistent incidents of hostility to denominational schools, especially Catholic ones. Now the general opposition to the cause of Catholic education, long suspected by him, appeared openly in Parliament and time was running out. He must hasten to be prepared. This will be

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10. C.E., Minutes, 12/11/1877.
11. C.E., Minutes, 26/11/1877.
12. C.E., Minutes, 14/11/1878; 4/2/1878.
13. C.E., Minutes, 27/5/1878.
discussed in Chapter 10, but before concluding this chapter, it will be appropriate to review some of the events of the period discussed in this chapter and their effect on Quinn.

The Council's Attitude – A Pointer to the Future

The Public Schools Act had become law in December 1866, just one month after the arrival of Quinn at the colony. His efforts to delay its passage or get some amendments more favourable to Catholics had not been successful. He persevered in his efforts to gain fair play throughout the following year and genuinely believed that when his campaign had shown the inherent injustice in the system for Catholics, some relief would be forthcoming. Catholics unfortunately had just not been properly prepared for the Act. And yet they should have been. Cowper had presented Bills in 1859 and 1863 to reform education and although

they had not succeeded, the general trend of events should not have escaped them. Perhaps they took comfort from the words of Parkes on his first election to the Legislative Council:

"With regard to the great question of education, I have already declared myself, as the systems at present stand, in favour of the National system."16

More probably it was the lack of leadership which left Catholics so hopelessly unprepared for the Act. Polding was tired and hoped things would work out peacefully. In fact, when the Bill was read for the second time in Parliament on 10th October 1866,17 he was overseas and had already been there some time. Sheehy, the Vicar General, worked hard to stir up opposition, but the general air of complacency coupled with a certain opposition to himself did not help matters. Quinn quickly assumed leadership of the situation, but by this time the Public Schools Act was Law.18

"Its purpose," said Parkes, "was to put a stop forever to the interference of the

17. ibid, p.200.
18. vide supra, Chapter 4.
clergy in the school management. The teachers were to be classified according to their attainments and degrees of aptitude for teaching, and to receive stipends so regulated and apportioned."

Quinn was soon disillusioned and spoke out strongly "against studied attempts at deprecating (his) efforts, simply because made on behalf of denominational education." Murray too, in what Quinn called a "magnificent pastoral" and the Freeman's Journal "a celebrated pastoral" stated:

"The attitude assumed by the Legislature of this colony, or rather by the Council of Education appointed to administer the Public Schools Act has already given us sufficient insight into the spirit of hostility by which they are animated towards us." The hostility of the Council of Education, and its composition continued as points of grievance to Quinn and Murray. The Appointment of John Fairfax to the Council was denounced by the Freeman's Journal as being a political appointment and prejudiced in favour of the Congregationalists. When subsequently the Council resigned under censure over the mal-

21. B.C.A., Quinn to Kirby, 23/12/1867.
23. Lenten Pastoral of Murray,1868,in F.J.,22/2/1868,
p.3.
administration of the Act, especially in regard to the Grenfell Catholic School, the Freeman's Journal rejoiced that the new President, Professor Smith, at least knew about education and was of irreproachable character; Mr. Duncan was an educated man, impartial and competent, with long experience on the National Board; and Henry Parkes would at least not be mistaken for a Catholic.

Catholics and the Council of Education

The absence of a Catholic from the Council was a point of dissatisfaction to the Bishops and one they never tired of mentioning. In 1870 the Council addressed a letter to Murray asking him if it was true that he denied Church rites to Catholics sending children to Public Schools. Murray refused to answer the question on the grounds that to do so would imply that the Council of Education had some authority in the relations between the Bishop and his flock:

25. vide supra, p.201.
"As a Catholic Bishop, I cannot recognise such an assumption of authority on the part of the Council of Education," he said, and he further added, "This only goes to show the need for a Catholic on the Council whose counsel would no doubt be of greatest benefit to (it) in (its) correspondence with the heads of his church on educational matters."29

In fact, Murray did forbid the Sacraments to Catholics who sent their children to Public Schools where Catholic Schools were available; so too did Quinn and Lanigan. Quinn's Lenten Pastoral read in part:

"The Clergy will be pleased to again remind the faithful of the important duty of procuring a good Catholic education; and that parents who, having Catholic education at hand, send their children to Protestant or Public Schools, cannot be admitted to the Sacraments."30

This prohibition was the cause of a public controversy between Quinn and Parkes, in which Quinn claimed that Parkes deliberately distorted his statements for political gain; and Parkes that Quinn was thwarting the aims of the Public Schools Act. Quinn's defence was unequivocal:

28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. See Quinn's Lenten Pastoral, quoted S.M.H., 1/1/1870.
31. S.M.H., January, 1870, passim.
32. S.M.H., 1/1/1870. 33. Ibid.
"Mr. Parkes will give me credit for some zeal in the cause of education, for few knew better than himself the impulse I have given that sacred cause in this district. When I arrived here, over three years since, there were but five Catholic schools in this diocese. There are just as many now in this town. Let him visit Bathurst, and I shall prove what I have said regarding the partial administration of the Act, and let him fairly and impartially administer the Act, and I shall assist by all means in my power, to advance the glorious cause of education."  

Catholics lost confidence in the Council of Education and Quinn too was disappointed in Parkes especially since he had gone out of his way to support Parkes on the occasion of his first visit to Bathurst as Premier. However Quinn was to experience the uncertainty of Parkes' allegiance in many more ways before the final break of 1880.

Moves to End Denominational Education

On 10th December, Mr. Forster proposed in Parliament an amendment to the Public Schools Act and

34. Quinn at Bathurst, December 1869, Quoted S.M.H., loc. cit.
36. Quinn to Mr. Butler, 9/7/1873 M.L. Parkes Correspondence, Vol. 31 A901, p.199.
37. ibid.
This was the first move in Parliament against the 1866 Act in favour of stricter enforcement of secular education, and Parkes opposed it, saying that it would be "impolitic and prejudicial to the best interests of the people." Actually he realised that Catholic opinion was not yet to be antagonised. Then in June 1875, after the uproar in the House over the proposed examination of the Marist Brothers by the Council of Education, Mr. Dibbs proposed a similar amendment which was defeated. Parkes again opposed it. This time it would seem because in his dispute with Greenwood and the Public Schools League he needed the support of the denominationalists for his political survival.

38. F.J., 14/12/1872, p.6.
40. F.J., loc. cit.
42. vide supra, p.223.
44. Morris, op. cit., p.227.
Finally, in 1877, Mr. Buchanan proposed an amendment to further secularise schools, and once again Parkes opposed it. He explained his motives later:

"While the Roman Catholics support their own schools, they will at the same time be compelled to pay towards the support of the schools...to which they refused to send their children. ...This will be felt as nothing short of oppression. ...The thing itself is essentially unjust...I admit that if a case of necessity could be proved, we might be justified. But the necessity cannot be proved.

The system of Education in this country is so sound, so comprehensive, that it includes all classes, and in consequence there is no necessity for creating these serious heart burnings in one portion of the population."46

But by now he was wavering and admitting that it might be justified in case of necessity.47 By September "he was inclined to think – indeed he had no hesitation on the subject – that the maximum number of pupils entitling Denominational schools to aid ought to be considerably enlarged.48

The situation was hastening towards the climax that was accelerated by the publication of the Joint Pastoral in 1879. This will be pursued in Chapter 10.

45. Parkes, loc. cit.
46. ibid, p.5.
47. ibid.
An early photo of St. Joseph's Convent, Perthville.

The section built by Bishop Quinn in 1874 comprises the right wing and central porch.
CHAPTER VIII
QUINN AND THE HIERARCHY

Quinn Assumes Leadership of the Hierarchy

On the occasion of his death in 1885, the Freeman's Journal wrote of Quinn:

"He was par excellence the champion of Catholic Education in Australia, and it is no secret that it was in a great measure owing to the firm and uncompromising attitude assumed by Dr. Quinn from the time he set himself the task of dealing with the education question, that the now historical manifesto which decided for Catholic schools without State aid was issued by the Archbishop and Bishops of this colony."\(^1\)

This view was supported by Moran\(^2\) and is accepted by Fogarty.\(^3\) Indeed, Quinn himself insisted on this same point. "The Archbishop wrote it (the Pastoral), but I signed it and every word of it was mine."\(^4\) His undoubted influence in

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1. F.J., 24/1/1885, p.17.
2. op. cit., p.388.
4. ibid.
the colony, "probably more considerable than that of the Archbishop", was recognised and accepted by his contemporaries.

From the day of his arrival in the colony, Quinn assumed a dominant role in ecclesiastical policy, and this role, though becoming less pronounced as the years passed, was nevertheless effective. No sooner had he been enthroned as Bishop in Bathurst than he returned to Sydney for discussions on the education question. He quickly sought to inform himself of the local situation in order to determine action, and the priest whom he chose to inform him was none other than Father William Lanigan, shortly afterwards appointed Bishop of Goulburn. "The first thing to demand attention is our educational establishments, and here we meet with what must give panic," he was told. Quinn did not panic but he certainly hastened into action.

6. vide supra, p. 66.
7. vide supra, p. 68.
8. ibid.
Unity Achieved

First of all he corresponded with all the Bishops of the colony on the education question, to determine their views, and all the time he insisted, "we must be of one mind on the subject." Already he and Murray were agreed on this matter as they were on "all matters relating to the Church in Australia." His campaign for uniform policy and unity of action was successful and the Bishops did present a joint policy on education to the Colonial Secretary in June 1867. In addition correspondence between the Bishops and Archbishop Polding, on his return, brought about united action on the question of the Text Books prescribed by the Council of Education, which were objected to by the Bishops. Yet there was a more permanent result from this initial action of Quinn. Once having acted in a united way, the Bishops seemed more disposed to continue to do so, and their correspondence over the next decade shows

9. B.C.A., Quinn to Sheehy, 30/7/1867.
10. B.C.A. Quinn to Cardinal Cullen (undated) 1867.
11. vide supra, p. 83.
12. vide supra, p. 90.
a continuing awareness of this need. So Murray wrote to Lanigan agreeing that a meeting would be beneficial "so that we may be all of one mind." Moran wrote to Murray from Dublin saying how delighted he was to meet Lanigan (then on a visit to Europe) and to note that "his views on Australian matters agree perfectly with yours." Then later on, when Moran had learned of a difference of opinion between Quinn and Lanigan, he wrote to Murray urging him to intervene saying, "If you do not remain united, ruin must fall on the Church in Australia." Polding too noted the importance of this unanimity and deplored the activities of those who tried to show "that there is by no means amongst us the unanimity of judgment on educational matters which we profess, and indeed not much mutual courtesy in our modes of action." This same attitude persisted also after the arrival on the scene of Vaughan, with meetings between the Bishops to determine a united policy. Quinn's efforts to establish an awareness of a need for unity and an

15. M.C.A., Moran to Murray, 8/7/1876.
appreciation of it among the Bishops had been successful.

Quinn's Influence in the Melbourne Provincial Council

In one sense, this feeling of unity amongst the Bishops was strengthened by the Provincial Council held in Melbourne in 1869. The decrees which it promulgated, especially in the matter of education,18 gave each of the Bishops a firm and definite policy to follow. The influence of Quinn in the convocation of the Council, in its discussions, and in the decrees which it finally promulgated was considerable.19 He was anxious to have a meeting of the Bishops with Polding as soon as possible, in order to explain his plans and ideas to them.20 Since Polding was overseas, he was disappointed in this for some time.21 When he returned, Polding did convene a meeting of the Bishops to discuss the education problem,24 but

18. vide Appendix II.
21. ibid.
22. M.C.A., Polding to Murray, 14/8/1867; Polding to Quinn, 14/8/1867.
neither Murray nor Quinn (who was visiting the far north-western portions of his diocese) was able to attend. 23 On his return to Bathurst, Quinn went to Sydney to discuss the outcome of the negotiations with Polding, 24 but his aim to address a meeting of the assembled Hierarchy had not been fulfilled. Meanwhile the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda in Rome had written to Bishop James Quinn of Brisbane urging him again "to exert himself with (his) colleagues to bring about a Synodical meeting of the Bishops as soon as possible." 25 The insistence from Rome was in response to a letter from Murray on behalf of Quinn, 26 in which he mentioned the Archbishop's opposition to such a Synod. 27 On Quinn's urging, the Bishops all accepted Polding's invitation to attend the ceremony of the blessing of the foundation stone of Saint Mary's Cathedral in December 1868, and this opportunity was used to have further discussions and to initiate further attempts

23. B.C.A., Quinn to Polding, 20/8/1867.
25. B.C.A., Matthew Quinn to James Quinn, 21/1/1868.
27. B.C.A., Quinn to Murray, 17/12/1867.
to have a synod convoked. Polding still opposed the Synod. In the first place, Saint Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, the venue now proposed for the Synod (since Saint Mary's had been destroyed by fire) could not be consecrated because it had no permanent high altar. In the second place, the Archbishop suggested a postponement till after the first Vatican Council then about to convene in Rome, since it would publish decrees on education, and mixed marriages, the two principal matters on which the proposed synod would pronounce. Quinn and Murray both visited Polding in Sydney and declined a postponement. Murray even suggested the new Bathurst Convent of Mercy or St. John's College of the University of Sydney as suitable alternative venues if the Archbishop was still opposed to Melbourne. In May of the same year, Murray and Lanigan again visited Sydney and broached the subject to Polding but could get "no distinct

30. B.C.A., Quinn to Polding, 16/3/1869.
31. Ibid.
Finally Polding did yield and the Bishops assembled at the Sacred Heart Presbytery, Darlinghurst on 19th August, 1868, to discuss the filling of some of the vacant dioceses and to deal with the education question in preparation for the Council. 33

Quinn meantime had been working behind the scenes to be prepared for such a meeting. Earlier he had written to Lanigan enclosing some material prepared by himself and Murray on education and mixed marriages with the comment, "We have said nothing about Aborigines because we do not know what to say. Please suggest something on the subject." 34 This material on education was accepted as the basis for the discussion at the Council, and it was agreed that the paper drawn up at Goulburn and presented by Quinn, Lanigan, and Sheehy to the Colonial Secretary 35 should form the basis of the synodical address to the

33. M.C.A., Murray to Barnabo, 7/9/1868.
34. G.C.A., Quinn to Lanigan, 1868 (undated).
The Bishops had given some consideration to a Mission for the Aborigines.
35. vide supra, p. 83.
faithful on the subject of education. 36 When the Synod itself finally convened, the Bishops acknowledged Quinn's leadership in the education question by appointing him president of the "De Educatione" scheme. 37 Murray, reporting on the Synod, was able to point out that a good deal of work had been got through because the decrees on education and mixed marriages had been drawn up by himself and Quinn beforehand and approved by the Synod as presented. 38 "I think the Holy See will have no difficulty in approving them," he continued, "as they were drawn up with anxiety to embody the instruction of the Holy See on that Question, and their decrees on education, and their propositions in the 'Syllabus'." 39 The seal of approval was placed on Quinn's efforts in this regard with the approval by Rome in 1872 of the Decrees of the Melbourne Provincial Council. 40

37. vide supra, p. 108.
38. M.C.A., Murray to Moran, 14/6/1869.
39. ibid.
40. M.C.A., Letter from Rome, Barnabo to Murray. Similar letter to Polding and each of the Bishops, 16/7/1872.
In one sense Quinn's influence over the Hierarchy is simply explained. He determined a policy in the matter of education, and implemented it. He was successful so his brother Bishops followed suit. They had misgivings at first, especially when he opened his grand convent in Bathurst\textsuperscript{41} or again when he went ahead and built St. Stanislaus' College and St. Charles' Seminary.\textsuperscript{42} Nevertheless, they quickly took "instruction and encouragement" from him, and were "urged on to emulation of the example of Bishop Quinn and his people."\textsuperscript{43} When the 1880 Act was proposed, even Vaughan had to overcome his own doubts, endorse the achievements of Quinn, and bring his policy into line with it.\textsuperscript{44} Then again Quinn's very competence and determination inspired confidence. He came to the colony with first hand experience of and information on education in Ireland. Once here he continued to take pains to keep himself abreast of overseas developments, receiving from overseas

\textsuperscript{41} F.J., 22/2/1868, p.7.
\textsuperscript{42} F.J., 18/6/1881, p.17.
\textsuperscript{43} Lanigan speaking at Bathurst on occasion of Meeting to inaugurate a Memorial to Quinn; F.J., 21/2/1885, p.19.
\textsuperscript{44} Fogarty, \textit{op. cit.}, p.247.
copies of Books, Parliamentary Reports, and other material on education.\textsuperscript{45} He used this as the basis of his instruction to the people of the diocese each year when he addressed them on the state of education in the diocese.\textsuperscript{46}

Quinn Acceptable to Irish Catholics

But there were other factors which extended Quinn's influence, more subtle indeed, and probably for that reason, more effective. When he arrived in the colony, Folding was abroad, and the Catholic community looking for leadership. James Quinn, the Bishop of Brisbane, was technically the senior Suffragan Bishop. The major problem confronting the people of New South Wales however was the education question. Queensland had been separated from New South Wales in 1859 and James Quinn had his own education problems in that colony. For this reason he did not intervene in New South Wales, and so the leadership fell on Matthew Quinn, the senior New South Wales Bishop.

\textsuperscript{45} B.C.A., Rev. J.R. Davern for Quinn to W.B. Kelly Bookseller (Dublin), 13/7/1870.

\textsuperscript{46} F.J., 7/1/1871.
At this time too, the majority of Catholics in the colony were Irish or of Irish descent. They, and the Irish clergy resented the rule of the English Archbishop and his efforts to make his diocese a stronghold of English Benedictinism. Both Murray and Lanigan were also Irish, and Murray was Quinn's cousin. It is not difficult to see how Quinn soon acquired his influential position among both Hierarchy and people.

The problem of Nationalism and of strained human relations between the Suffragan Bishops and Polding (and later too Vaughan) was serious and could have destroyed the unity of the Hierarchy at the time, with detrimental effects to their effort, especially in the field of education. That it did not is a tribute to their stature, and to their dedication to the Church and the cause which they served. In spite of decisions to the contrary taken in Rome in 1854, Polding persevered in his effort to retain the Benedictine influence in Sydney. In 1866, Father Sheehy O.S.B., a Benedictine and his Vicar

47. Moran, op. cit., p.446.
General had been appointed Co-adjutor Bishop to Polding.49 He refused the honour, and persisted in his refusal in spite of the efforts of Polding. In one way he might have been a good compromise candidate as Bishop, for though he was a Benedictine, he was Irish. His years in Sydney had left him in no doubt of the feelings of the people, and perhaps it was this, as well as the calumnies spread about him, that prompted his refusal. If, however, he hoped to eliminate expressions of nationalistic feeling by his action, he was not successful.

Relations with Vaughan

In 1873, the announcement of the appointment of Roger Bede Vaughan O.S.B. as Co-adjutor Archbishop reached Sydney50 and was the occasion for outbursts of nationalistic feeling. This was lamentable. Polding himself had made speeches on this issue such as the one in Melbourne some years previously in which he spoke strongly "against being anything but Australian, and condemned references to

49. *ibid*, p.491.
50. *ibid*. 
nationalism." The Bishops present deplored this speech and the broaching of the subject, and took care to avoid argument from opposing parties. Previously rumours had been circulated in Rome that the 1866 Act might have been made to work favourably by the Government, had it not been for the intemperate actions of the new Irish Bishops. Not only was this not true, but Quinn had roundly condemned those who had involved him in a function involving a display of anti-Government and Nationalistic feeling. Moreover the Suffragan Bishops had been most careful to maintain a display of cordial and harmonious feelings between themselves and Polding, even while disagreeing with his policies.

So when Vaughan's appointment was announced, Quinn wrote to his brother James in Brisbane, "I might as well say as far as the appointment regards himself personally that I sympathise with him (Polding) in his great joy, but in as much as it refers to the Australian Church, I cannot in conscience, as I

51. G.C.A., Bishop Lanigan's Diary, April 27, 1869.
52. ibid.
53. B.C.A., Quinn to Murray, 17/12/1867.
54. ibid.
55. B.C.A., Quinn to Croke, August, 1867.
believe the appointment will be sadly injurious to it." 56 The other Bishops felt likewise and wrote "supplicantly and earnestly to the Holy See begging that the appointment be cancelled." 57 Rome replied expressing its "confidence in the power and will of the individual appointed to put an end to scandals complained of and asked the Bishops to give him a cordial reception and support." 58 In spite of their personal disposition to the contrary 59 the Bishops concurred with this wish, went to Sydney and joined in the official welcome to the co-adjutor Archbishop. 60 But if the feelings of the Bishops could be assuaged by a letter from Rome, the body of Catholics was not so to be moved. Judge Fawcett presented an address of welcome to the new Archbishop on behalf of the laity. 61 Before reading it, he declared "as he had previously at a public meeting, on the part of himself and of the Catholic body, that he deeply regretted that the Co-adjutor was not one recommended by the Bishops and not of

56. Matthew Quinn to James Quinn, 24/4/1873.
57. B.C.A., 'Memorandum'.
58. ibid.
60. Moran, op. cit., p.492.
61. ibid.
their nationality."62 Vaughan could not fail to note the tenor of the meeting and replied, as he thought, "in such a way as seems to have conciliated all."63

Indeed he had not and an undercurrent of discontent and nationalist feeling continued throughout his ten years in the colony. It was to some extent suppressed by the need to present a united front in the problems besetting Catholics in the 1870's, particularly in the question of education, but it appeared again in quite vehement expression on the sudden death of Dr. Vaughan in England in 1883 when the See of Sydney once more became vacant.64 Polding appointed Vaughan "sole Vicar General and Administrator of the temporalities of the Archdiocese, with full powers" in January 1874. The suffragan Bishops kept their word and invited Vaughan to their dioceses for important religious ceremonies and aroused the enthusiasm of their people for his visits.66 The first such visit was to Goulburn where in February, 1874, he assisted at the official

64. B.C.A., Quinn to Kirby, 6/9/1883. There are numerous references to this fact in B.C.A., G.C.A., M.C.A. and F.J.
65. Letter Polding to Clergy 13/1/1874, Moran, op. cit. 493.
66. B.C.A. 'Memorandum'.
Then he went to Bathurst in the same month, where he consecrated the Diocese to the Sacred Heart. During this time he visited the schools and had an opportunity to acquaint himself still further with the education policy and practice of the Bishop of Bathurst. Then in May of the same year he went to Brisbane for the dedication of St. Stephen's Cathedral. He accepted an invitation to visit Goulburn again in 1875, but later wrote to Bishop Lanigan, asking to be excused as he "felt himself obliged to give a course of Advent sermons in the Cathedral on account partly of Dr. Barker's attack on us some weeks ago." He did visit Wagga Wagga in 1877. On all these and similar occasions the suffragan Bishops also attended and the opportunity was used to have discussions, especially on the education system. Throughout, however, the relations were strained between Vaughan and the Suffragans. In particular they objected to his handling of the Armidale and Brisbane affairs. The Bishops of both these dioceses were maligned and false

69. ibid.
70. G.C.A., Vaughan to Lanigan, 6/12/1875.
72. ibid.
accusations against them made in Rome. Archbishop Vaughan seemed inclined to accept some of the malignant rumours as true. Bishop O'Mahony of Armidale resigned in 1878 and was appointed to Toronto, Canada, where he died in 1892. Bishop Quinn died as Bishop of Brisbane before the unhappy rumours were settled. The fact that both these Bishops were Irish and that the Bishop of Brisbane was Matthew Quinn's brother further aggravated the situation between Vaughan and the Suffragans. Quinn tried "not to mix in these affairs", but it was difficult not to. After the death of James Quinn, the Bishops of Hobart, Goulburn, Armidale, and Bathurst (Murray of Maitland was in Europe) at the request of the Brisbane clergy, signed a joint letter to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, Rome, setting out their impressions of ecclesiastical affairs in Brisbane, and the Province of Sydney generally.

73. Moran, op. cit., p.400.
74. B.C.A., Quinn to Kirby, 20/11/1881.
75. B.C.A., ibid.
Brisbane did not become an Archdiocese till May, 1887, and so at this time was part of the Ecclesiastical Province of Sydney of which Archbishop Vaughan was the Metropolitan.
The situation was "difficult and unpleasant." The Bishops' confidence in Vaughan because of the handling of these problems was shaken, and the people "intensely Irish (would) be satisfied with no Bishop who (was) not Irish." Vaughan was suspected of wanting to make the place English, and his selection of a Capuchin monk from London, Doctor Elzear Torreggiani as Bishop of Armidale in succession to Bishop O'Mahony served only to increase this suspicion. He had been aware of these feelings for a long time. In 1877 he had invited Father Cahill S.J., to preach at the month's mind for Archbishop Polding. "I thought it better for me not to preach," he wrote to Lanigan. "A Benedictine and an Englishman praising another Benedictine and Englishman would not sound well!"

76. ibid.
77. ibid. Also M.C.A., Murray to Moran, 12/4/1878; Quinn to Kirby, 6/9/1883.
78. ibid.
79. F.J., 12/7/1879, p.14. Eleazar Torreggiani was born in Italy 28/3/1830. Ordained Priest in 1853 in Italy, he moved to Wales where he administered to Irish Catholics. Finally he moved to Peckham, London, and was administering there when appointed to Armidale.
80. Moran, loc. cit.
A New Archbishop

Quinn too recognised this fact and the ever increasing national feeling and reported it to Rome. "Unless something is done and done speedily to allay the excitement and satisfy the just wishes of the Irish race in these colonies (and the Catholics here are all Irish) I fear there will be an outburst of feeling such as all who love peace in the Church would deplore, and should do their utmost to prevent." 82 This he claimed was the opinion of all the Bishops. 83

Something did happen. Dr. Vaughan died suddenly in Liverpool while on his way to Rome on 18th August, 1883. 84 Quinn was in Rome at the time and gave the Holy Father and the proper officials in Rome, all the information (he) could about the circumstances of the Australian Church, and the character of the appointment, it would, in (his) judgment, be best to make." 85 The Holy See

82. B.C.A., Quinn to Authorities in Rome, 29/10/1881.
83. ibid.
endorsed his opinion and that of the N.S.W. Hierarchy and appointed Bishop Patrick Francis Moran, then Bishop of Ossory, Ireland, Archbishop of Sydney on 21st March, 1884. Quinn was "quite beside himself with joy at this arrangement." Once more unity of mind and heart as well as unity of purpose linked the Bishops of the Colony. In November, 1884, Quinn returned to the colony a sick man, and never again assumed his dominant role in the Hierarchy. He died shortly after in January, 1885. Before that, however, he had the joy of hearing his education policy publicly endorsed by the new Archbishop. Speaking at Waverley he said:

"The Bishops of New South Wales have repeatedly declared their sentiments on the matter of education, and I take this opportunity to declare that I endorse in every way the sentiments of my Brother Bishops of New South Wales."  

87. M.C.A., Moran (Kilkenny) to Murray, 25/3/1884.  
89. B.R., 6/11/1884, p.496.
Quinn's Policy Convinces the Bishops

The strained relations between Vaughan and his Suffragan Bishops might have precluded any joint action on their part. In fact they did not. The Bishops continued to correspond, to meet and to plan, especially with regard to the education question. Vaughan's term of office in Sydney was climaxed by the most celebrated ecclesiastical document in Australian Church History, the Joint Pastoral of the Archbishop and the Bishops of New South Wales, issued in 1879. But the situation does help to explain the influence of Quinn in the decisions and actions of the Hierarchy. He was without doubt the leader of the Irish Bishops. He had an education policy. He was implementing it. Besides, Quinn was more experienced in matters affecting public education. Public education had been a reality in Ireland before it became so in England and Quinn had been involved in it. Vaughan appreciated the need for united action such as Quinn had always insisted on. His decision to extend and promote the work of the Marist Brothers in 1874 was a momentous decision as a statement of policy.  

90. Fogarty, op. cit., p.247.
Previously, provisional schools under carefully selected teachers had seemed the answer to the problem. The action of the Council of Education in preventing the teachers from teaching religion put an end to this hope and confirmed the Bishops in the correctness of Quinn's policy of having nothing to do with public schools and building his own schools on his own property. In deciding this, Vaughan had had to overcome his own doubts, and to ignore the resistance of influential clergy. He had also yielded to the influence of the Suffragan Bishops. There is no evidence to suggest that he doubted the wisdom of this step, or that he preferred some alternative solution. In view of the state of affairs between himself and the Bishops however, he thus avoided any further grounds for disunity and acknowledged the influence of Quinn.

It is not surprising therefore that when the declaration of the joint policy of the Bishops was made, it was universally acknowledged as "owing to the firm and uncompromising attitude assumed by Dr. Quinn." 

92. Fogarty, loc. cit.
93. vide supra, p. 234.
Wattle Flat Convent founded in 1873 was the first Foundation made from Perthville. The original wooden building is on the right. The whole was demolished in 1962.

O'Connell Convent - 1877
CHAPTER IX
QUINN AND THE CATHOLIC LAITY

Initial Indifference of the Laity

It is not easy to imagine the feelings of Quinn when he arrived in Bathurst to set about the establishment of the new diocese. Even his experience in India and his correspondence with his brother could hardly have prepared him. He was overwhelmed by the size of the debt and the almost total lack of ecclesiastical plant which he inherited. He was aware of what was expected of him and none too sure of how it might be achieved. Yet typically he kept in good spirits. Writing to his friend, Rev. J. Kavanagh, the President of Carlow College, six months after his arrival, he was able to say:

"You will bear in mind that 'a new broom is expected to sweep clean', and if you consult our mutual friend Doctor Birmingham you will find it is no joke for a 'new broom' in the shape of a

1. B.C.A., Quinn to President of Propagation of Faith, 30/5/1867.
a juvenile bishop 'to sweep clean' in this part of the world.... As to the foundation of the future Church of Bathurst, I am sorry to have to tell you that the ground is hard, the laity indifferent, and the architect none the most brilliant or experienced. However we are plodding on our way as best we can in this poor world, in excellent health, thank God, and fair spirits."²

The indifference of the laity to religious practice is hardly to be wondered at. When Quinn arrived in Bathurst there were only five churches in the whole diocese,³ and the religious needs of the people had not been adequately met.⁴ This indifference spread naturally enough to the principal problem of the Church at that time, the education question. In 1857 the clergy of the colony had pointed out to Polding the great need for more country schools and also for more priests and religious.⁵ Yet ten years later there was no appreciable improvement in the position. In the meantime in Bathurst district gold had been discovered in 1857. Hundreds headed for the goldfields (one traveller from Sydney claiming to have passed more than 1800 pedestrians on the way to Bathurst) and within three months 12,186 licences to mine had been

² B.C.A., Quinn to Kavanagh, 28/5/1867.
³ B.C.A. - State of Diocese 1879.
⁴ B.C.A., Quinn to Cardinal Cullen on state of Diocese, 29/5/1868.
⁵ ibid.
issued. The population of the area was estimated at eighty thousand.⁶ In the meantime too, state aid to religion had been withdrawn by The Grant for Public Worship Prohibition Act of 1862 and aid to Church schools had been considerably curtailed by the Public Schools Act of 1866. Both Acts, it was alleged, had received considerable support in Parliament because of the inadequate and unequal distribution of funds to the country areas.⁷

In one sense too, the little aid that continued to denominational schools after the 1866 Act lulled the Catholics into an attitude of complacency and false security. Archbishop Polding was anxious to retain aid as long as possible⁸ and the prospect of the loss of government aid caused the Catholic people even to oppose the introduction of Religious teachers.⁹ Similarly, Catholic teachers in denominational schools, whose job would be in jeopardy if enrolments fell, opposed the religious.¹⁰ This was not really surprising. The differences in reality

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⁶ ibid.
⁷ ibid.
⁸ Corrigan, op. cit.
¹⁰ ibid.
between the National and Denominational schools were frequently very slight, so that the people, inadequately instructed, were not likely to appreciate the need for Catholic schools, especially at such expense and trouble.

Quinn, for whom it was a matter of policy to establish a system of Catholic schools under the care of the Religious and independent of the state system set about enthusing the laity for this cause. By 1874 he could claim that he "persuaded the people of the necessity of (Catholic education) for their children,"¹¹ and that "one part of his mission was now ended."¹² Ended or not, he continued to preach Catholic education to his flock, who still appeared to be somewhat apathetic to the cause. In 1879, when the Wyndeyer proposal for Grammar Schools was being debated, the editor of the Bathurst Record felt it necessary to point out:

"There is a degree of culpability in the negligence displayed by the Catholic community of this colony in reference to the establishment of these citadels of infidelity..."¹³

¹². ibid.
The Bishops had noted this same thing and started a
campaign to counteract it. So Vaughan writing to
Lanigan had said, "I am glad you approve my conferences.
I felt very much the truth of your observation about
the people getting too much in the time-serving spirit.
One of the reasons for my coming out was just that!"14

Catholic Associations Formed

Nevertheless, much had been achieved. One of the
first schemes initiated had been the formation of
various associations of the laity. In 1867 a Catholic
Association15 had been formed in Sydney under the
auspices of Archbishop Polding. Its objects had been
to provide for and maintain primary schools, "to
establish new schools, to establish training schools
and to introduce persons into the colony to succeed
(the) present teachers."16 Only a few months earlier
Sheehy had found it necessary to address a letter to
the clergy asking them to bestir themselves to interest

15. Its full title was "The Catholic Association for
the Promotion of Religion and Education in the
Archdiocese of Sydney.
the faithful in denominational education.\textsuperscript{17} It was Polding's wish that each diocese should follow suit and form a Catholic Association. This he hoped would "infuse vitality, union, and strength" into the people.\textsuperscript{18} The initial enthusiastic support for the Association soon waned however, and in April, 1872, it ceased to function.\textsuperscript{19} There is no evidence that the other dioceses followed Polding's suggestion, though some associations of the laity, obviously limited in scope and impact and of no great influence to the majority, were formed.

In 1869 a meeting was held in Bathurst to inaugurate Saint Aloysius' Reading Room and Library.\textsuperscript{20} This was intended to be educational for the adults concerned and to stimulate their interest in education generally.\textsuperscript{21} The inaugural meeting was addressed on the subject of education by Rev. Dr. Forrest, the rector of Saint John's College.\textsuperscript{22} Subsequent annual meetings were addressed by Bishop Murray\textsuperscript{23} and Father

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} ibid, p.77.
\item \textsuperscript{18} G.C.A., Polding to Lanigan, 6/11/1867.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Fogarty, \textit{op. cit.}, p.220.
\item \textsuperscript{20} F.J., 2/10/1869.
\item \textsuperscript{21} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{22} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{23} F.J., 27/8/1870, p.11.
\end{itemize}
Quinn himself was present on each occasion and also spoke. The further history of this body is obscure, but at least during its initial years it provided a definite link in Quinn's plans to educate and to stimulate the laity.

Another association of the laity which existed in some parts of the diocese at the time was the Christian Doctrine Confraternity. It too was concerned with the provision and dissemination of Catholic literature, and teaching catechism in the schools. The Orange branch, for example, had existed for some years prior to 1871, then disbanded, and then reorganised in 1877. The Bishop was Patron and this association was useful to him in enlisting the support of the faithful for his policy in education.

Speeches and Educational Missions

To teach the majority however, he had to rely on speeches on the occasions of his visits to the towns of his diocese, and (in the larger centres) on

28. F.J., 26/6/1877, loc. cit.  29. ibid.
missions preached by prominent clergymen, whom he invited to do so. Thus over the years his diocese was visited by Father Monnier S.M., Father Cahill S.J., Dr. Forrest, Father Woods and others, all of whom were prominent preachers at the time and all of whom preached missions throughout the Bathurst diocese, exhorting the faithful to loyalty on the education question. In addition the Bishops of Brisbane, Maitland, Goulburn, and Armidale, as well as Archbishops Polding and Vaughan made fairly frequent visits to Bathurst and other places in the diocese, never failing to address the people, to congratulate them on their loyalty, and to urge their continued support for their Bishop and the cause of Catholic education. On occasions too, other Bishops from New Zealand, such as Dr. Croke of Auckland, Dr Moran of Dunedin, and Dr Redwood of Wellington visited the diocese and Quinn capitalised on these visits to further rally the flock.

32. cf. F.J., 23/9/1882, p.15. Dr Croke was the brother of Mother Ignatius Croke, the superior of the Sisters of Mercy in Bathurst. Prior to his appointment as Bishop of Auckland in 1870, he acted as Vicar General in Europe for Quinn. In 1874 he resigned from Auckland and was appointed Archbishop of Cashel in Ireland.
These were the extraordinary incidents in his campaign. Most of the preaching was left to Quinn himself and this task he carried out persistently and indefatigably as he toured his diocese founding and blessing schools and churches.33 Truly he could say at Forbes in 1876 that "for nine years he had been speaking in strong terms against the public system of education."34

Monster Meetings Organised

Whenever special conditions existed, Quinn was quick to hold a "monster meeting" in his efforts to arouse and maintain the enthusiasm of the people. This was the case, for example, when he decided to launch his first appeal for their special support - the building of a convent for the Sisters of Mercy in Bathurst. Invariably on these occasions the Bishop himself was "voted" to the chair, and after an initial address by him different laymen would rise to propose resolutions. The meetings would pass

33. F.J., 28/5/1870, p.9 - Quinn at Dubbo; 9/9/1873, p.9, Quinn at Gulgong; 28/3/1874, p.9, Quinn at Bathurst...

34. F.J., 21/10/1876, p.16.
these resolutions supporting the cause which had prompted the meeting, and end with speeches praising the self-abnegation and educational activities of the Bishop, and supporting enthusiastically the project in hand.

Such meetings were also held whenever the Catholic body wished to register a protest. One such meeting took place in Dubbo in 1877 when there was some difficulty with the Council of Education over the issue of a certificate for the Catholic school there. Numerous meetings were also held either protesting against the Public Instruction Bill when it came before Parliament in 1879, or supporting the Bishops over the Joint Pastoral.

One of these was claimed to be the biggest meeting ever held in Bathurst when over 1500 people assembled in the Cathedral.

Similar gatherings became the custom in other dioceses too. Quinn was always insistent that such occasions should not generate fanaticism or most rancour. He called on his flock "to be moderate in

37. B.R., 15/12/1879, p.557.
38. ibid.
39. M.C.A., Lanigan to Murray, 2/7/1867.
what they had to say. Their cause was a just and good one, and their strength lay in being firm but moderate in their language."40 Previously he had urged that they "never by thought or word or deed do anything that would be uncharitable or offensive to those who differed conscientiously from them."41 Quinn himself was a real model of moderation, courtesy, and firmness in opposition.

The Kenna Case

Perhaps nowhere is this charity and kindness in his dealing with people more in evidence than in what came to be known as the Kenna case.

Mr Richard Kenna was a fairly wealthy resident of Bathurst who sent his sons to Sydney Grammar School. By this action he deprived himself of the Sacraments of the Church. He became ill and was not expected to live. A priest visited him, and as he showed repentance for his act he was received back into the Church. He did not die, but recovered somewhat. He was therefore requested by Quinn to remove his son

40. _A.E.,_ 15/12/1879, _loc. cit._
41. _F.J.,_ 15/12/1877, p.17.
from the Grammar School. On his refusal to do so he was informed that he would be denied the rites of the Church were he to die in that state. He did subsequently die, and seemed to indicate repentance. However, his family refused to admit that this had been so, refused to remove his sons from the Grammar School, and so he was denied a Catholic burial.  

The incident was reported in newspapers throughout the colony and even discussed in Parliament. Malicious statements were made that the Bishop had demanded £1000 of Mr Kenna and had refused him the sacraments in personal spite. It was also alleged that the Bishop wanted complete control of Kenna's son. For Quinn, the whole incident was "very painful" but he knew his actions were in keeping with his duty "to inculcate on Catholic parents the sacred duty of procuring a Catholic education for their children." As he wrote:

42. It was Dr Byrne the Vicar General and Administrator of the Cathedral parish and not the Bishop who specifically authorised the refusal of Catholic burial F.J., 12/7/1879, p.18.
43. cf. S.M.H., 1/7/1879, p.4.
44. F.J., loc. cit.
45. ibid.
46. B.C.A., Quinn to Kenna, 6/5/1879.
"Were I weak enough now to pass over your case in silence, how could I address my people again on this subject? Would they not say, and justly say, that in Bathurst there is one law for the rich and another for the poor?

...entirely irrespective of any action of mine, the law affecting your case exists, and the only share I have in it is, that (often a most painful and disagreeable one) of enforcing its observance....

It is painful, very painful, to me to be obliged to adopt the course I have taken in your case; but you have left me no option in the matter. Were I to permit you to receive the sacraments, I would do grievous injury to my own soul, without saving yours."47

The Catholics were aroused by the prominence given to this case.48 Monster meetings were organised at which resolutions and addresses of loyalty were presented to Quinn49 and the Kenna case continued to rally loyalty to the Bishop in other towns for some months.50 A special meeting was also held in Saint Michael's Cathedral, in which Dr Byrne explained the details of the case so as to suppress the rumours which were circulating.51

47. ibid.
48. One other result of the incident was that a number of Catholic pupils were withdrawn from the Grammar School. F.J., 26/7/1879, p.15.
49. cf. F.J., loc. cit; B.R., 21/7/1879.
51. F.J., loc. cit.
Public Schools Proscribed for Catholics

The Bishop also incurred public displeasure because on his instructions, children of Catholics were withdrawn from public schools. In 1867 Parkes mentioned in Parliament that the teacher at Kirconnell had reported that Dr Quinn forbade the children to attend his school.52 This happened in other places too and eventually a public controversy flared up between Parkes and Quinn, in which the Sydney Morning Herald supported Parkes.53 Bishop Murray also came in for criticism because he instructed a Mrs Johnson to withdraw her children from the Glenwilliam Public School and enrol them at the Clarence Town Catholic Denominational School.54 The public outcry served further to strengthen the support of the laity for their Bishops. A meeting was held in Bathurst in January, 1870, at the height of the controversy between Quinn and Parkes. Addressing the meeting Quinn said:

"I shall use the right which Almighty God gave me when I was made your Bishop of issuing that universal prohibition to all

52. S.M.H., 2/10/1867.
53. S.M.H., January 1870, passim.
the children of my flock to frequent any but Catholic schools and this on the penalty of total deprivation of the sacraments of the Church....It ill suits me to enter into a newspaper warfare with any man. I wish to live on terms of peace with all if I can, and even those who differ from me will admit that I have no particular predilection to displease my fellow colonists of any class or creed."54

The immediate cause of the controversy this time was the Lenten Regulations of the Bishops. Quinn's Lenten Regulations for 1869 had included the regulation,

"The clergy will be pleased again to remind the faithful of the important duty of procuring a good Catholic education; and that parents who, having Catholic Education at hand, send their children to Protestant or Public Schools, cannot be admitted to the Sacraments."55

Parkes objected to "this terrible tyranny,"56 "As far as I understand the Roman Catholic faith," he declared, "you might as well threaten a person with physical death as threaten him with the withdrawal of the ordinances of his church."57 The Bishop was only stating individually what the whole Hierarchy

55. Quinn, Lenten Pastoral, 1869.
57. ibid.
was soon to decree collectively at the Provincial Council in Melbourne in April of the same year. The principles which these decrees endorsed were already contained in the propositions of the Syllabus of Errors of Pope Pius IX. Murray expanded on this theme in his Lenten Pastoral of 1875, when, quoting Pius IX, he said,

"Those who pretend that the Church ought to abdicate or suspend her control and her salutary action upon schools in reality ask her to disobey the command of her Divine Author, and to be false to the charge she has received from God of guiding all men to salvation..."  

Quinn also reminded the laity of the "awful obligation (he) was under, at the peril of (his) soul, of watching over the education of the people whom God had entrusted to (his) charge". He went on, "Our opponents may not admire, and we do not ask them to admire (this) doctrine...but it is folly, more than folly to deny that (it) expresses the Catholic doctrine."

58. Letter Pius IX to the Archbishop of Frieburg, 14/7/1864.  
59. Pastoral of Murray 17/2/1875, quoted in F.J., 6/3/1875, p.6. This same Papal Letter was later quoted by Quinn at Wellington. B.R., 1/9/1879, p.398.  
60. B.R., December, 1879, p.561.  
61. ibid.
Pastoral Letters

Catholic doctrine is traditionally explained to the faithful by their Bishops in Pastoral Letters. Quinn issued Pastorals regularly during his episcopate and used them, amongst other things, to remind the people of their duty with regard to the education of their children. They formed part of his plan to inform and enthuse the people. Similarly he undertook to present to his people each year, on the occasion of the prize giving of the Bathurst Catholic schools, an address on the state of education in the diocese.62 These were invariably informative and frequently made reference to education overseas. They show the care with which the Bishop prepared them and his obvious efforts to keep himself and his people abreast of developments in Church-State relations in education elsewhere.63

The Record

Another device inaugurated by Quinn in his aim to unify his people in their support for Catholic

63. ibid.
education was the publication of a diocesan paper, The Record. This was first published on June 15, 1877, and its first editor was Quinn's Vicar General, and subsequent successor as Bishop of Bathurst, Dr J.P. Byrne. The editorial of the first issue carried a declaration of its policy,

"We shall not neglect the all important question of Catholic Education.... We shall constantly insist on the right to educate our Catholic children, not according to the views of the anti-Catholic statesmen, but in accordance with the command of a far higher power, the desires of the infallible God."64

Its publication just at the time when the struggle between Church and State in education was building up to the climax of the Joint Pastoral and the Public Instruction Act, gave Quinn a further weapon with which to inform the faithful, and an incalculable advantage in opposing the anti-Catholic attitudes of the secular press. His brother Bishops endorsed the step wholeheartedly. Murray recommended it to his people in a Pastoral in 187865 and Vaughan congratulated Quinn on its appearance saying, "there is something cultured and thoughtful about it, and it

64. B.R., 15/6/1877.
65. B.R., 1/7/1878, p.155.
exhibits that amount of restraint which is an index of power." Quinn saw its success as integral in his campaign to lead the faithful to an acceptance of the Catholic school system when aid was withdrawn. At a meeting of the clergy in Bathurst on July 8, 1880, convened by Quinn to discuss education, the continuance and expansion of The Record was discussed. The profits were devoted to the Orphanage. The aim was to stimulate zeal for Catholic education, and so Quinn invited ideas from the clergy to improve it and to increase sales.

The Record did not long survive its founder, Dr Quinn. However, by that time, one part at least of the crisis was over. State aid had been withdrawn from denominational schools, and the Catholics, following the lead of their Bishops, had freely elected to establish a system of Catholic schools independent of the Government. Its work, like that of its founder, had been done.

66. Vaughan to Quinn, quoted in B.R., 2/7/1877, p.27.
67. B.C.A., Quinn to clergy, 8/7/1880.
68. ibid.
Dispute with the Herald over Distortion of Catholic Views

Throughout his activities to rouse the laity, Quinn was plagued by an insidious campaign by the Sydney Morning Herald to sow dissension amongst the laity and to suggest that they were not in agreement with the clergy on the education issue. The *Freeman's Journal* complained of the "continuous distortion of the views held by the Catholic laity upon the question of education as administered in the Public Schools of the colony." 69 Parkes and the Council of Education at this time enjoyed the support of Mr. Fairfax (himself a member of the Council) and the paper of which he was proprietor, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, in a most unequal campaign against the Catholics. 70 Parkes' hope was to coerce the Catholic authorities into acceptance of the public schools system by bringing it into favour with the laity. 71 He was thwarted in this first by Quinn's activity in setting up his system, spreading his propaganda through the Bathurst Record, and imposing penalties

on those Catholics who attended non-Catholic schools; and secondly by the decrees of the Provincial Council of 1869.72

But perhaps the most resounding rebuff in this combat was given at the opening of the Convent of Mercy, Bathurst. To the large gathering present, Murray said:

"Our presence here to-day is a most practical answer to people who have, with such astounding effrontery and pertinacity said that on the question of education, the Catholic laity were not with their Bishops."73

Quinn continued the theme:

"Let our rulers observe this fact, let the Government of the day, let the Council of Education, let persons who have dared to utter the calumny that the laity stood aloof from their Bishops on the great question of education, let all observe the great gathering of this day...no man will give his money freely and generously unless convinced the object is good...the argument against those opposing Catholics on education is contained in this bag which I have been unable to lift."74

Over £1700 was collected in cash and more than £2725 promised in donations.75

The allegations still persisted however. The Report on the Denominational Schools for 1869 claimed

72. ibid. 73. F.J., 22/2/1868, p.7.
74. ibid. 75. ibid.
that "parents as a body attach little value to denom- inational education as such...except to a partial extent in the case of Church of England and Eoman Catholic Schools."76 Certainly at Goulburn, denominational education was succeeding. The Council of Education had sent seven of its best teachers there with the alleged object of closing up the denominational schools.77 Yet there was not one Catholic child at the Public School, and three provisional schools had been established by Catholics. "The Council is surprised (so am I) where I find the children", wrote Dunne.78 So far from being at odds with the clergy, Dunne was able to write of his laity the following year, "It is quite clear that all the people want is to be properly instructed and led on to do what is right and Catholic."79

When the Public Instruction Act was under discussion, this campaign to pit the laity against the clergy, which had continued sporadically and intermittently throughout the administration of the

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78. ibid.
Council of Education, broke out again with renewed vehemence. Figures were presented to show that denominational schools had decreased. (This was correct, though enrolments had increased). Even speeches of Quinn himself were reported in such a way as to support this contention.\(^80\) Significantly this time, while the Bishops and clergy denied this imputation, the laity also wrote letters to the papers in support of their Bishops.\(^81\)

**The Laity Indifferent No Longer**

Quinn's policy had been successful. The laity had been convinced by his campaign to instruct and enthuse them. Everywhere he went, he was presented with addresses by his people praising his "efforts on behalf of Religion and education";\(^82\) recognising him "as the ablest opponent of the existing godless system of education."\(^83\) But to Quinn surely the greatest joy was when they no longer merely supported his policy and praised him, but identified themselves

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80. B.R., Quinn at Blayney, 15/6/1880.
with the great system of education which they and he had established and shared his pride in it. Such was the case, when he was welcomed to Forbes. In an address the people said:

"We are proud that in all Australia there is no diocese better provided with means of religious worship and religious education."84

Quinn had worked with purpose and determination to win the support of the laity in his struggle for Catholic education. He had formed associations for their instruction, arranged missions, and organised visits and addresses by prominent churchmen. He himself had been unrelenting in the earnestness with which he had preached Catholic education in their midst. He had even published a newspaper to spread his message, and to mould a unified opinion amongst them.

In 1872, one of his friends had written to Parkes, urging him to strive to gain the Irish vote, adding "the Irish are the warm-hearted supporters that a politician wants."85 Quinn needed no such urging.

He had long been convinced, and now enjoyed their loyal support. Now that they too shared his pride in the educational achievements of the diocese, his cause had indeed succeeded and his mission was really ended. 86

Mother Mary Hyacinth Quinlan. One of the first Sisters of Saint Joseph to come from Adelaide to Perthville. She remained at Perthville in 1875 when the other Sisters returned to Adelaide and helped Bishop Quinn to train his new postulants.

Mother Mary Benedict Hickey accompanied Quinn from Ireland in 1874 and was one of the band of Postulants Quinn used as the foundation of his new congregation of Sisters of Saint Joseph in 1875.
CHAPTER X

QUINN'S POLICY ENDORSED FOR THE WHOLE COLONY

The Joint Pastoral

When he arrived in the colony Matthew Quinn embarked on projects to provide Catholic education for his diocese. By 1872 he was pursuing a definite policy aimed at establishing a system of Catholic schools independent of the Government system, and staffed by religious teachers. In July, 1879, the Archbishop and Bishops of New South Wales published their Joint Pastoral.¹ This declared for a system of Catholic schools independent of the Government, thus endorsing the policy which had been adopted by Quinn some years earlier and relentlessly pursued ever since. The circumstances under which the policy was implemented were now somewhat altered however. The Public Instruction Act which became law in April, 1880,

¹ S.M.H., 25/7/1879.
was anticipated and amongst its provisions was the complete withdrawal of all Government aid from non-government schools in December, 1882.²

Quinn had long been expecting such a move and had determined even before the withdrawal of State aid to establish his own independent system. "The education act was merely the occasion of bringing that determination into being."³ His expectation of such an Act was hardly surprising. The Public Schools Act of 1866 had, in his eyes and those of the Hierarchy generally, been decidedly unjust to the denominational school system. His complaints and evidence of partial administration of the Act by the Council of Education have already been mentioned in chapter 7. Almost all his public pronouncements and private initiatives in the intervening years had been directed at achieving support for his system and any modification in the legislation, which would be favourable to Catholics.

In addition there was the evidence of legislative

³. Quinn to Bathurst Clergy, 7/7/1880, B.R., loc. cit.
enactments in the other colonies, all of which tended towards the secularisation of education and the repudiation of the denominational system.\textsuperscript{4} In New South Wales too, various motions to amend the 1866 Act and to discontinue aid to denominational schools, were introduced into the Legislative Assembly.\textsuperscript{5}

Although Parkes opposed these motions because he "believed the system was working well and it would be premature to break a system enjoying the confidence of all"\textsuperscript{6} it was obvious that he was merely biding his time. "Change must take place," he said in a speech at Sutton Forrest in May, 1879, "and in all probability it will take place before another year is over."\textsuperscript{7} The increasing insistence with which agitation for change was being made both inside and outside Parliament, assured Parkes of the opportunity to amend his 1866 Act at a time best suited to his own political ends. It seems unlikely however, that even he could have envisaged this opportunity being provided by the Catholic Hierarchy. Yet that is what happened.

\hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{4} Fogarty, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.482,483.
\hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{5} vide S.M.H., 1/6/1875; 11/2/1876; etc.
\hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{6} Parkes, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. 2, p.2.
\hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{7} S.M.H., 14/5/1879.
In July, 1879 "The Joint Pastoral Letter of the Archbishop and Bishops exercising Jurisdiction in New South Wales" was published. It really contained nothing new. The Principles which it applied had been laid down in the Provincial Council of 1869 and elaborated and clarified by the Pastorals of the individual Bishops in the intervening years. As Vaughan himself said, it expressed "truths which are as familiar to us as household words." Nevertheless, its effect was catastrophic, as much for the vehemence and vigour of its language, as for its timing:

"We, the Archbishop and Bishops having jurisdiction in New South Wales...by the authority of our united voice, instruct, warn and direct you as to your practice and your duties in regard to the education of Catholic children...

We,...with all the weight of our authority, condemn the principle of secularist education...We urge our clergy to do all in their power...to instruct the people in the teachings of the Christian religion...

Let all Catholic parents know that they cannot, without serious guilt, place their children in proximate danger of perversion...and that, unless there be exceptional reasons...no confessor can absolve such parents as are willing to expose their children's souls to the blighting influence of an alien creed or a secularist system."10

9. Pastoral 1, p.3.
Thus the bishops in united voice expressed their policy on education. Even the most cursory glance reveals how it reiterated the principles long ago enunciated by Quinn and Murray in the Decrees of the Provincial Synod of 1869\textsuperscript{11} and since then repeated by Quinn in his pastorals.\textsuperscript{12}

As already mentioned the effects of the pastoral were devastating and far-reaching. By no means least among these however was the unity of policy and purpose which its composition (and subsequently, too, its defence) imposed upon the Hierarchy. Its publication climaxed six years of consultation and meetings of the Hierarchy begun shortly after the arrival in December, 1873, of Archbishop Vaughan.\textsuperscript{13}

The Bishops' Dilemma

Quite early in these consultations it seems to have been agreed among the Bishops that unity of action was essential.\textsuperscript{14} This would simply have involved convincing Vaughan of the correctness and

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12. cf. Pastorals of Quinn 1873, 1875, 1879.
14. G.C.A.
15. Vaughan to Lanigan, 22/2/1876.
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suitability of the policies of Quinn already in fact endorsed and agreed to in the other dioceses. Vaughan would readily have appreciated the need for unity. His English background however would not have predisposed him so readily to accept as valid or necessary Quinn's policy of setting up a separate and independent system of schools and entrusting them to religious. For this reason Vaughan's decision in 1874 to extend and promote the work of the Marist Brothers was a momentous decision as a statement of policy and one which set the seal on the direction in which he would move. In making this decision he had overcome his own doubts, had ignored the opposition of influential clergy, and had succumbed to the influence of his suffragan Bishops. Quinn's policy had thus become the policy of the New South Wales Hierarchy, and it was now just a matter of determining specific lines of action.

Initially the Bishops tried to press their claims by seeing that candidates "with right views on education (were elected) into the Parliament." 

15. cf. Fogarty, op. cit., p.221.
16. ibid, loc. cit.
17. ibid.
18. S.M.C.A., Vaughan to Murray, 17/7/1874.
Lanigan even hoped and felt strongly that the position would be improved. "If the points of the Education Scheme that are particularly injurious to us and unjust are put as questions to those asking the votes of the people," he wrote, "I have great hope that many would be found to declare that they are not going to inflict such wrong." Yet the situation presented the Bishops with a dilemma. Vaughan was perplexed and anxious "to confer (with the Bishops) about what (they) ought to do regarding the schools question." "The enemy is active and noisy." he wrote. "Should we keep quiet?; organise in view of the elections? or wait?" This was the dilemma that faced the Bishops and about which they conferred in Sydney and later in the same month at Wagga Wagga.

One result of these meetings was that Lanigan and Murray (Quinn was overseas) prepared some notes on the education question for Vaughan and these and the decrees of the Provincial Synod of 1869 were discussed at a meeting between Murray and Vaughan. Subsequently

19. S.M.C.A., Lanigan to Vaughan, 6/10/1874.
21. Ibid.
22. S.M.C.A., Lanigan to Vaughan, loc. cit.
a document on Education was prepared by Vaughan and circulated amongst the Bishops. This was to have been printed, but the printing was delayed to enable Quinn just then returned to the colony from Europe to "have his say." The document does not seem to have been published. However, in February of the following year, 1876, Vaughan sent a "private circular to the clergy urging them to do all they can to oppose the new Bill." In informing Lanigan of this action he professed his opinion that it "would not destroy (their) unity of action." Nevertheless, the old dilemma - should he speak out or be silent - troubled him. In inviting the Bishops to advise him, he expressed his own opinion. "If we leave the Protestants to make the public display, and we meantime do our part quietly, our best interests will be served," he wrote. Murray, Lanigan and Vaughan conferred together for a few days, talking matters concerned with education in

25. ibid.
27. ibid.
28. ibid.
the "colony", in September, 1876.29 Quinn was "hundreds of miles away on Visitation" (at Bourke to be exact) but when he returned the Bishops were to meet again.30 Their meeting was most harmonious and all "seemed to be quite of one mind on this question."31

The Bishops continued to confer and correspond over the issue throughout 1877,32 and always they were faced with the dilemma of deciding whether they would help or hinder their cause by speaking out. Vaughan's letter is typical of their attitude:

"I am watching the present phase of the school question carefully. My only reason for keeping quiet is because I am greatly in doubt as to whether my coming forward would not do our cause harm: it would at once stir up opposition and I greatly fear would strengthen the hands of the enemy."33

The conferences and correspondence continued for another eighteen months. Finally the Bishops in a Meeting at St. John's College, University of Sydney on 27th May, 1879, "after long and serious consultation"34

29. M.C.A. Murray to Moran, 1/9/1876.
30. ibid.
31. ibid.
34. B.R., 1/9/1879, p.399, Quinn speaking at Dubbo.
agreed to certain propositions on education and authorised Vaughan "to embody them in a Joint Pastoral Letter."\(^{35}\) This Pastoral after submission to and approval by the Bishops was the document published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of July 25th, 1879.

**Vaughan Author of the Pastoral**

Quinn's policy had certainly been espoused, and unequivocally so. Moran's statement that "it was in great measure owing to the firm and uncompromising attitude (of Quinn) that the (Joint Pastoral) was issued\(^{36}\) is no doubt true. Yet it seems equally evident that the authorship was Vaughan's. The style and structure is typically Vaughan, and the statements of the suffragan Bishops, after its publication, support this view. Besides, it was in the general interest that Vaughan should be the author. His nationality was a factor in his favour both with the Government and the Protestants, especially the Anglicans.\(^{37}\) Quinn, on the other hand, had only recently incurred publicity over the Kenna case\(^{38}\) and

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36. Moran, *loc cit*.
38. vide supra, p.267.
this was bound to have prejudiced some at least against him. In addition he had a record of disagreement with Parkes on the education question. Besides, although Quinn undoubtedly held the position of influence among the Hierarchy, Vaughan's position as Archbishop was necessarily more influential with the people at large.

Catholics Aroused

On their own admission, the Bishops, in publishing their pastoral, wished to accomplish two things:

"Firstly and principally to secure the removal of all Catholic children from Public Schools where practicable and secondly to awaken in the minds of the Catholic parents of New South Wales the necessity of providing schools and all other necessary appliances for giving their children a Catholic education." 40

Vaughan felt that "the Catholic body had become torpid and indifferent in many ways and wanted rousing up." 41 In doing just this, the Bishops felt they had been successful. Thus Quinn claimed

39. vide supra, p.234.
40. F.J., 14/8/1880, p.9, Quinn at Mudgee.
41. S.M.C.A., Vaughan to Dr Smith (in Rome), 1/3/1880.
the results had been all they could desire and Vaughan that the Pastoral had "produced the best possible effect and (had) united the Catholic body in a way they (had) never been united before." Certainly the Bishops now received openly the public support of the faithful, and on all their public appearances were greeted with addresses of loyalty for the stand they had taken in education. The old charge that the clergy and the laity were not united on the school issue was again aired. This time, however, it was the laity themselves who refuted the imputation and even wrote in defence of their Bishops when their statements were misrepresented.

The Public Instruction Act

But the effects of the Joint Pastoral were not limited to the Catholic Community. The Government and in particular Parkes were aroused by what they termed the "sweeping condemnation of State Education", made "without provocation and in the face of the support".

42. F.J., 14/8/1880, p.9.
43. S.M.C.A., Vaughan to Dr Smith, loc. cit.
44. cf. F.J., 15/3/1880, p.15, Quinn at Forbes.
46. F.J., 10/1/1880, p.17.
which had been given to their state-aided schools. On November 5, 1879, Parkes introduced into Parliament the Public Instruction Bill. After much hostile debate in the House and further speeches and pastorals by Vaughan and the other Bishops (Parkes called them "inflammatory"), the third reading of the Bill was carried by forty-two votes to six (the six being Catholics) on February 25, 1880. The debate continued in the Upper House, though by now it was considered "unlikely that the Legislative Council (would) modify the... Bill." Mr. W.B. Dalley delivered a speech in the Legislative Council which was considered "a bold exposition of Catholic views and aims." In fact Bishop Laoigan directed that this speech be printed and copies distributed to the laity throughout his diocese. The Bill was finally passed and received the Royal Assent on 21st April, 1880.

48. ibid.
49. ibid, p.15.
50. ibid, p.23.
51. ibid, p.24.
53. F.J., loc. cit.
Thus one of the effects of the Joint Pastoral had been to precipitate the Public Instruction Act, but it certainly did not appreciably alter the course of events.

The Bishops had expected such an Act and one of the very reasons for their publishing the Pastoral was to prepare the Catholics for it. Parkes himself admitted that "the Bill which he had indicated his intention to introduce into Parliament would not have been exactly of the character of the present bill, had it not been for the audacious and... seditious attacks made upon the Government", but he thereby admitted that it had been his intention to amend the 1866 Act, and in fact he had been intimating that he would do so for the previous two years.

Amongst the provisions of the Act was the withdrawal in December, 1882, of all aid to denominational schools. The Bishops however were undaunted. They had "gravely considered" the consequences of the Act, and in general did not expect it to survive long.

56. Morris, op. cit., p.266; Fogarty, op. cit., p.251.
57. cf. Fogarty, op. cit., p.250.
60. Fogarty, op. cit., p.253.
Quinn expected it to last a few years, and then he felt justice would be done.\footnote{Quinn, Pastoral to Clergy and Laity of Diocese, 1879.} Within a few years, however, he was beginning to think "judging from the present tone of public opinion it (might) last for years."\footnote{Quinn, Lenten Pastoral, 1882.} Nevertheless, with an attitude almost of relief, they set about organising their independent system, and before long the fears of those opposed to the Catholics were being realised as "the sense of injustice combined with necessity (made the Catholic) people exert themselves, and turn an apparent defeat into a marvellous victory."\footnote{Rev. F.B. Bryce of Orange, 22/4/1880, Quoted Griffiths, op. cit., p.159.}

Nowhere was this "marvellous victory" being more carefully effected than in the Bathurst diocese. His absence from the colony in 1874 and 1875, his long journeys throughout his diocese on his return and recurring bouts of illness, tended to remove Quinn from personally supervising the activities of the Hierarchy on the education question. Besides the aged Archbishop Polding had now been replaced by Vaughan. Quinn's influence amongst the Bishops however, continued to be very considerable. He
was giving practical effect in the diocese of Bathurst to his principles in the matter of education, thereby strengthening this influence and demonstrating the practicality of his scheme. He had "determined to show what could be effected through denominational education."  

Education in his diocese was effectively denominational already. The laity already supported his policy. Still, as the time approached for the break between Church and State in education, he intensified his activities. In January, 1879, he began preaching on education "with an earnestness that (could) not be mistaken", never missing an "opportunity of impressing in the most emphatic manner on parents, the awful necessity of giving their children a thorough religious education".  

Then, after the publication of the Pastoral he saw to it that its main points were elucidated to the faithful. His Vicar General, Dr Byrne, preached on the Pastoral in the Cathedral on Sundays after Vespers.

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64. F.J., 24/12/1879, p.15.
66. ibid.
Quinn himself set out on another visit of the western and northern parts of his diocese, everywhere speaking on the Pastoral. He spoke at Orange, Dubbo, Wellington, Bourke, Brewarrina, Forbes, to mention only some of his recorded speeches. 68

Quinn and the Pastoral

Nowhere did he in any way retract any of the statements of the Pastoral, even in the face of the vehement opposition which it had aroused. Thus at Wellington he reiterated, "we assert that no Catholics can, with good conscience, send their children to any school where they are not taught their own religion", 69 and later the same year in Bathurst he affirmed, "The Archbishop wrote it (the Pastoral), but I signed it and every word in it was mine." 70 Like Vaughan, also, 71 Quinn repudiated the imputation that the Pastoral was an attack on Protestantism. 72 Rather was it, he claimed, aimed against "secularism which was as much a foe of Protestantism as of Catholics". 73 And this

68. B.R., August, September, October, 1879, passim.
70. B.R., 1/1/1880, p.6.
71. cf. Pastoral 1, p.4; Speech Forest Lodge, 12/10/1879.
73. ibid.
argument was repeated by W.B. Dalley in his speech before the Legislative Council.\textsuperscript{74} In support of his argument, Quinn referred his listeners to articles in the "Australian Churchman" (a recognised organ of the Church of England in the diocese of Sydney) claiming that "the Pastoral did not point out the difficulties of teaching religion in Public Schools more thoroughly than did the Churchman."\textsuperscript{75} Likewise, in reply to those who had taken "umbrage at what had been said in the Pastoral of the behaviour of children who were educated without religion" and who had accused the Catholic Prelates of "libelling the Public Schools and the youth of the community"\textsuperscript{76} he quoted Anglican Bishop Moorehouse of Melbourne:

"Without a religious education...your boys will sink into mere animals, admiring vice for its courage or its smartness. They will become not good, wise, self-denying men but larrickins, or sympathisers with ruffians like the Kellys."\textsuperscript{77}

Catholics Support the Bishops

But if there was some opposition to the Bishops

\textsuperscript{74.} vide supra, p.294.
\textsuperscript{75.} B.R., 1/9/1879, loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{76.} ibid.
\textsuperscript{77.} ibid.
and their Pastoral, the Catholic laity were responding appropriately, and everywhere he went, Quinn was the recipient of addresses of loyalty, thanking him for his "earnest efforts to procure...an education that in its training consults the soul as well as the intellect." 78 Quinn, for his part was grateful, but "wanted no sympathy over the Pastoral." 79 In fact he was "quite satisfied with the progress of the Education question; people were beginning to understand what Catholics required in the matter." 80 Speaking subsequently at Dubbo, he continued on the same theme:

"It was a portion of his work as a public man and a Catholic Bishop to conciliate those who were not of the same religion as he, and to create a union between men of all creeds in any common work for the furtherance of the country's weal.... If his intentions had not always been successfully realised, at least they had been attempted, and his principles in this respect...had been thoroughly recognised by all sections of the community - those who agreed with him, as well as those who differed from him in religion." 81

When Quinn returned to Bathurst, Parkes had already introduced his Public Instruction Bill into

78. Address from people of Bourke, B.R., 1/10/1879, p.447.
79. ibid.
80. B.R., 15/10/1879, Quinn at Brewarrina, p.470.
Parliament. It came as no surprise to him and the Bishops. Lanigan had already chaired a "monster meeting" in Goulburn the previous month to discuss the Education question and this Meeting drew up a Petition for the Legislative Assembly embodying the principle issues raised by the Bishops in the Pastoral, and so soon to be repudiated in Parkes' Bill. 82 Quinn chaired a similar meeting in his Cathedral on 30th November and more than 1500 people attended. 83 Coming as it did after the introduction of the Bill to amend the Public Schools Act, it was able to more specific in its resolutions:

"We the Catholics of Bathurst, in public meeting assembled, protest against the Public Instruction Act now before Parliament, and shall petition against it, as much as it involves a violation of the civil and parental rights of the Catholics of this colony." 84

It also resolved to form a "Catholic Defence Association" to protect the educational rights of Catholics. 85 Once again Quinn had the satisfaction

82. B.R., 15/10/1879 (Petition see Appendix V).
83. B.R., 15/12/1879, p.551.
84. ibid.
85. ibid.
of seeing the Catholic laity publicly endorsing his and the Bishops' policy. Always a gentleman, however, Quinn urged them "to be most moderate in what they had to say. Their cause was a just and good one, and their strength lay in being firm but moderate in their language." Similar meetings were held elsewhere throughout the diocese.

Catholic Schools Without State Aid

When the Act became law, Quinn at once set about ensuring the stability and permanence of his system. He convened a meeting of the Clergy of the diocese at his residence in July, 1880 "to take mutual counsel on the best means to be adopted to provide for the education of (the) children, especially when State assistance (was) withdrawn in 1882. He outlined the three principal needs for a successful and efficient system of education as "training schools to

86. ibid. Quinn's insistence on moderation seems difficult to reconcile with the vehemence of the language of the Pastoral. Vaughan's florid style and choice of language in the Pastoral gave offence to many. It is not unlikely that the language would have been much more tempered had Quinn written the Pastoral. The principles which it enunciated however would have remained. (vide supra p.298)


88. Quinn to Clergy 7/7/1880, B.R., 15/7/1880, p.326.
procure good teachers, thorough inspection of the teachers’ work, and the means to maintain both." The Convent of Mercy, Bathurst, and the Convent of St. Joseph at The Vale were already providing for the training of teachers for the girls schools. Steps had been taken to introduce a congregation to provide similarly for the boys. Quinn intended to appoint a priest to inspect the schools and report "regularly to a council which (he) would appoint, and over which (he) would preside, to manage (the whole system of education)."

Each of the priests present gave his opinion to the Bishop, and after much discussion resolutions were adopted pledging "co-operation with the Bishop in thoroughly providing for the future educational wants of the diocese", and resolving "that an appeal be made to the proverbial generosity of the laity for the funds necessary to carry out these objects, and that a diocesan Board of Education and complete system of inspection be established." Throughout the next two years, Quinn worked feverishly to ensure that his schools would continue after the withdrawal of aid.

89. ibid.
90. ibid.
91. ibid.
Minor skirmishes between himself and Parkes, and the *Sydney Morning Herald* continued sporadically.

In particular the old accusation that the Catholic laity disagreed with their Bishop was revived, and statistics were offered to support this. A speech by Quinn himself was "fabricated, to give the appearance that Catholics were not supporting Denominational schools." At the opening of the convent in Blayney in August, 1880, Quinn refuted the charges and challenged the facts and figures adduced by Parkes. The refutation was "so crushing, so complete, and so well substantiated," the *Freeman's Journal* claimed, "that no one since had ventured to contradict it... and both Sir Henry and the Herald... held an ominous silence on Denominational education from that day to this." By December, 1881, instead of delivering his annual statement on the condition of education in his diocese, Quinn was confident that the situation was in hand and had "nothing to add to what he had already said" on the question. Later he

92. F.J., 10/1/1880, p.17.
95. *ibid*.
96. F.J., 31/12/1881, p.17.
added, "Prudence directs us to accept for the present, and to leave our fellow citizens to discover for themselves by experience, whether they have thus decided in wisdom or in error."97

Support for his policy continued to increase however. In this the Freeman's Journal assisted him. Its editor enthused over "that policy which has already covered his diocese with Catholic schools and enabled the students to take first place in the University examinations."98 The laity too were proud that in all Australia there (was) no diocese better provided with the means of religious worship and education."99 This pride and enthusiasm was especially strengthened when visitors such as Bishop Murray, just returned from Europe, congratulated them on their zeal in "erecting such educational establishments" and on the "well known success of the system of education obtaining in them."100 By the end of 1882 the laity were awaiting the challenge which the new year would bring them with enthusiasm and quiet confidence. Meetings were held and subscription

funds opened to raise the funds necessary for the teachers' salaries.¹

This attitude and the "cultural and refined intelligence of the gifted" nuns had won the esteem and support of others throughout the country. The Mudgee Free Press reporting on the annual distribution of prizes in the Catholic schools of Mudgee commented:

"The conscientious objection entertained by (Catholics) against the State system of education in this colony is well understood, and the sublime and self sacrificing efforts they have made to supply the people with the means of obtaining high class education for a moderate charge is deserving of our sincerest admiration and warmest sympathy."²

Such statements as this were a delight to Quinn. Not only was his policy now successful and genuinely accepted by the laity, but the very sincerity of his efforts and the moderation with which his policy had been pursued had won the sympathetic support of other colonists. He summarised his attitude and feelings towards the education question and the Catholic response to this problem in the address he gave to the clergy of his diocese, assembled in Synod in Bathurst in January, 1883:

2. Quoted, B.R., 15/12/1882, p.17.
"The withdrawal of State-aid from our schools involves us and our people in a struggle of great moment.... I do not mean... that I consider the Catholic body at any time called upon to enter upon a course of antagonism of any sort to anybody;... our fellow colonists will now be afforded an opportunity of testing the sincerity of our profession by our conduct. ...

The State has dealt severely with us... but in so dealing it has conferred a benefit that perhaps much more than compensates for the severity... we will be able to insist on homework and parental co-operation...

This is not only in itself a most important part of education - for that child is best taught whose intellect and will are invigorated by his own effort to learn - but by it also, the interest of the parent is aroused. Thus is the parents' attention called to a most important but much neglected duty, namely, active co-operation with the school in the work of instruction....

I call to your minds that through your own zeal, seconded by the generosity of your people, ample provision is already made for continuing in working order all our schools hitherto aided by the State, and we have now only to extend the system of Catholic education already in existence in this diocese." 3

With this address Quinn effectively closed his campaign for Catholic education. His health had

been failing now for some years. On medical advice he intended to visit Europe to try to recuperate. However he had delayed his departure "until complete provisions had been made for the re-opening of (the) Catholic schools, after the withdrawal of State Aid."\(^4\)

In Europe he undertook certain business in connection with the departure of the Patrician Brothers for the colony and the approval in Rome of their constitutions,\(^5\) though these matters had been fairly conclusively dealt with by Lanigan and Murray during their visits to Europe. On his return to the colony in November, 1884, he was a much enfeebled man, and his death came less than two months later.

**The Bishops Follow Quinn Once More**

But if Quinn was retiring from the scene, the other Bishops were continuing, and along lines pioneered by Quinn. Thus in September, 1882, after his return from Europe and a visit to Bathurst\(^6\) Murray in consultation with the priests of his diocese appointed

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5. cf. G.C.A., Quinn (Rome) to Lanigan, 26/1/1884.
6. vide supra, p.305.
a committee of priests with himself as chairman to "arrange all matters connected with the schools - appointment of teachers, choice of books, proper expenditure of funds", organised a general collection to defray the costs of education and "the transport of Brothers and Sisters from Ireland", and announced that he would appoint a diocesan inspector of Catholic Schools.7 Lanigan likewise appointed a committee for his diocese and availed himself of its advice.8 Lanigan had previously recommended to his flock that there be a "Catholic paper, e.g. The Bathurst Record in every Catholic family."9

Bishops Request Inspection of Catholic Schools

Having obliged the faithful under penalty of refusal of the Sacraments10 to establish and support Catholic schools, the Bishops were anxious that the people could have confidence in their efficiency11. This attitude was endorsed in editorial comment in

the **Freeman's Journal**, which said:

"The laity are willing...to send their children to Catholic Schools.... All they expect in return is that they shall KNOW (sic) that the education given is, at least, not inferior to that given in the State schools."12

For this reason the Bishops had appointed inspectors in their respective dioceses. The danger however was that they might not "appear to be impartial."13 Accordingly both Lanigan and Murray asked Suttor and Reid, successively Ministers for Public Instruction, "to direct inspectors to visit the Roman Catholic schools in the diocese and to examine and report on the condition of secular instruction in those schools."14 The reply from the Minister (Mr. Reid) was that "this request cannot be complied with".15 Murray even called personally on each of the Ministers concerned, and each time without success.16 The Bishops had hoped to have the results of the inspections published in the

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15. *ibid*.
annual report of the Minister of Public Instruction.¹⁷ Such inspection would have successfully answered one of the stock arguments against Catholic schools, "especially...the schools of the religious orders,... that they are not open to the Government Inspector, and the country does not know what goes on in them."¹⁸ Quinn had made moves for such inspection before he left for Rome¹⁹ and in his letters from overseas expressed his admiration and congratulations upon the "magnificent educational triumphs (he) left...beyond all things...that tip (given to) Reid regarding the Government inspectors."²⁰

The original refusal had been on the grounds that the "Act of 1880 provided that after 31/12/1882 all aid to certified Denominational schools from consolidated revenue, should wholly cease."²¹ The Bishops were genuine in their request however and quite willing to pay for the service. The refusal and its endorsement by the Sydney Morning Herald left them therefore with the impression that their opponents were "only willing that (the schools) be

¹⁷. ibid., p.12.
¹⁸. ibid.
¹⁹. ibid. ²⁰. G.C.A., Quinn (Rome) to Lanigan, 2/4/1884.
inspected if they were not likely to pass the inspection. 22

So the Bishops failed in their attempts to gain Government inspection for their schools and from then on the Government system and the Catholic system proceeded independently of each other. The Public Instruction Act and the Joint Pastoral became history. The epithets hurled on both sides 23 generally subsided and each party settled down to administering its own system.

The Bishops Confident

The Bishops believed that the withdrawal of aid would inflict only "temporary strain" and that justice would be done in a few years. 24 Meanwhile their schools had survived the withdrawal quite successfully and they were confident they could continue to do so. Thus Quinn informed the Hon. John Robertson, Minister of Public Instruction, that he did "not intend offering any of the Denominational School

24. vide supra, p.296.
property in the Diocese for sale to the Government."  
This was provided for in the 32nd Section of the Public Instruction Act of 1880, and the Minister had sought information from most of the heads of the denominational schools. Lanigan was almost as confident. He "expected that Catholics (would) sustain their schools at the expense of great exertions and great sacrifices and hope(d) not to have any for sale."  
Rev. P. Hand who was deputising for Murray in his absence abroad was perhaps the least sanguine, though this is understandable enough under the circumstances. He informed the Minister that he could not "promise" that the Bishop will not close any schools. "He will not want to but he might not be able to avoid it."  
Quinn's confidence was not brash. There were at the time of withdrawal of aid only fourteen of the forty odd schools in his diocese which were receiving aid. Six were controlled by the Nuns and would continue. Of the others the Sisters of St. Joseph

25. B.C.A., Quinn to Hon. J. Robertson, 19/10/1881.
27. M.C.A., Rev. P. Hand to Hon. Minister of Public Instruction, 6/12/1881.
were to take over those at Gulgong, Hill End, and Sofala. The remaining boys schools at Bathurst, Orange, Mudgee, and Dubbo would continue as before under lay masters until the advent of the Brothers of Saint Patrick. Two years later he was able to report that in his diocese they had lost "not even one school since the withdrawal of aid, but many had been added to their number." He even claimed that the Act had done them a service in securing for them the services of the Brothers of Saint Patrick, "for though he... intended to introduce religious teachers, (he) would not have done so speedily, but for the withdrawal (of the aid)." The position was similar in other dioceses.

In January of the following year, Quinn died, but his work was complete. He had established an independent system of Catholic schools and by his vigorous insistence in word and deed had convinced the Catholic Hierarchy, the Clergy, and the laity of the validity and practicality of his policy. One question remained for his successors to answer. What had he achieved?

30. ibid.
Diocese of Bathurst
1865 - 1885
CHAPTER XI

QUINN'S ACHIEVEMENT

Some Statistical Evidence

Quite early in his career in the colony, addressing his people of Bathurst Quinn said:

"I trust I shall be assisted by the Council of Education in (my) design: but whether or no...in these exertions for the advancement of education I am certain of success, for I shall have ample assistance at all events in the strong united voice and co-operation of the Catholics of the Western District."¹

By January, 1885, it was history that the Council of Education had not assisted him in his educational exertions and that the Catholic laity had. His opponents were willing to declare that his campaign for denominational education had therefore not been successful. They adduced statistics to support their arguments. Thus Parkes referred to the 50%

¹. Quinn at Bathurst 1867, F.J., 4/1/1868, p.11.
drop in the number of denominational schools from 317 in 1866 to 160 in 1880 and in pupils from 27,463 in 1866 to 23,047 in 1880 as "a conclusive answer to those who say that parents of certain religious persuasions will not send their children to public schools."\(^2\) His statistics however hardly gave the true picture. As far as Catholics were concerned, though the number of Certified Catholic Denominational Schools had indeed fallen, (some 38 Certified Denominational Schools with an enrolment of 3141 pupils having been withdrawn from the Council administration), their enrolments had increased from 10,346 in 1867 to 11,341 in 1879.\(^3\) In the Bathurst Diocese specifically, the increase had been from seven schools and 492 pupils in 1866 to fourteen schools and 1548 pupils in 1880. In addition, a further thirty-three schools and colleges entirely unaided by the Government were providing education for 3039 pupils.\(^4\)

Quinn therefore claimed that he had been successful.

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3. ibid.
4. ibid.
"We may thank the Public Schools Act for this great blessing. Sir Henry who 'handed to the printer this Act in his own handwriting' is our benefactor. He has given energy to our brain, and generosity to our heart to supply the means of rescuing our children from this godless system of education."5

The decision to "rescue" the children from the "godless system" had been made many years before and enunciated in the decrees of the Provincial Synod in 1869. These decrees, largely drawn up by Quinn6 had declared amongst other things, "We condemn that education of Catholic youth which is separated from Catholic faith and...we shall take care to remove Catholic children from those schools which are called mixed schools, since in them, according to civil law, the Church can exercise no authority..."7 Indeed "energy of brain" and "generosity of heart" had long been synonymous with Quinn's activities on behalf of education, and in spite of protestations to the contrary,8 comparative statistics reveal just how significantly better was the provision for Catholic education in his diocese than in the others.

8. vide supra, p.178.
Statistics of New South Wales Dioceses, 1886

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<th>Goulburn</th>
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<tr>
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<td>67</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>374</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>202</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>taught</td>
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<tr>
<td>Children receiving</td>
<td>20,000</td>
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<td>3676</td>
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<td>Total Catholic</td>
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<td>30,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
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Yet it must not be thought that Quinn's claim to an eminent position in the history of the development of Catholic education in New South Wales depends merely on the demonstrably better education statistics of his diocese at the time of his death. Rather are these statistics better because of the course and the policy pursued by Quinn, and because he was indeed pre-eminently significant in the development of Catholic education in New South Wales.

One of his first actions after being notified of his appointment as Bishop of Bathurst had been to arrange with the Sisters of Mercy at Charleville to provide a community of Sisters for work in his diocese. No sooner had they arrived than he entrusted to them the care of the Catholic Denominational Girls School at Bathurst, an Orphanage which he established, and Saint Mary's High School for Girls. Within twelve months he had also established Saint Stanislaus' High School and College for boys and signified his intention of opening a model school to train up a supply of teachers for the schools of his diocese.10

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10. vide supra, chapter 4.
More significant though than the founding of these particular establishments in Bathurst, was his assumption of the leadership of the Catholics, Hierarchy and laity. It was no secret that Archbishop Polding was losing his grip of the situation. At the time of the crisis of the 1866 Public Schools Act, he was actually overseas. The Catholic body was disunited and disorganised, despite the heroic efforts of the Vicar General, Archpriest Sheehy. Quinn, fresh to the colony, vigorous, and above all Irish, had the people enthusiastically cheering his very first speech in the colony. It did not take long to size up the situation and after discussion and prudent enquiries, he quickly assumed control.

The result is history. In July, 1867, less than twelve months after his arrival, he and the other Bishops of the colony presented to Parkes a document in which they outlined the Catholic demands and attitudes in education. Already under Quinn's leadership and by his insistence, unity had been achieved amongst the Hierarchy (and they were now convinced of its necessity), and now the Catholic laity,
and non-catholics too, knew exactly what was officially the Catholic stand on education.

This stand was based on the traditional Catholic view of education as "co-operation with grace in the formation of a true and perfect Christian." Hence the Bishops insisted on the necessity of religion as an integral part of education, and on their right and duty to supervise and direct it.

Quinn's Education Policy

Meanwhile, Quinn had sensed that the Catholic demands for supervision of education were unlikely to be met, and had therefore determined on a policy in education—to set up a system of Catholic schools independent of the government schools. To achieve this, three things were necessary. First, he needed a supply of Religious to staff his schools, (payment of lay teachers would be prohibitive, and in any case, they were not easy to find in the colony). Secondly, he needed to convince his brother Bishops (now determined to show a unified policy on

education) that his policy was a practicable one and the correct one. Thirdly, he needed to convince the laity, on whose support the scheme would flourish or founder, of its necessity and its feasibility.

His solution to the second problem was very simple. He just went ahead and established his system of Catholic schools and let the achievements speak for themselves. Before long the other suffragan Bishops (and ultimately Vaughan too) were praising and supporting his policy in the most genuine way possible - by imitation.

No less direct was his technique for obtaining Religious teachers. The seven Sisters of Mercy who accompanied him to the colony were soon joined by others. Quinn himself recruited vocations for his diocese on each of his trips to Europe so that by 1885 there were eighty-seven Sisters of Mercy in the diocese in eight communities. In spite of the various set backs and difficulties the Sisters of St. Joseph had finally become established in the diocese in 1875, and numbered one hundred and fifteen in twenty-four communities by 1885. Only in his efforts to obtain Brothers for his boys schools was

he less successful. Nevertheless, on his return from Europe on the last occasion in 1884, he was accompanied by thirteen Brothers of Saint Patrick, and an earlier band had preceded him to Bathurst.

The laity too, quickly rallied to support his schemes. To some extent the support was the inevitable. Quinn's own determination and genuineness seemed to disarm even his opponents and win from them, even grudgingly, their admiration. His Irish nationality was also a help amongst a Catholic population which was essentially Irish. Finally the very situation in which the Catholics found themselves deprived, as they believed, of justice in education, opposed to the existing system, and seeking a leader to espouse their cause, encouraged them to band together behind the Bishop.

Yet Quinn did not leave the enthusing of the laity merely to these coincidental circumstances. He planned a definite campaign. By his Pastorals, by his sermons, by his speeches on special occasions, by "monster meetings", by education missions preached in

14. ibid.
the parishes, by the visits of leading church dignitaries, and by the publication of his own newspaper, the Bathurst Record, he contrived to keep the education question, and his solution to it, ever before his people. In this he was successful, and his every appeal to them received generous support. Moreover, whenever their Bishop was in any way the subject of controversy or his policies questioned, they rallied spontaneously and genuinely to support him.\textsuperscript{16} As early as 1868, Murray was able to command the people of Bathurst for their "zeal in the cause of education" which was "well known beyond the limits of (their) diocese,"\textsuperscript{17} and as years passed this increased rather than diminished.\textsuperscript{18}

His Policy Endorsed by the Bishops

The result of these activities on Quinn's part, was that when the Bishops, by their Joint Pastoral of 1879 finally opted out of the Government system and

\textsuperscript{16} cf. Kenna Case, p.267.

\textsuperscript{17} Murray at opening Mercy Convent, Bathurst, in F.J., 22/2/1868, p.7.

\textsuperscript{18} cf. Address to Quinn departing for Rome, B.R., 1/2/1883, p.8.
determined to pursue their own course in education, independent of the Government, they were in fact endorsing the policy previously adopted by Quinn and relentlessly prosecuted by him since then in his diocese. Those dioceses which had effectively been following his lead (especially Maitland and Goulburn) were prepared for the break, and survived the loss of aid without any diminution in their educational endeavours. Even Sydney, which had committed itself to the policy somewhat later, and where inevitably the task was of greater magnitude, survived the withdrawal of aid in 1882.

But it was not only Quinn's policy in anticipation of this event which was followed. Each of the dioceses was quick to follow his lead and establish the same machinery - a diocesan education board, an inspector of schools, an annual collection - to maintain the system after 1882.

Certainly Quinn's role in the establishment of the system of Catholic Schools which still exists in New South Wales, was that of leader. Admittedly, for a time Vaughan held the limelight and made the speeches. But it was Quinn's policy which he was

18. ibid.
preaching. Lanigan asserted this unequivocally in his Pastoral Letter in 1884, shortly after the death of Vaughan:

"We have lost that grand figure whose commanding voice in defence of Christian education thrilled the country; but the cause will not be deserted, because it was not his cause, but that of the Catholic faith. And indeed, before he entered on that brilliant course in defence of Christian education, the cause was being practically sustained in the suffragan dioceses, and before the issue of the celebrated Joint Pastoral, the late Archbishop was several times urged by the Suffragans to take some such definite course. The words were his, but the principles are for us all."19

Quinn - An Administrator

Quinn was no education theorist. His attitude to education was practical and Catholic. He saw education as a means of training and preparing youth for the "calls and duties of life" and of instructing them "in the principles of religion."20 Man consists of body and soul, heart and mind, and "any education

not embracing these two things could not be called education." Thus, addressing the parents and pupils of Saint Stanislaus' College at the annual distribution of prizes in 1876 he said:

"This is true education, to cultivate, to train, to develop, to strengthen, to polish the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious faculties. This education fits a man to serve himself, his family, his friends, and his country, and in the end it enables him to prepare for eternal life. This is true education; it is to the acquisition of this knowledge - secular and religious - that you must apply all your faculties."  

In this he merely reiterated traditional Catholic belief, but he gave evidence of the sincerity of this belief by the measures he took to ensure that education embodying these principles was available to the children of his diocese.

He was not an innovator either. In fact, there is nothing in his plan for Catholic education which had not been initiated elsewhere. On his own and contemporary evidence, it seems that the idea of country colleges, such as St. Stanislaus' originated with Rev. Dr. McAlroy. Similarly his whole scheme for an independent system of schools had been tried already in South Australia, and was the brainchild of

Father Woods.\textsuperscript{24} Even the idea of a newspaper seems to have been taken from Woods' example in Adelaide.\textsuperscript{25} Finally, his decision to establish a seminary for the training of priests was made at the immediate suggestion of the authorities in Rome.\textsuperscript{26}

Quinn's contribution was as an administrator. No scheme or idea is of practical use unless it can be implemented and it was Quinn's particular ability to make schemes work. Thus, when the system was falling into disfavour in Adelaide,\textsuperscript{27} Quinn transplanted Woods' scheme to his diocese and by his drive, energy and determination saved and made viable this system which was subsequently espoused throughout the whole of the colony. By establishing St. Stanislaus' College he gave practical evidence to his fellow Bishops that such colleges were worthwhile and could survive and so translated McAlroy's dream for country colleges into a reality. St. Charles' Seminary too, in spite of the misgivings of the other prelates who felt it was "premature" successfully provided priests for the Australian dioceses until it was superseded by

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} \textit{vide supra}, p. 106.
\item \textsuperscript{25} cf. Fogarty, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 233.
\item \textsuperscript{26} \textit{vide supra}, p. 136.
\item \textsuperscript{27} \textit{vide supra}, p. 110.
\item \textsuperscript{28} \textit{vide supra}, p. 136.
\end{itemize}
St. Patrick's College, Manly. The contribution of Matthew Quinn was to give practical effect to all these schemes.

**Courtesy in Opposition**

On the eve of his departure from the colony for Europe in 1883, Quinn in reminiscent mood, recalled some of his efforts in the cause of education:

"When I came to the colony, there was commenced, indeed before I came to it, a strife in the matter of education. I entered into it with heart and soul. I was young and vigorous and gave it my whole ability. But remember, we entered into the contest, merely to get justice, and not to overcome as enemies those who contended against us."\(^{29}\)

Inevitably throughout the years, there had been disagreement with others in the cause of education. Time and again Quinn referred to this in his addresses, urging on his people moderation and charity in their dealings with those who "differed conscientiously from them."\(^{30}\) He himself was the example "par excellence" of this charity. On one occasion he even deferred

\(^{29}\) B.R., 1/3/1883, p.111.

\(^{30}\) F.J., 15/12/1877, p.17.
answering certain accusations made against himself by Parkes because of personal misfortunes that "that man (Parkes) had recently suffered."  

The explanation of his own complacency and equanimity in weathering controversies, is probably found in the advice he gave his people who had gathered to support him over criticisms arising out of the Kenna case. Referring to this incident in which "stern duty" had compelled him "to perform an act, the most disagreeable of (his) whole life" he advised them:

"Let not the angry abuse of your enemies disturb you. Calmly and good-humouredly disabuse, by sound argument, all who misunderstand you; act with energy, perseverance, and union on every suitable occasion; but above all, act straight-forwardly and above-board, and success will ultimately crown your efforts."  

Such most surely was the attitude of a man who could write to Mother Mary of the Cross on her way to Rome telling her of his "very decided opposition" to the Rules for which she was seeking approval there,

31. F.J., 7/1/1871, p.9. This was a reference to his being declared bankrupt in 1870.

32. vide supra, p. 267.

33. Quinn to Catholics of Bathurst over Kenna Case, F.J., 9/8/1879.
and at the same time give her a very strong letter of recommendation to the authorities in Rome.\textsuperscript{34} Indeed he was not one "to indulge in a feeling of animosity against any human being."\textsuperscript{35}

Most of the extant biographical and historical writings which touch on the life and works of Matthew Quinn deal principally with the Institute of the Sisters of Saint Joseph and its Founders, Father Woods and Mother Mary. Because Quinn seemed to feature so much in the early days of that Institute in the role of an opponent threatening its very existence, the picture of Quinn that emerges from such studies is not very encouraging. Yet, a careful reading of his writings and speeches, and the opinion of his contemporaries does not support this picture. Priests who were ordained by him and served under him declared him to be "one of the most lovable characters that ever ruled a diocese."\textsuperscript{36} Even Mother Mary referred to him as one of the "greatest benefactors"\textsuperscript{37} of her Institute. She apparently appreciated the motives of his opposition.

\textsuperscript{34} vide supra, p. 167.
\textsuperscript{35} F.J., 12/7/1879, p.18.
\textsuperscript{36} McNamara, op. cit., p.25.
\textsuperscript{37} vide supra, p. 167.
better than subsequent writers who acknowledged his "energy and determination" but rather as "prejudice" which made him "slow to yield to the opinions or sentiments of others." Cardinal Moran wrote of him as "no ordinary man, but one of unquestionable power and commanding ability...a man of gentle affections and strong moral qualities...a sound scholar" who sacrificed "the higher graces of elegant scholarship...in the intensity of his desire to employ all his mental powers entirely for practical purposes of religion." He occasionally showed "sternness", but such "sternness of manner, when the interests of religion were at stake, was combined with a singular personal humility and a perfect honesty that disarmed hostility." The rigours of his life as a missionary in India, and the hardships and privations he endured in his travels and mode of living throughout his episcopate, marked him as a man of great endurance, who would not shrink "from the humblest or most trying forms of duty." It was in this spirit and with this experience that he could unflinchingly urge his people "not to be discouraged

41. ibid.
42. ibid.
by the prospect of years of contention. 43

Appreciation

Matthew Quinn died at St. Stanislaus’ College, Bathurst, on the morning of January 16th, 1885, at the close of the annual Retreat of the clergy. "The common sorrow following the realisation of his death" was an indication of "the affection of his own people and the esteem of the community amongst whom he served." 43a. On all sides, tributes were paid to his "tolerance", "whole-hearted zeal", "devotedness", and the "lack of ostentation", with which he had pursued his policies. 44 The Sydney Morning Herald, which had so often opposed him in the many controversies of his public career, paid fitting tribute to him in its editorial of January 17th, 1885:

"To the majority of readers outside his own flock he will be remembered by his connection with the Kenna incident and the singularly fruitful controversy that resulted therefrom; but a large experience or as careful study of the life and labours of Dr. Quinn will not leave that incident so prominent as to overshadow a life of much piety, charity, and zeal… even Protestants will have little cause to complain if in Bathurst instance there is one

43a. S.M.H., 17/1/1885, p.9.
44. ibid.
appointed, in every sense worthy to bear
the crozier of the late Dr Quinn."45

Catholics mourned a good and kindly Bishop, and
"champion of Catholic education."46 But the cause
to which he had dedicated himself was now flourishing
and in one sense at least, Quinn was no longer needed.
His whole organisation which "bore the stamp of his
own character — modesty, solidity, and completeness"47
survived the withdrawal of state aid and was prospering
without it. The pupils of his schools and colleges
had, by their successes in University examinations
vindicated the soundness of the instruction imparted
to them, and won the "confidence of his own people,
and the sympathy of (the) highest scholastic author-
ities."48 "With a marvellous economy of resources
which demonstrated the presence of rarest adminis-
trative ability, with much tact, patience and saintly
perseverance, he had built up amidst innumerable
difficulties, a great educational system."49

True to his chosen episcopal motto "Mergimur
Nunquam" — We never go under — he had lived and died

45. S.M.H., loc. cit.
46. F.J., 24/1/1885, p.16.
47. ibid, p.12.
48. ibid.
49. ibid.
performing (with quiet confidence) the duties to which he had dedicated himself. Worn out and broken down in health by the rigours of life in India, he had returned to Ireland in 1853. A lesser man might have rested content with his efforts. Matthew Quinn after only a brief respite, was soon labouring to further the cause of Catholic education in Ireland, (and later too in Australia) and to the advancement of the Catholic religion. Obliged once again to change his activities and leave his native land, he found himself in 1866 in Bathurst, in the colony of New South Wales, as its first Bishop. In a diocese which extended from the Blue Mountains to the borders of South Australia and Queensland, and was bounded on the north by the Macquarie River and the South by the Lachlan, Murrimbidgee, and Murray rivers he found only five parochial districts, six priests, five churches, five chapels, five schools (all certified denominational primary schools) with only 338 pupils. The Catholic population was 15,000 and the debt on the Cathedral alone more than £3000.

Quinn was undaunted. He did not go under. By 1885 the fruits of his zeal were everywhere evident.

51. ibid.
There were now 28 priests and 15 parochial districts; 43 new churches had been built; there were now 4000 pupils in 56 schools; 86 Sisters of Mercy and 106 Sisters of St. Joseph, and the Brothers of St. Patrick administered to the educational needs of the 25,000 Catholics. More than £1 million had been spent on the advancement of religion and education in the diocese and the estimated annual cost of maintaining the Catholic school system was £12,000.52

Having found himself in a situation in which the government would not support denominational education, once more in the spirit of his motto he had refused to go under and had acted to establish his own independent system of schools. The success which crowned his work in that direction has already been discussed.

In all this educational activity his contribution had been essentially as an administrator. By his dauntless determination in the face of considerable opposition, he had established a system of Catholic schools. It survives today.

There are not wanting, those who say that the system has outlived its usefulness and should now be abandoned. This view is not supported by the Catholic

Hierarchy however, nor probably by the majority of Catholics who still want and expect Catholic Schools. Catholic Schools have been in fact in education partnership with the State over the past eighty years. Now, ironically when the Catholic system is under severe financial pressure, Governments (both Federal and State) have stepped in to support it with limited financial aid.

It is not the task of this thesis to discuss the merits or demerits of the system. The system exists because it was established by the efforts of Quinn. Its contribution to the Church and to society in general in the century since Quinn first established St. Mary's High School for Girls and St Stanislaus' High School for Boys in 1867 has been inestimable.

To a contemporary writer, Matthew Quinn, Bishop of Bathurst (1865-1885) was "the greatest benefactor to the work of Catholic education that this country has ever seen." History has vindicated that claim.

54. Aid for Science Laboratories; Interest payments on capital loans, etc.
55. F.J., loc. cit.
APPENDIX I

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF SYDNEY

Forwarded to Parliament, 16 July, 1866

(1) That as the principle of religious liberty and equality has been established in the constitution of this colony, we are entitled to expect the application of that principle in all measures regarding a general system of education.

(2) That the principle of religious liberty and equality would be violated if the Roman Catholic community was not adequately represented at the Central Board of Education and among the inspectors by Catholics enjoying the confidence of the Bishops.

(3) That as the Roman Catholic members of the Central Board and also the Roman Catholic inspectors are entrusted in the degree required by their office, with a certain representation and guardianship of Catholic faith and morals, their nomination to office should depend upon the Bishops of the Colony who are the guardians of faith and morals.

(4) That in Catholic schools attended by at least twenty-five children, conducted by an approved teacher, the patrons consist of the Catholic clergyman, and two of his congregation, and that these three shall have the right of recommending to the proper authority the removal of such teacher and that in such schools the selection of the books rest with the Bishops.

(5) That in order to secure proper teachers, according to Catholic faith and morals, there should be a Catholic training school, approved for the purpose by the Bishops.
(6) The school lands shall be vested in the local patrons in trust.

(7) That the Government should determine and examine the qualifications of inspectors and teachers in secular subjects and satisfy itself of the proper application of the public money, should direct its equitable adjustment and also inspect all teaching in secular matters, the methods and the results in all the schools.

(8) That in mixed schools the formal religious instruction should be at appointed hours when only those are present for whom it is especially intended.

(9) That the function of the Central Board should be to see that the system is carried out according to certain defined rules and to the principles involved in such rules.

VIEWS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF NEW SOUTH WALES ON PRIMARY EDUCATION

Stated in Document handed to Mr. Parkes, Colonial Secretary, on 21 June, 1867.

(1) The Roman Catholic Bishops of New South Wales beg to submit to the Government the following statement of their views on Primary Education in this colony.

In doing this they are influenced by no hostility to the present or any other Government. They are simply discharging a conscientious duty which they owe their flocks, whose faith they are bound to protect. In order to avoid the possibility of a misunderstanding respecting what they require, they beg to state that they do not object to the Government satisfying itself as to the competency of the teachers, and ascertaining by inspection, that they discharge their duties efficiently. Neither
(1) (cont.) do they object to the strictest super­vision over the expenditure of public funds. In places thinly populated they do not require separate schools. They are satisfied with one Board, provided it be properly constituted.

What they require is:

1. Wherever the Roman Catholic children amount to the normal number to constitute a public school, the Roman Catholics may establish a separate school which shall be entitled to all the aid granted to public schools.

2. That in all schools the property of Roman Catholics, the right of appointment and dismissal of teachers shall belong to the managers of such schools.

3. That in mixed schools the Roman Catholic children shall not receive religious instruction, moral or doctrinal, in common with children of other denominations, nor in any case from a teacher not of their creed; and that no class books objectionable to Catholics shall be used in such schools.

4. That aid be granted for the training of Catholic teachers.

(2) The Roman Catholic Bishops cannot co-operate with any system of education that does not recognise the preceding principles. Moreover, they feel assured that a liberal Government will admit the justice of what they subjoin, namely:

1. A fair representation of the Catholic body in the Council of Education.

2. That school books of acknowledged merit as to secular knowledge, and approved by the Roman Catholic Bishops, should be provided by the Council of Education for Roman Catholic schools, on the same terms as class books are provided for other schools.
3. That to remove the suspicion of proselytism no child be allowed to attend religious instruction given in a school belonging to a religious denomination different from that of the child, except at the express request of its parent or guardian.

4. That the power of the Board should be executive, and not legislative, and thus the question of education be removed from the arena of politics.

From what has been stated, it is apparent that the Roman Catholic Bishops claim nothing for their co-religionists which they do not advocate for every section of the Community.

For the Archbishop of Sydney - S.J.A. Sheehy, Vicar General
+ Matthew Quinn, Bishop of Bathurst
+ William Lanigan, Bishop of Goulburn.
APPENDIX II

DECREES ON EDUCATION

Promulgated at the Provincial Council, Melbourne, 1869.

"1. Since the Church cannot rightly discharge that most solemn duty entrusted to her by Christ our Lord, namely, of instructing the faithful in sound doctrine and preserving them from dangerous and poisonous pastures, unless she enjoys the fullest liberty and power of imbuing them with the principles of Catholic faith and of training them to good morals, we cannot approve of any system of education which either inflicts an injury on that power of the Church, or in any way whatsoever impedes its exercise.

2. Hence we condemn that education of Catholic youth, which is separated from Catholic faith, and from the power of the Church, and therefore we shall take care to remove Catholic children from those schools which are called mixed schools since in them, according to the civil law, the Church can exercise no authority, nor have any power in regulating the studies, selecting the books, or in the choice of the teachers.

3. We admonish all the clergy and the faithful committed to our care, that they are bound to use every exertion to erect where possible, Catholic schools in which the authority of the Church will be fully recognized, and that method of instruction observed which has for its first object the eternal welfare of souls, and where the true teaching of religion is wisely combined with knowledge and progress in literature."
4. For the erecting and conducting of these schools we shall assert our right to our just proportion of the public revenues which are yearly set apart for the education of the people, so that the claims of all may be respected, no prejudice being offered either to the faith of Catholics or to the conscience of non-Catholics; and we shall make every effort to provide Catholic education in every district for our Catholic youth.

5. But all that, which has been asserted of the authority of the Church in this matter of education, by no means prevents the different Governments from inspecting our schools, through their officials and of making themselves acquainted with the fitness and qualifications of the teachers.

6. Since the education of youth greatly depends on the choice of teachers, it is right that they should be not only adorned with purity and zeal for the Catholic faith, and imbued with good morals, but they ought also to be very well instructed in all that they are bound to teach in the schools. That teachers possessing these qualities may be had, it is quite necessary that training schools should be erected, in which they shall be properly trained in the principles of the Catholic faith, and diligently acquire a knowledge of human science necessary for the fulfilling of this office. But we affirm that it is only just that assistance should be granted from the public treasury for the building, and the conducting of these schools.

7. But that the clergy may have before their eyes sound principles of education, in which the faithful are to be continually instructed, the Fathers desired to insert here three propositions condemned by the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius IX, happily reigning, which are of the greatest importance:--

(45) The entire government of public schools, in which the youth of any Christian State is educated, except (to a certain extent) in the case of episcopal seminaries, may and ought to appertain to the civil
power, and belong to it so far that no other authority whatsoever shall be recognised as having any right to interfere in the discipline of the schools, the arrangement of the studies, the conferring of degrees in the choice or approval of the teachers.

(47) The best theory of civil society requires that popular schools, open to the children of every class of the people, and generally all public institutes intended for instruction in letters and philosophical sciences, and for carrying on the education of youth, should be freed from all ecclesiastical authority, control, and interference, and should be fully subjected to the civil and political power at the pleasure of the rulers and according to the standard of the prevalent opinions of the age.

(48) Catholics may approve of a system of educating youth unconnected with Catholic faith and the power of the Church, and which regards the knowledge of merely natural things and only, or at least primarily, the ends of earthly social life."
APPENDIX III

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN HIS LORDSHIP RIGHT REV. DR. QUINN, BISHOP OF BATHURST AND THE REV. SUPERIOR GENERAL OF THE LITTLE BROTHERS OF MARY.

The Superior General of the Little Brothers of Mary engages to supply three Brothers to conduct the Catholic Boys' School at Bathurst, and one to take charge of the Boys' Orphanage when established on the following conditions:

1. The Superior General shall have the right to change the Brothers whenever he judges it expedient provided such changes occur as seldom as possible and do not affect the efficiency of the school.

2. In conducting the school the Brothers shall have every facility to follow the Methods and Rules of the Institute.

3. One Brother shall be employed as far as may be necessary for the temporalities of the house. The rest of his time shall be employed in the school.

4. The Bishop shall pay £40 for the passage of each Brother sent from Europe.

5. The Bishop shall pay £50 for each Brother to provide and maintain the necessary furniture for
their dwelling house. This furniture shall remain the property of the Brothers.

The payments in this Article shall be made in two instalments - £100 on the arrival of the Brothers and the remainder twelve months afterwards.

6. The Bishop shall provide the Brothers with a suitable house free of rent and taxes and shall keep same in repair.

7. The Brothers shall keep all the Government Grants and school fees. Should the sum arising from these funds not amount to £60 per annum for each Brother, the Bishop shall make up the deficiency. Should it exceed £60 per annum for each Brother the surplus shall be divided equally between the managers and the Brothers.

(The sections underlined were alterations made by Bishop Quinn to the conditions previously agreed to, at a meeting between himself and Brother John, February, 1876)
APPENDIX IV
REPORT ON CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN THE DIOCESE OF BATHURST
JANUARY 1878

At the time of the passing of the Public Schools Act (1866) there were only five Catholic Schools in the Diocese of Bathurst at which the attendance in aggregate reached 338. These five schools had been established under the old Denominational Board, and were afterwards certified under the Council of Education.

They were as follows:--

Bathurst - attendance in 1866 - 200
Mudgee 30
Wellington 46
Orange 42
Sofala 20

At the close of the present year (1877) 2276 were in attendance at the various Catholic Educational Institutions in this Diocese, which numbered in all thirty-three. Besides two Colleges at Bathurst - one lay and one ecclesiastical - there are three High Schools under the Sisters of Mercy, and twenty-eight Primary Schools in different parts of the Diocese. The following list will show in detail where these schools have been established, and the attendance at each.
Higher Educational Establishments

1. Saint Charles Ecclesiastical Seminary, Bathurst.
   Established 1875. Number of Students - 10.

2. Saint Stanislaus College, Bathurst.
   Established 1867. Number of Students - 72.

High Schools

Under the Sisters of Mercy.
   Bathurst 75, Carcoar 30, Mudgee 20

Primary Schools

(i) Sisters of Mercy

1. Bathurst (Female Orphanage) 50
2. Bathurst Certified Infants and Girls' School 308
3. Kelso 35
4. Mudgee (Girls) 160
5. Carcoar 70

(ii) Sisters of Saint Joseph

1. Queen Charlottes Vale 60
2. Evans Plains 35
3. O'Connell Plains 40
4. Lincoln 48
5. Germans Hill 48
6. Borenore 73
7. Rockley 33
8. Wattle Flat 40

(iii) Certified under the Council of Education

1. Bathurst Infants and Girls' School above
2. Bathurst (Boys) 108
3. Orange 288
4. Wellington 80
5. Mudgee (Boys) 78
6. Hill End 55
7. Sofala 40
8. Gulgong 106

(iv) Non-certified, under Lay Teachers

1. Dubbo 60
2. Bourke 62
3. Cowra 50
4. Blayney 45
5. Forbes 40
6. Home Rule 40
7. White Rock 22

This list does not include any of the many Provisional Schools, established throughout the diocese by the zeal of the priests, and which have gone to swell the list of the work done by the Council of Education.

The Reports of the Council's Inspectors show a high standard of proficiency in all the Certified Catholic Schools above-named; and the large attendance at all the others as well as the unanimous testimony of both Protestant and Catholic visitors gives ample proof of their admirable efficiency.

The schools under the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Saint Joseph are deserving of the largest meed of praise. The several educational establishments conducted by the Sisters of Mercy - their High Schools, Orphanage, and Primary Schools - have been
eminently successful. Each succeeding year, this excellent community has extended the sphere of its usefulness. Several new foundations are about to be made in the more remote parts of the diocese.

The Sisters of Saint Joseph have devoted themselves exclusively to the education of poor children scattered through the bush. Their labours in this diocese seem to have been specially blessed. Wherever they go, they gather into their schools, all the children living for miles around their humble convent. Indeed, as a rule, a very marked improvement takes place in the manners and general bearing of the children attending the nuns' schools. The most casual observer does not fail to notice the change. It is quite a common thing to hear people say, "Well, there is something particularly pleasing about these convent education children that distinguishes them from all others." The secret is, these children receive a thoroughly Catholic Education, and they are taught every Christian virtue, more by example than by precept.

The scattered state of the rural Catholic population, the unsettled nature of the mining districts, the limited means, not to say poverty, of by far the greatest portion of the Catholic inhabitants, together with the almost total absence of aid from the State, all combine to check the progress of Catholic education in the diocese. However what has been done, although not to be compared with the work done in the more populous dioceses is still encouraging, and gives hope for greater things hereafter.

Joseph P. Byrne.

(Published in the Record, Bathurst 1/1/1878)
APPENDIX V

PETITION OF THE CATHOLICS OF GOULBURN TO THE NEW SOUTH WALES LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, OCTOBER 1879.

Petition

To the Honourable the Legislative Assembly, in Parliament assembled,

The petition of the inhabitants of Goulburn humbly sheweth —

1. That they are convinced that the school for Christian children should be the means of imparting to them Christian teaching and the principles of Christian morals.

2. That for Catholics at least, this is practically impossible in Public and Provisional Schools.

3. That religious duty and conscience require of us to look on the school in which children are trained in mere secular knowledge, to the exclusion of religion, as calculated to imperil the Christian character of the children, and to inflict grievous injury on society.

4. That the giving of aid from the common treasury to enable the people to have schools in accordance with their religious feelings, the sending the Government Inspector to examine all schools according to a fixed uniform standard, the payment by results and capitation, would leave the religious feelings free,
and would be fair and alike for all classes.

5. We ask your honourable house to introduce into our school system the principle of payment by results and capitation.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

________________________________________________________________________

(This Petition drawn up at a Meeting in Goulburn 6 October 1879 just prior to the introduction of the Public Instruction Bill, was published in The Record (Bathurst) 15 October, 1879).
### APPENDIX VI

**STATISTICS OF BATHURST DIOCESE 1885**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Schools and Enrolment</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bathurst</td>
<td>Bathurst 515; Perthville 60; Evans Plains 35; White Rock 22; Peel 31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>Orange 324; Borenore 80; Germans Hill 52; Forest Reefs 98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forbes</td>
<td>Forbes 270.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carcoar</td>
<td>Carcoar 47; Cowra 154; Blayney 143.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill End</td>
<td>Hill End 50; Wattle Flat 60; Sofala 39; Pyramul 40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubbo</td>
<td>Dubbo 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourke</td>
<td>Bourke 160; Nyngan 154.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudgee</td>
<td>Mudgee 211; Gulgong 150.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkes</td>
<td>Parkes 84; Eugowra 57.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockley</td>
<td>Rockley 31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>Wellington 134.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilcannia</td>
<td>No Schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wentworth</td>
<td>No Schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cobar</td>
<td>Cobar 95.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oberon</td>
<td>O'Connell Plains 41; Brewongle 35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molong</td>
<td>Molong 77; Cargo 47.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sisters of Mercy

87 Sisters of Mercy served the Diocese in 8 Communities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Founded</th>
<th>Number in Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bathurst</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carcoar</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cobar</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubbo</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forbes</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudgee</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sisters of Saint Joseph

115 Sisters of Saint Joseph served the Diocese in 24 Communities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Founded</th>
<th>Number in Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perthville</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wattle Flat</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evans Plains</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borenore</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockley</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Connell Plains</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiser</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans Hill</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowra</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blayney</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Rock</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Founded</td>
<td>Number in Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cargo</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peel</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molong</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourke</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugowra</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest Reefs</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sofala</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill End</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulgong</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkes</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyngan</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyramul</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Springs</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Summary of Catholic Education in Bathurst Diocese, 1885

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Teachers</th>
<th>Schools under Religious</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Cost of Buildings &amp; Appliances</th>
<th>Annual Working Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Sisters of Mercy</td>
<td>1686</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>£25350</td>
<td>£4320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Sisters of St. Joseph</td>
<td>1657</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>£8100</td>
<td>£3224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Brothers of St. Patrick</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>£1400</td>
<td>£400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Clerical Professors (+ 4 Lay Masters)</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>£15500</td>
<td>£2960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>204</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Schools under Lay Masters**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Number of Pupils</th>
<th>Cost of Buildings &amp; Appliances</th>
<th>Annual Working Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>£2150</td>
<td>£650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>£175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3977</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
<td><strong>£52500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Teachers</th>
<th>Number of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Schools</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(This information compiled from the Official Year Book of The Catholic Church, 1885, reveals some internal discrepancies).
This bibliography has been arranged according to the following classification:

A. Manuscript Material.

B. Printed Material.
   2. Books and Pamphlets.
   3. Articles.
   4. Newspapers.

C. Unpublished Theses and Papers.
Manuscript Material

Bathurst Cathedral Archives, The Chancery, 84 George Street, Bathurst, N.S.W.

Brisbane Cathedral Archives, Archbishop's House, 'Wynberg', New Farm, Brisbane, QLD.

Council of Education, Miscellaneouss Letters Received 1867-75, M.L., NCE/1; Examiners' Reports and Memoranda Received, 1867-72; 1874-5, M.L., NCE/2; Out-Letter Books, 1868-80, M.L., NCE/17; Rough Minute Books, 1867; 1874-1880; M.L., NCE/23; Minute Books, 1867-70; M.L., NCE/24.


Goulburn Cathedral Archives, Archbishop's House, Verner Street, Goulburn, N.S.W.

Marist Brothers' Archives, Marist Brothers' Provincial House, 14 Drummoyne Ave., Drummoyne, N.S.W.

Maitland Cathedral Archives, Bishop's House, Maitland, N.S.W.

Patrician Brothers' Archives, Patrician Brothers' Provincial House, Wahroonga, N.S.W.


Sisters of Mercy (Bathurst) Archives, Mount St. Joseph's Novitiate, Bathurst, N.S.W.

Sisters of Saint Joseph (Perthville) Archives, St. Joseph's Convent, Perthville, N.S.W.
B — Printed Material


Acta et Decreta secundi concilii provincialis Australiensis, diebus XVII–XV, Aprilis, 1869, Melbourne; Advocate Office, 1891.


Constitutions of the Marist Brothers of the Schools, Dumfries: Courier and Herald Press, 1923.


Historical Records of Australia.

The Official Yearbook of the Catholic Church of Australia, New Zealand & Oceania, Sydney: E.J. Dwyer.


2. Books and Pamphlets


--- Select Documents in Australian Education 1788-1900, Melbourne: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd., 1963.


Harvest, Magazine published monthly February to November, Sydney: The Marist Fathers.


Life of Mother Mary of the Cross (By a Sister of Saint Joseph), Sydney: Saint Vincent's Boys' Home Press, 1966.


3. Articles


4. Newspapers

*Empire* (Sydney), 1851.

*Freeman's Journal* (Sydney), 1865-85.

*Record* (Bathurst), 1877-84.
