# footprints

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James Goold, first Catholic Bishop of Melbourne Portrait c1859 from the collection of the Religious Sisters of Mercy Melbourne

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*Front cover photo:* James Goold, first Catholic Bishop of Melbourne. Portrait c1859 from the collection of the Religious Sisters of Mercy Melbourne.

The Archdiocese is committed to the safety, well being and dignity of all children and vulnerable adults.

#### **EDITORIAL**

The December edition of *Footprints* continues to follow the rich vein of discovering and re-discovering James Goold's extraordinary contribution, as bishop and collector of artworks and books, to the life of the Catholic Church in 19th century Victoria.

The three articles examine Goold's achievements under different aspects.

Frances O'Kane-Hale's article on Goold as the first Catholic Bishop of Melbourne was originally published in the Catalogue of the 1998 Exhibition which was held in the Cathedral to commemorate the 150th Anniversary of the arrival of Goold in Melbourne in October 1848.

Rachel Naughton's article on Goold and the Symbolism of Portraits unfolds the way in which the pioneer missionary regarded himself as a bishop with enormous challenges to be faced in colonial society, whose intellectual formation in Italy and spiritual affiliation with Papal Rome enriched his life in Victoria.

Huw Sandaver's article opens up the treasure house of Goold's large library which reflects the man's literary, artistic, scientific, historical, religious and spiritual passions and pursuits.

Once again, it is important to state that this voyage of discovery of Goold began with the awarding of an Australian Research Grant by the Commonwealth Government in November 2016 for the Project: A Baroque Archbishop in Colonial Australia: James Goold 1812–1886. Dr Jaynie Anderson led the team.

The Grant has funded a three-year study of Goold's contribution and also that of his preferred architect, William Wardell, to the life of Victoria in the 19th century.

The Grant has funded two University Symposiums, (2019, 2020), a book, a six-month Exhibition at the Old Treasury Building, a PhD student and a thesis, and a second book in the pipeline.

On the cover of this edition we have placed the signature portrait of our Goold Project, the young Goold, which belongs to the Sisters of Mercy. The Archdiocese is most grateful to the Management of the Old Treasury, its staff and volunteers, for kindly hosting our Exhibition.

#### (Fr) Brendan Hayes and Rachel Naughton

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## JAMES ALIPIUS GOOLD PIONEER BISHOP AND PASTOR THE MAN AND HIS VISION 1848–1886

Frances O'Kane Hale

This article was first published in the Catalogue, *Melbourne's First Catholic Bishop James Alipius Goold – Pioneer, Bishop and Pastor: The Man and His Vision 1848–1886* to accompany the Exhibition in St Patrick's Cathedral 1997 by John P Rogan.

On 4 October 1848, the Catholics of Melbourne gathered at St Francis' Church to welcome their first bishop, James Alipius Goold OSA. As he stepped lightly from his carriage, they noted his youth and vitality. In spite of his long overland trip from Sydney – 'the first time (as he wrote in his diary) that this journey of 600 miles was performed in a carriage and four', he showed no sign of weariness. Rather, as Edmund Finn later recalled, 'he presented quite a picture of



health and spirits, with a round, good-humoured face, such as a painter would design for a full-grown cherub.' Over the next 38 years both health and energy would ebb away as Goold wore himself out in the service of his people.

In various ways, Goold's earlier experiences had prepared him well for the burden of episcopal office in this newly formed missionary diocese. He had been born in Cork, Ireland, the son of James and Mary Goold (nee Hynes), on 4 November 1812. His surname was well-known in the annals of Cork, for the Goold clan had figured prominently over the centuries in the civil and mercantile affairs of that city. His own particular branch of the Goold family, however, was poor and in need of assistance. Fortunately for him, a classical education provided by the Augustinians in their Cork school, enabled the young James Goold to rise above the family poverty. He learnt early from personal experience the value of a good Catholic education.

Subsequently, Goold entered the Augustinian novitiate in Grantstown, Co. Wexford, in 1830 and was professed on 30 March 1832. Later in the year he travelled to the Augustinian Seminary in Perugia, and was ordained a priest in that city on 19 July 1835. Further studies took him to Rome, Viterbo and Rome again. From the meagre Augustinian records

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that survive for this period of his life, Goold emerges as a serious, keen-minded, conscientious, hard-working cleric, devoted to study – characteristics and virtues he maintained throughout his life.

Goold's five years in Italy brought him several advantages. On the mundane, practical level, he gained a working knowledge of Italian, which would facilitate his later correspondence with Propaganda Fide officials in Rome. More importantly, those years had given him the opportunity to see and appreciate many fine examples of church art and architecture – Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque. Over the years as bishop he built up a large library collection on these subjects. On his five overseas journeys from Victoria he visited and closely observed many of the great cathedrals and churches of Europe and the New World. His diaries reveal his particular enthusiasm for the Gothic style. The purchases he made for St Patrick's Cathedral, his episcopal residence and private chapel, demonstrate his personal artistic taste.

In 1837, on the steps of the Augustinian church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, Goold accepted – subject to the approval of his Superiors – Rev. Dr Ullathorne's invitation to become a missionary under Bishop Polding's jurisdiction in NSW. The young priest arrived in Sydney on 24 February 1838. He bore with him a character reference from his Irish Provincial stating that Goold's conduct had been 'pious and exemplary', that he had 'the esteem and regard' of his Superiors in Italy, and that he was 'distinguished alike for talent and strict observance of rule.'

Within two months, Polding placed Goold in charge of the extensive Campbelltown mission, where for ten years he honed his missionary skills and won a reputation for piety and zeal. To visit the five outlying 'stations' attached to the mission, he travelled on horseback as much as 2000 miles in a year. Unlike many of the later Irish bishops who came to Australia, Goold had become an experienced missionary priest well before he became a missionary bishop.

On 9 July 1847, on Polding's recommendation, Pope Pius IX appointed Goold first Bishop of the newly created Diocese of Melbourne. He was consecrated by Archbishop Polding in St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, on 6 August 1848, the Feast of the Transfiguration. The new Bishop was not yet 36 years old.

During his pre-consecration retreat, Goold had made 23 resolutions in regard to his future life. Most were concerned with his fidelity to God and to his episcopal calling. Some, however, referred to weaknesses he perceived in his own character. He resolved to watch his temper and bend it to the practice of patience and mildness; and he asked God's grace to bear in patience insults and injuries. Goold's diaries and letters

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amply testify to his faithful observance of his spiritual and episcopal duties – both pastoral and administrative. They also reveal, however, just how difficult he found it to acquire the virtues of mildness, patience and forbearance in the face of many trials.

Goold had used his long journey to Melbourne as an opportunity to celebrate Mass and administer the sacraments to groups of Catholics he met along the way. On 8 October 1848, four days after his arrival, he was formally installed in his Episcopal See. For this solemn occasion, in the crowded St Francis' Church, he wore a magnificent cope of crimson velvet. On his head was a mitre; in his hand a crozier, symbol of his pastoral duty. Goold was fully aware of the authority and responsibility accompanying the episcopal dignity.

Melbourne's first Catholic Bishop was not only young, healthy and energetic; he was also decisive, pragmatic, orderly and down-to-earth, ready to accept the challenges awaiting him. There were plenty. His diocese was vast, encompassing the whole of what – from 1 July 1851 – would officially be known as Victoria, a separate colony from NSW In 1848 (only 13 years since Batman and Fawkner had first taken up residence on the banks of the Yarra), wool-growing by squatters on extensive leases was the foundation of the colony's economy. Settlements outside of Melbourne and Geelong were small and scattered.

The gold discoveries of 1851 and subsequent years would change all that. The gold rushes created an unexpected and unprepared for population explosion and a sudden dispersion of people into parts of Victoria previously only thinly inhabited. Victoria's population, 77,345 in 1851, increased seven-fold to 540,322 by 1861. In the same period the number of Catholics jumped from 18,014 to 110,467. Though the gold rushes brought financial prosperity to Victoria and Melbourne in the long run, initially they caused social, political and economic problems for government and churches alike. In the 1850s when boom alternated with depression, and labour shortages with unemployment, it was hard to envisage what *Marvellous Melbourne* of the 1880s would be like.

As gold production declined after 1856 and company mining replaced the individual digger, who now sought alternative employment, the cry became louder to unlock the extensive areas of land leased by only a few squatters. The resultant Land Acts of the 1860s led to closer settlement by small selectors in the 1870s and '80s. By the end of 1871, Victoria's population was 731,528, of whom 170,620 were Catholics or 23.32%. Melbourne's population alone was 215,991, grown from 23,143 in 1851. In 1874, Melbourne became an Archdiocese with Goold as its first Archbishop, and Ballarat and Sandhurst as Suffragan Sees along with Perth and Adelaide

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Though Goold's Archdiocese diminished in size, its problems grew with the loss of state aid to religion in 1870, and to Catholic schools as a result of the secular Education Act of 1872. Though by Goold's death in 1886 Melbourne was known as Marvellous because of its prosperity, the Catholic Archbishop, together with his clergy, laity, religious orders and dedicated lay teachers, found it a constant struggle to maintain Catholic schools and provide other services to the Catholic people of the Archdiocese.

It is against this social, political and economic background that Goold's life work must be viewed. When he took possession of his vast diocese in 1848 it contained few priests, churches or schools.

Rev. P B Geoghegan, Melbourne's first Catholic priest, had arrived from Sydney on 15 May 1839, but in the next nine years progress in church and school building had been slow. The Catholic people, mostly Irish, were also mostly poor; the country had been hit by a severe depression; government assistance for teachers' salaries was at that time minimal, and there were insufficient priests to extend the work. There were only three missions – Melbourne, Geelong and Portland – each very extensive, in the charge of four priests, one of whom was soon to return to Sydney. There were only two churches – St Francis' in Melbourne and St Mary of the Angels' in Geelong – and 'a commodious little chapel' (as Goold described it) nearing completion at Portland. There were also two tiny wooden school-chapels, one at Williamstown in use by 1843, the other at Brighton. The latter, measuring 32 feet by 16 feet, with slab sides and a shingled roof, and costing £47 subscribed by local Catholics, had been opened for worship by Dean Coffey on 30 April 1848. It stood on two acres of land donated by the Anglican J. B. Were. Both these chapels, so far apart, were served by the clergy at St Francis'.

Catholic schools were few. The best was at St Francis', close to the small four-roomed presbytery and the Father Mathew Temperance Hall. Others were: Mrs Charlotte Harris's school in small, badly ventilated, rented rooms of a store in Little Collins Street; the school-chapels of Williamstown and Brighton; a slab hut erected at Kilmore in 1848 for £36; and, at Geelong, a temporary building in very bad repair.

For improvement and expansion Goold needed the financial support of the Catholic laity. On 28 January 1849, therefore, he established the Catholic Association in Melbourne; branches in Geelong and other areas of Catholic settlement soon followed. Funds collected at the monthly meetings of the Association, attended by both clergy and laity, were intended for the advancement of the Catholic religion. Over the years this money was used to pay the passages of priests and some of the religious orders coming from Ireland; to help support clergy who were without a

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government salary; to assist with the salaries of teachers in schools not receiving state aid; to help build churches and schools; and to defray some of the expenses of ecclesiastical students training in Melbourne or in Ireland for the Melbourne diocese.

The Catholic Association also provided a useful forum for Goold and his clergy to instruct the laity in the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church, to discuss matters of Catholic interest and, in particular, to impress upon them the importance of providing their children with a Catholic education as a means of preserving and defending the Catholic faith. Goold saw his role not only as pastor and administrator but also as leader, and he often used the Catholic Association to provide that leadership to his flock.

Having set up the Catholic Association as a fund-raising mechanism, Goold on 17 March 1849 sent Geoghegan, his Vicar General, on a recruiting mission to Ireland. Then, on 1 May 1849, he established St Francis' Seminary, as a secondary school for boys and as a seminary for ecclesiastical students. With Dean Coffey as President, it began in a very humble way in what had been St Francis' School, the children having been moved to the Temperance Hall. Already Goold had decided not to depend solely on priests recruited from Ireland.

On 9 April 1850, in the presence of 2,000 people, Goold laid the foundation stone of the first St Patrick's Church. Designed by Samuel Jackson, the modestly-sized church was begun on Eastern Hill, on a two-acre site granted by the government for church, presbytery and school. Also in April 1850 Goold received an adjacent two-acre grant for an episcopal residence. While the church was under construction, priests from St Francis' celebrated Mass in a nearby wooden chapel.

Goold regarded episcopal visitation as one of his most important duties, and its neglect (as he recorded in his 1851 diary) 'productive of serious evils to the Church.' Having carried out initial assessment and planning in 1849, he began visitation of the whole diocese in earnest in 1850. This visitation involved both a spiritual and administrative check up of each mission. In areas not yet established ecclesiastically, he chose the two-acre site for a church, school and presbytery, celebrated Mass for the Catholics nearby and heard their confessions. Where the mission (not called a parish till after his episcopate) was in operation, he usually conducted a three-day Mission or Retreat for the laity, when all had the opportunity to assist at Mass, receive the sacraments of Confession and Holy Communion, and listen to exhortatory sermons – spiritual exercises of a type later popularised and made famous by the Redemptorists. In settled missions, episcopal visitation often included the administration

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of Confirmation. After the arrival of the Jesuits in 1865 and 1866, they shared much of the burden of these missions, but for many years Goold was truly a missionary bishop, covering hundreds of miles on horseback or by gig, to give the laity the chance of spiritual renewal.

During the gold rushes of the 1850s, Goold's arduous missionary visitation of the goldfields on horseback, sometimes involved the crossing of flooded rivers, their bridges broken' or non-existent; living in damp clothes and sleeping in damp beds; subsisting on frugal meals of tea and bread; enduring nights in miserable wayside huts, disturbed by the loud talk of drunken travellers in the adjoining room and by swarms of fleas in his own. Goold took these hardships in his stride, grateful that his health was not impaired. 'It is cold and comfortless enough', he wrote in Colac in mid-July 1853 with the temperature at 42° F, 'but the thought of doing good reconciles me to such small privations, as well as the recollection of the abnegation, recommended us by the example and teaching of our divine Master.'

These regular visitations enabled Goold to see first hand the 'inconveniences and privations' experienced by many of his clergy in those early pioneering days. At Ballarat in 1853, he noted that Rev. Matthew Downing's residence was a miserable tent, furnished with a 'few badly made wine cases' serving for chairs. 'He complains not', Goold wrote, 'but with all the spirit of a zealous missionary he bends to his difficulties in pious, generous resignation.'

This same priest, then stationed at Keilor, accompanied Goold when he rushed to Ballarat in late November 1854, in a last-ditch attempt to prevent the bloodshed and violence of Eureka. In spite of his failure, he set out for Ballarat again on 8 December and, at the Catholic Chapel on the following Sunday, publicly appealed for the preservation of peace and quiet. He regarded this as his duty as leader of his Catholic people, some of whom had been prominently involved in the uprising. One of his audience that Sunday, Judge Quinlan, later observed: 'A more unobtrusive orator I never heard, and yet I do not think I ever heard one more effectual.' The officers at Ballarat, he added, were grateful for the bishop's 'timely visit and his tranquillising words.'

In later years with the advent of the railways, Goold's journeys, wherever practicable, were often made by train, but they continued unabated until the end of his episcopate in spite of his weakened health. He made his last visitation when he drove over forty miles to administer Confirmation to more than 300 children at Bacchus Marsh, on 3 June 1886, just eight days before his death.

Geoghegan returned to Melbourne in April 1851, having secured

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seven priests and two seminarians for the diocese. Meanwhile, a few extra priests (including Rev. John Fitzpatrick in November 1848) had come from NSW. As a result, by 1851 Goold had 13 priests caring for eight missions. There were four priests at St Francis'; two each in Geelong and Gippsland; and one each at Pentridge (Coburg), Heidelberg, Belfast (Port Fairy), Portland and Kilmore. (At Belfast, James Atkinson, a wealthy Protestant landowner had earlier donated £100 and a two-acre allotment valued at £300 for a site for church and presbytery, as an encouragement to his Catholic Irish tenants.) Each mission was far too large. There were 21 schools receiving state aid from the Denominational School Board established in Melbourne on 11 February 1848, though altogether there were 30 Catholic schools with 2,030 pupils being taught by lay men and women.

On 23 April 1851, Goold, with Fitzpatrick as companion, set out on his ad limina visit to Rome where he reported on the state of his diocese; he also went to Ireland in search of further recruits. Besides priests, Goold hoped to obtain not only priests but some Sisters of Mercy and Sisters of Charity for various works among the poor, including teaching. However, he also was concerned, even at this early stage, to provide for the Catholic education of the daughters of the well-to-do. As he put it to his audience at a Catholic Association meeting before his departure, he proposed bringing out other ladies of an enclosed order of nuns. 'It was highly essential', he said, 'to have an establishment of such kind here, for as the people advanced more in influence their ideas of respectability increased; when people became rich they naturally desired also to become respectable, and as God blessed them with the means, it was their duty to employ such means for the benefit of their families.' These nuns, 'gifted with accomplished minds [and] religious habits', could provide a superior and Christian education to the daughters of the rising middle class, giving them the accomplishments and respectability that wealth alone could not bring.

Though the nuns were unnamed, it is clear from letters to Goold from his uncle, Bishop John Thomas Hynes, of Demerara, British Guiana, that they were Ursulines, the same order as Hynes had in his own diocese. In Ireland the Ursulines were well-known and respected for their education of girls from the wealthy classes. Hynes had confidently told his favourite nephew that he would help him obtain some for Melbourne when Goold came to Ireland. Hynes' confidence proved to be misplaced. The Ursulines, like the Sisters of Mercy and Charity, had no nuns to spare for Melbourne. Goold returned to his diocese in February 1853, and to the chaotic conditions of the gold rushes, with six extra priests but no nuns.

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Still hopeful of obtaining some Sisters of Mercy or Charity, Goold followed Hynes' advice and set about raising funds to procure a suitable building for the proposed convent. This he found in Nicholson Street, Collingwood (later renamed Fitzroy) and purchased on 1 August 1853. He and some of his clergy occupied it until his own episcopal residence was completed on Eastern Hill. Though still no nuns came from Ireland, Goold was fortunate to obtain a group of Mercy Sisters from Perth. These, under the leadership of Mother Ursula Frayne, arrived to take up residence in the vacated convent at Nicholson Street on 6 March 1857. They undertook not only works for the poor but also, at Goold's request, a select day and boarding school for young ladies, thus providing for the class of Catholic girls intended for the Ursulines. In so doing, the Sisters of Mercy were also preparing a fertile seedbed for future religious vocations.

The works of charity carried out by the Sisters of Mercy included primary schools for the poor and a House of Mercy where unemployed girls were sheltered, instructed in their religion and trained for domestic service. In 1861, the Sisters took care of St Vincent de Paul's Orphanage (for girls and boys) which had opened at Emerald Hill (South Melbourne) in June 1857. As well, they visited the sick and the poor, the jail, the hospital and the benevolent asylum, and gave catechetical instruction to adults. In 1873, in direct answer to the crisis in Catholic education following the 1872 Education Act, the Sisters took charge of St Francis' Girls School. Likewise, in 1875 they formed a branch convent at Kilmore where, under very difficult conditions, they taught in the primary school and established select day and boarding schools.

Until 1870, Goold received much needed assistance from state aid to religion, which had begun in NSW with Governor Bourke's ground-breaking Church Act of 1836. In the Port Phillip District of Victoria, aid included the granting of a two-acre site for church, presbytery and school; an annual stipend for a priest on a mission where the laity had collected £300 towards the construction of a permanent church; and a financial contribution towards the building of that church, equal to the amount of private subscriptions, with £300 the minimum and £1,000 the maximum grant.

At separation from NSW in 1851, Victoria's Constitution Act allocated £6,000 as a subsidy for public worship. Of this, the Catholic Church received a quarter. In spite of various attempts in the 1850s to abolish this aid, it was increased – in those early hectic days of the gold rushes – to £30,000 in 1853 and to £50,000 in 1854. By 1858, the Catholic annual share had risen to £10,000, divided between church building and maintenance of the clergy. All money contributed for the erection of a church in a particular

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mission was placed in a joint bank account to the credit of the Bishop, the resident Pastor and whatever lay trustees were appointed; the signatures of these three parties were necessary for contracts and payment. After the abolition of state aid in 1870, Catholics had to depend on their own limited resources for the building of their churches.

From its establishment in 1848, the Denominational Schools Board was responsible until 1862 for the distribution of state aid to Catholic schools connected to it. (A separate National Schools Board, set up in December 1851, cared for the National schools, likewise until 1862.) The Denominational Schools Board assisted with teachers' salaries and, from 1852, with school buildings. Neither kind of aid was ever sufficient and had to be subsidised by parents' fees and local subscriptions. Between 1849 and 1862, the number of Catholic schools receiving state aid rose from 5 out of 27 to 115 out of 529 denominational schools.

In 1854, the Catholic Church was given a share of a special Government Grant of £40,000 for the erection of grammar schools. The Catholic allocation of £10,002 covered the major cost of building St Patrick's College which opened on Eastern Hill on 6 August 1855, replacing St Francis' Seminary as a secondary school for boys and a seminary for ecclesiastical students. From 1850 to the end of 1879, 28 students (20 born in Ireland, 8 in Australia) did part or all of their seminary training at these two colleges. Of the 28, 22 were ordained priests. With the opening of St Patrick's College, Manly, in January 1889, a separate Melbourne seminary was no longer necessary.

By 1856, Catholic schools in Victoria had received £59,000 in Government aid; between 1852 and 1860, £31,552 had been allocated for Catholic school buildings, repairs and furniture out of a total of £126,568 for all denominational schools.

As with schools of other denominations, Catholic schools in the middle 1850s were frequently school-chapels, an arrangement permitted by the Denominational Schools Board. The advantage was that Goold could obtain from the Government, part of the cost of building a school which could then be used on Sundays as a temporary place of worship, until the local Catholics had collected sufficient funds to be eligible for a Government grant of an equal amount (up to £1,000) towards the building of a permanent church. By 1858, there were at least 51 Catholic school-chapels, 27 of which were of wood, 22 were brick or stone, and 2 at Pleasant Creek (Stawell) were tents. On the goldfields, where diggers often moved quickly from one rush to another, there was no point in building a permanent structure until there was sufficient proof of a stable population.

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On Goold's return to Melbourne in February 1853, he found little advancement in the building of St Patrick's Church which had fallen victim to the high costs and labour shortages occasioned by the gold rushes. A second, larger church – whose first completed section was opened for worship in February 1858 – was still not of suitable size for the dramatically increasing population. Moreover, its architects, George and Schneider, had proved unsatisfactory, Schneider in particular neglecting his duty of supervision and making mistakes in his plans and specifications. Nevertheless, it was a far-sighted decision by Goold to dismiss them and, in late 1858, to engage the newly arrived, gifted English architect, William Wardell, to draw up plans for a much larger cathedral, more suited to the future prospects of Melbourne.

It was also a courageous step to take, at a time when Goold was already suffering intense criticism from one of his former priests, Rev. Patrick Dunne, and a group of lay Catholics dissatisfied with the Bishop's administration of the Diocese. In February 1859, Dunne expressed indignation that the plans had been twice changed and that the walls of the second church were being levelled to make way for a third. Ironically, it was the same Rev. Patrick Dunne who, in 1894, as the Cathedral was nearing its consecration, praised Goold for his vision and foresight. He lauded Wardell for his plans and Goold and Dean Fitzpatrick for the 'moral courage to undertake the responsibility of so great a work.' He prophesied that the great Cathedral so 'worthy of Ireland's national Saint' would be the 'pride of all future generations of Catholics and an imperishable monument of the faith and generosity of those who so generously contributed to its erection.' The Catholic clergy and people were indeed generous in their donations to the Cathedral while struggling to erect their local churches and maintain their Catholic schools.

On 15 June 1858, Goold left for overseas once more. At Rome, he submitted to *Propaganda Fide* a detailed report on the state of the Melbourne diocese, receiving from Cardinal Barnabò, the Cardinal Prefect, written approval of his administration. As well, Pope Pius IX, in Goold's audience with him, expressed agreeable surprise at religious progress in Victoria. While in Rome, as he records in his diary, Goold wrote to Cardinal Barnabò and 'demanded ... a positive and decisive opinion on the important subjects of education and lay interference in the temporal affairs of the Church.' As early as 1849, Goold had asserted to La Trobe that the guardianship of Catholic education in his diocese was something he would never surrender. Barnabò's reply was supportive of Goold's own view of episcopal control of Catholic education; it also

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settled the question of administration of church funds, confining control to the bishop as the exclusive administrator of church property in his diocese.

When Goold visited Ireland in 1858 and again in 1859, he had the company and the assistance of his uncle, Bishop Hynes, who had returned to Ireland following his retirement and departure from Demerara in 1857. Until Hynes' death on 29 March 1869, he continued with great willingness and in every possible way to assist his nephew, whatever his commissions. There was a genuine affection between Hynes the Dominican, and Goold the Augustinian, who regarded his uncle as 'a dear relative and devoted friend.'

Goold's prime purpose in Ireland was to obtain priests and religious orders. He did manage to get seven clergy (two of whom had previously served under Hynes), but only one group of Sisters of Mercy for Geelong, to undertake works similar to those of their Melbourne Sisters. Whatever order he contacted, male or female, the answer was always the same – their numbers had not yet increased sufficiently to meet the pressing needs of poor Ireland itself. The list of orders he approached – though unsuccessfully – reveals the breadth of Goold's concern for his diocese. They included Christian Brothers and Jesuits as teachers; Marist Brothers for a proposed training school for lay teachers, and the Presentation Brothers in Cork for the same purpose; and he tried to get Redemptionists and Oratorians as well. While in Rome in January 1859, he applied to the Marist Superior for priests to serve the needs of the Chinese in gold rush Victoria and visited the Chinese College in Naples – all to no avail.

Goold even asked the Cistercians of Mount Melleray for a foundation of monks. On his previous visit to Rome in 1851–52, Goold had obtained papal permission and all the necessary faculties to introduce to his diocese a community of Augustinians and to erect a novitiate. He was appointed Commissary-General in charge of the order in his diocese. Over 200 acres of land were purchased at Campbellfield (with the help of *pious alms*) for the proposed monastery; and the place became unofficially known as 'Hippo', an obvious reference to the Bishopric of St Augustine. Though in 1853 Goold had three Augustinians in the diocese, they did not begin a monastery. Perhaps the increased need for priests on the new missions forced Goold to let the plan lapse. But it was not altogether forgotten.

In July 1859, Goold, on a visit to the Abbot at Mount Melleray, promised him the 200 acre site if he would send out a community of Cistercians to Melbourne, but the foundation did not eventuate, In November 1860, Hynes urged Goold not to be too downcast by this disappointment. His advice was both prophetic and practical: 'A century

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hence probably Victoria may be ripe for a colony of Trappist monks. Educational institutes for male and female is what you stand most in need of now.'

Goold had to wait until 1863 for the Good Shepherd Sisters to settle in Abbotsford. They established a Magdalen Asylum for penitent women; industrial and preservative schools for poor children; and a school for the children of the surrounding district. In 1883, a branch house established in Oakleigh, on 50 acres of land presented by Goold, provided accommodation for female Government Reformatory Wards.

In 1865, the first Jesuits at last arrived, followed by others in 1866. They took charge of St Patrick's College, and the Richmond and Hawthorn missions. In 1878, they opened St Francis Xavier's College (now Xavier college), Kew for boarding and day students, They also preached retreats for the clergy and missions for the laity.

In December 1868, the Christian Brothers were welcomed to Melbourne. They took charge of St Francis' Boys' School in 1869 and opened Parade College secondary school for boys in 1871. In 1874, they took over, from the Sisters of Mercy, the boys section of St Vincent de Paul's Orphanage at South Melbourne, and were given care of St Augustine's Orphanage for boys at Geelong in 1878. Between 1875 and 1882, they conducted the boys' primary school at Richmond, In 1878 the Brothers went to (East) St Kilda where they began primary and secondary schools for boys.

These teaching orders came to the Melbourne diocese in a period when state aid to Catholic schools was gradually being chipped away. In 1862, in spite of strong Catholic opposition in and out of parliament, the Common Schools Act abolished the Denominational and the National Boards creating one Common Schools Board in their place. Schools receiving aid could choose to be vested or non-vested, and Goold, though most unhappy with the new arrangement, and after consultation with the clergy, decided to allow the Catholic schools to become non-vested – thus keeping Catholic school property safely in the hands of Catholic trustees. Henceforth, some aid was given for teachers' salaries and for books, but nothing for buildings and repairs. Over the next decade, some of the smaller Catholic schools, because of various restrictions, lost their aid and had to battle on alone.

The final blow to state aid to Catholic schools came with the passing of the secular Education Act of 1872. Previously, under the Common Schools Act, Catholic teachers had been able to impart religious education outside the mandatory four houses of secular learning; but the secular clause of the new Act strictly forbade this.

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Though the Education Act of 1872 came into operation on 1 January 1873, a year of grace was given to those non-vested schools previously receiving assistance from the Common Schools Board. Their aid continued until January 1874. A few Catholic schools, in localities where there were as yet no State Schools, or an insufficient number, received capitation grants until the required State Schools were built, but not beyond 1 January 1878.

In December 1873, a group of Presentation Sisters arrived at St Kilda (Windsor) from Limerick, as a direct response to the passing of the 1872 Education Act and to the impassioned plea of Rev. James Corbett of St Mary's, St Kilda. His letter to them on 28 January 1873 had begun, 'From the ends of the earth I write to you for help.' He went on to paint a stark picture of the dire consequences of the new Act, begging the nuns for their assistance. Corbett, a fierce opponent of the Act, had written with Goold's approval given in an appended note. An enclosed order at the time, the Presentation Sisters confined their work to education. They took over St Mary's Primary School for girls and began a high school. In 1877, Goold having obtained the required permission from Rome, they established a boarding school for young ladies.

Another community of Presentation Sisters from Wagga Wagga came to Elsternwick (now Gardenvale) in 1883. They too conducted a primary school and a high school for day pupils. After Goold's death, they opened a boarding school in 1887.

In 1882, the order of the Faithful Companions of Jesus (FCJs) came from Ireland to Richmond at the invitation of the Jesuits. They established girls' primary schools, a high school for day pupils and boarders and, at Goold's request, a training college for teachers.

The last group of religious to come to Melbourne during Goold's episcopate were the Little Sisters of the Poor who arrived in 1884. At first in Victoria Parade, later at Northcote, they provided a home for the aged and infirm poor.

During Goold's long struggle first to retain and later to regain state aid to Catholic education, he had the loyal support of many leading Catholic laymen. Foremost among the politicians were Sir John O'Shanassy, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy and later his son, John, Michael O'Grady, Nicholas Fitzgerald and Sir Bryan O'Loghlen. As well, Dr A C Brownless MD, Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne University and W H Archer, Registrar-General, were amongst his advisers.

Brownless and Archer, together with O'Shanassy, Charles and John Gavan Duffy and Michael O'Grady were among the laymen who served on the Catholic Education Committee. This Committee, with Goold as

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chairman, assisted by Dean Fitzpatrick and various other priests, was the central administrative structure through which, from 1860 to his death in 1886, Goold worked to organise the Catholic education system. Through it, he was kept in contact with every Catholic school in the diocese. Responsibility for the running of the individual school rested with the senior priest of that mission. He, as Correspondent for the schools under his care, was their link with the central Catholic Education Committee which handled all appointments and dismissals of teachers.

The Minutes of the Catholic Education Committee, especially after 1872, reveal that it was Goold's advisory council in every fact of educational policy, whether it concerned the raising of the necessary finances to run the schools and pay the teachers' salaries or the improvement of educational standards within the Catholic schools. As well, Goold used his Committee to plan strategies by which political pressure could be applied to successive governments to redress the Catholic grievance. Whenever any important decision had to be made, he called a general meeting of the clergy, to test their feelings and hear their views before taking any action. The Minutes of the Catholic Education Committee show that Goold carried out, to the very end of his episcopate, his responsibility for the care of Catholic education.

Goold had come to Melbourne when it was in its infancy and he was young and energetic. He had spent the following 38 years in the service of his people and, though worn down in health, he continued to carry out his episcopal duties until close to his death on 11 June 1886.

Archbishop James Alipius Goold lies buried in the Holy Souls' Chapel, near to his faithful friend and Vicar General, Dr Fitzpatrick, in the magnifleent St Patrick's Cathedral which they both worked so hard to build and which stands today as a memorial to them. Goold's memorial also may be seen in every Catholic school and college, in every Catholic work of charity and in every thriving Catholic parish, because he laid the foundations and set the path that made it easier for others to follow because he laid the foundations on which to build and set the path.

Frances O'Kane Hale, author of Frances O'Kane, A Path is Set: The Catholic Church in the Port Phillip District 1839–1862 (MHP. 1976).

Frances Hale, *Wealth Beneath the Soil*: (Nelson, 1981, reprints 1983, 84, 85, 87, 89).

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#### GOOLD AND THE SYMBOLISM OF PORTRAITS

Rachel Naughton

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In the rich Historical Collection of the Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne, there is a group of outstanding European portraits – both sculptures and paintings – of the first Catholic Archbishop and of Pope Pius IX, the Risorgimento Pope, who appointed him. Their quality sets them apart from Colonial Portraiture by local Australian artists and they are based on Italian Renaissance models. They are executed by significant nineteenth century Italian artists, Scipione Tadolini (an associate of Canova), Achille Simonetti and Michele Gordigiani of the Macchiaioli. A further group of portraits were purchased or inspired by Goold himself, selecting images that symbolised episcopal authority in Colonial Melbourne, either in or associated with the Archdiocese. The portraits contain details that are rich in meaning and represent a special language of authority, respect, acknowledgment, succession and continuance. They will include, Bishops, Archbishops, a Pope and a founding nun.

Goold used paintings and artworks in the way that the Church has always used them. He used them to teach, to evangelise, as an expression of the connection with the centralised Church in Rome in the person of the Pope, as a symbol of Roman authority and as an identifying link with the Universal Church and its very long history.

#### **James Goold**

James Goold was born in Cork Ireland in 1812. He trained as an Augustinian in Ireland and Italy. Shortly after his ordination in Perugia in 1835, Goold encountered the persuasive Dr William Ullathorne, Sydney's Vicar General in Rome. After this meeting, Goold obtained permission from his Religious Superiors and volunteered for missionary work in NSW. He arrived in Sydney in 1838 and within a few months, was given the Campbelltown district as his own mission.

Having discharged his duties in NSW so admirably, in 1847 at age 35, Goold was nominated by Pope Pius IX as the Bishop of the new Diocese of Victoria. Pope Pius would continue to take a personal interest in Goold for the rest of his pontificate. Consecrated in 1848, Goold travelled by carriage and four to Melbourne, an overland journey of 600 miles or 965 kilometres.

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#### Pope Pius IX

Pope Pius IX, 1846–1878, was born Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti in 1792. He was ordained a priest in 1819. In 1827, like Goold at age 35, he was consecrated an Archbishop, of Spoleto. By 1831 the revolution that had begun in Parma and Modena spread to Spoleto. The Archbishop was tolerant and forgiving of the revolutionaries but more turbulence awaited him in his next move to Imola in 1832. He was proving himself to be benevolent but firm and received his Cardinal's hat in 1840. In 1846, he was elected Pope and chose the name Pius IX<sup>1</sup> in memory of Pius VII who had been his friend. He in turn also became known as Pio Nono.<sup>2</sup>

Giovanni was always devout with a special devotion to Mary. During his Pontificate, he was able to balance an intellectual practice of faith with the nourishment of simple devotions. In 1854, he proclaimed the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>3</sup> He convened the First Vatican Council in 1869. He granted the title of Our Mother of Perpetual Help on the famous icon from Crete and entrusted it to the Redemptorists in Rome. He dedicated the Church to the Sacred Heart, thereby helping to popularise this devotion. He established the dogma of Papal Infallibility in 1870. Clearly he had a sense of the importance of centralised authority. This was a sentiment that Goold and the Pope had in common. After the repeal of the English Penal laws against Catholicism, Pius re-established the Catholic hierarchy of England and Wales and also of Ireland.

Pius would need all of his devotion during his pontificate, the longest in the history of the Papacy.<sup>4</sup> The Catholic Church was fortunate that a man of Pius IX's wisdom, tolerance and fortitude was at the helm from 1846–1878 because he was challenged to a degree that few Popes have been. He was known to be a liberal-minded Pope but he was caught in the middle of the battles of the Risorgimento. The revolution for the unification of the Italian peninsula into a single nation was fought for much of the 19th century and certainly for the whole of Pius' pontificate. Napoleonic France, the Austrian Hapsburgs, Italian regional states and movements and their leaders, political figures and Dukes and Princes and their armies moved back and forth across Italy. Right in the middle were the Papal States with the Pope as their sovereign and Rome as their capital. Both were highly sought after. Heroic names such as Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour and Victor Emmanuel feature during this turbulent period.

Pius knew that giving up the church's political or temporal power could lead to the persecution of Italian Catholics. From the beginning

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of the Pope's reign there were a series of revolts. In 1848, after Pius granted a constitution to the Papal States, his Minister Pellegrino, was assassinated.<sup>5</sup> Pius fled Rome in exile to Gaeta. In 1861 the first democratic government of Italy was elected. In 1870 the last foreign soldiers, the pro-Pope French garrison left Rome. The ultimate event in the long process of the Risorgimento was the battle of 20 September 1870, when the Papacy finally relinquished control of the Papal States to King Victor Emmanuel II, enabling the unification of Italy. The Papacy. having forcibly lost its territories, refused to recognise the state of Italy. The issue was not resolved until the Lateran Treaty<sup>6</sup> between Pope Pius XI and Mussolini in 1929, signed on the Pope's behalf by Cardinal Gasparri. Finally, the status of the Pope and his administration were clarified and offered an official and acceptable framework in which to function. The Treaty was confirmed by the Italian Constitution of 1948. Vatican City would be small but would occupy the unique status of a state within the state of Italy. It would be the Capital of the Catholic world and a place of pilgrimage for believers. For non-believers it was to become, by virtue of its long history, one of the world's most important art and architecture Museums.

Pius was a personable man, warm and generous, with a gift for friendship. It is easy to imagine that Goold saw him as a supporter. Pius IX's interest in Goold would have been genuine but also he was in great need of friends and support from the International Community. With the discovery of gold, Victoria was fast becoming the richest region in Australia, and Melbourne one of the richest cities in the world. Goold was a generous donor to the Papal Fund<sup>7</sup> (Peter's Pence).

#### Goold's five trips to Europe as Bishop

Goold made five trips to Europe as Bishop of Melbourne and each time he visited the Vatican. We know that he met with and personally reported to Pope Pius IX. His Uncle, Bishop John Hynes, mentions in a letter, 5 January 1859, that he is gratified at the Holy Father's Reception of Goold.<sup>8</sup> On 13 April 1851 Goold left Melbourne with his Vicar General, Father John Fitzpatrick. He returned to Melbourne in March 1853. He left for a second overseas trip 15 June 1858, arriving back in Melbourne 12 December 1859. On his next trip to Europe, Goold left Melbourne 28 April 1867 and returned 24 November 1868. During his journeys, Goold continued to keep his diary. He comments on the state of the Church en

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route. During these times abroad, Goold purchased the books and the paintings that are currently being examined by the ARC Team. He is careful not to mention too much about his purchases or the prices that he is paying for them. This is believed to be a result of the criticism that he received over a prolonged period, led by a trio of priests. Perhaps they resented contributing to St Patrick's Cathedral after Goold had started and pulled it down twice using three different architects. This was at a time when they were financially struggling to establish their own parishes. Their criticisms virtually accused the Bishop of financial mismanagement and of failures regarding Catholic education. These accusations were very serious ones indeed and reflected on all of Goold's team, both priests and lay people. The rest of Goold's priests and his lay people and his fellow Bishops stood by him but the complaints went all the way to Rome, 9 thereby causing Goold quite a bit of anxiety and a sense of injustice. Pope Pius IX and his Executive stood by Goold even though this was happening between 1856 and 1858 when Pius had problems of his own in Italy. Perhaps, as a result of his detractors, Goold did not document the provenance of his purchases, particularly the paintings, which would have been the 'big ticket' items. One would expect that, in other circumstances, there would have been more documentation about them in his Diary as he must have been very excited to obtain some of these paintings and books for his Diocese. Clearly the experience had left him with some trauma

#### Goold Becomes an Archbishop

Goold also attended Vatican I in Rome in 1869–1870. During this trip, he took with him the seeds of the Blue Gum to combat malaria, thought to be caused by the swampy night air of Rome. The Trappists soon began harvesting Eucalyptus oil and creating medicinal liqueur from the leaves. The trees flourish there to this day. <sup>10</sup> Goold's final trip to Rome was in 1873. This was an important trip for Goold. There was talk amongst the hierarchy of dividing Victoria into many smaller Dioceses. Goold strongly disagreed with this meddling in his Diocese. It is suspected that it came from the Cullen group who were based in Rome but it also drew in some Australian Bishops. The incumbent Archbishop of Sydney, Archbishop Polding, agreed with Goold. Goold knew his Diocese. In fact, few people would have known Victoria as well as he did, having for the past 25 years, travelled by horseback throughout the State, ministering

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to his flock. On 9 October 1873, Goold sent a strong letter to Rome objecting to the proposed divisions. 'I do not understand who has handed over my diocese to these Prelates to dismember it in their own fashion, without my consent. This appears to be not the canonical usage of the Church.'<sup>11</sup> Goold sent his own list of candidates for Bishops. The issues were to be decided in Rome so Goold boarded the steamer China and arrived in Rome on 30h November 1873. With his proficiency in Italian, his knowledge of Victoria, his long held plans and his respected status in Rome, Goold won the day.<sup>12</sup> Only two Dioceses were created, Ballarat and Sandhurst and Goold approved the boundaries and the choice of new Bishops. Sale would follow in 1887. The new Sees date from 30 March 1874. The next day Melbourne was declared a Metropolitan See and on 10 May Goold was established as an Archbishop, having received his pallium from Cardinal Antonelli. No doubt Goold's good relations with Rome and with Pius assisted in this favourable outcome.

#### Pius IX marble bust 1852

The fine marble bust of Pius IX was done by Scipione Tadolini in 1852. This would have been acquired on Goold's first trip to Europe. Scipione Tadolini (1822-1893) was one of the finest sculptors of the nineteenth century and he and his father, Adamo, worked often with Antonio Canova who introduced them to papal patronage. Scipione was the preferred portraitist of the King of Italy, Victor Emanuel II, and of the Pope. The Tadolini family studio is now the Museo Atelier Tadolini/ Canova in the Via Babuino, Rome. The Tadolini bust of Pius IX, an official portrait, is known in several versions, and was a papal gift to an archbishop of distinction. The classical style of Tadolini's sculpture recalls Praxiteles with soft marble modelling, so flattering to the sitter. Scipione's cult of classical



Scipione Tadolini
Portrait bust of Pope Pius IX
marble, 76 × 59 × 33 cm.
Acquired in Rome in 1852.
Collection of Catholic Archdiocese
of Melbourne

beauty allied with enviable technical skills made him the most celebrated sculptor of portraits of his day. In recognition of this, towards the end of his career, he was made director of the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome.<sup>13</sup> Goold was inspired by this bust to have one of his own done later in 1859.

#### Pius IX portrait in oils c1851-1853



Unknown artist
Portrait of Pius IX
Oil on canvas.

136.5 x 110.5 cm.

Depicts Pius holding 1847 letter appointing Goold as Bishop of Victoria

Collection of Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne

Presumably during this same trip to Europe, 1851–1853, Goold also acquired a portrait in oils of Pope Pius IX. Pius is shown on an Episcopal throne with his right hand giving a blessing. In his left hand he holds the letter appointing Goold as Bishop of Melbourne. The viewer can clearly see the wording on the letter:

Dilecto Filio Jacobo Goold Episcopo Melburniensis 1847

We have no record that this portrait was a gift from Pius IX. It could have been a ready-made portrait available to have a new Bishop's name and date added. This portrait, no doubt, inspired Goold's own seven years later in 1859.

#### Five Pontificale Romanum from Pius IX 1858

In December 1858, Pius gave Bishop Goold a set of five Pontificale Romanum to use in his Cathedral. Obviously given to him during his second trip to Europe as a Bishop. The Pontificale Romanum contains the rites for the performance of episcopal functions such as Confirmation and Holy Orders. This set is bound in red leather with gold embossing and containing the crest of Pius IX in gold on the cover. Again, it is a symbol of episcopal authority.

#### Goold portrait in oils 1859 to Sisters of Mercy

Unnamed Italian artist
Portrait of James Alipius Goold
OSA, 133 x 97 cm.
Acquired in Rome c 1859.

Collection of Sisters of Mercy
Melbourne.

This earliest portrait of Goold as new Bishop was painted in Rome in 1859 some ten years after his appointment as Bishop in 1847. According to correspondence with his Uncle, Bishop Hynes, Goold's portrait was painted by an Italian artist



but the artist's name is not mentioned. 14 The painting is in the custody of the Sisters of Mercy in Nicholson St, Fitzroy, to whom he gave it.

Goold was extremely grateful to have the Sisters, his first Religious Order in 1857, when two nuns came across from their foundation in Western Australia. He gave them his spacious home in Nicholson St, Fitzroy, most likely purchased with this in mind. Later, in 1859, in appreciation of their increased presence in Melbourne, Goold gave this

brand new portrait of himself to the Sisters to hang in their parlour, his former parlour in Nicholson St. It has hung there ever since.

The portrait is in keeping with conventions of portraiture. These conventions owe much to the Italian Renaissance. With some variation, the official and youngest portraits of the first three Archbishops of Melbourne all follow these same conventions. St Patrick's College was Goold's greatest achievement to that date, hence its inclusion in the painting. The Chapel of the College was shared with the Bishop's Palace next door. In fact, the Chapel appears to be the section that linked the two buildings. A number of the Goold paintings hung in the Chapel. The sealed letter, in Goold's hand, most likely represents his call from Pope Pius IX to become Bishop of the newly created Diocese of Victoria. Goold had been a hard working young missionary priest in the Sydney district for ten years prior to this appointment.

Goold is wearing the Bishop's Episcopal Cross around his neck. Goold appears in a variety of episcopal crosses in portraits and photographs, but only one survives in the Archdiocesan collection and it isn't depicted in any of his portraits. He is dressed in choir dress, a popular outfit for Bishop's portraits, although they are usually in purple. Goold is wearing black, indicating that he is a Religious Order Bishop, an Augustinian, even though he had virtually left the Augustinians ten years before in 1838 when he came to Australia as a Missionary priest.

The crucifix on his right represents his calling. Every priest is called to be another Christ. Christ died on the cross so the priest also must accept the burdens of his office. The book behind the crucifix does not look like a Bible but it could be a prayer book or his Office or simply to indicate the importance of the Word and of words generally as in learning. A priest, particularly a Bishop, should be a man of learning in order to best lead his flock.

There is a shelf of books featured at Goold's back and to his left. Books were very important to him and to all the early Bishops. Nick Gellatly, from the Mannix Library, identified some of the books in the portrait for the ARC Goold project. In his E-mail, Friday, 2 February 2018, he writes the following:

The two volumes that have been identified as a possible match [with Goold's Library] are a two volume set of the Novum Testamentum Graece. [Given that the portrait was painted in Italy], it is possible that he might travel with them, but it is expected that there would have been

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a copy wherever he went. The others couldn't be identified. They could have been some of Goold's volumes of the Patrolgiae Cursus Completus, but it is unlikely that he would take them to Italy. The red/brown volumes are probably volumes from where he was staying, or just a generic book design. The two lighter ones could be the Novum Testamentum Graece, but he did receive them over a decade prior to the painting, and in a different country, which makes it somewhat less likely that they are the books in the painting.

Goold would have selected the titles that he wished to display in this portrait and they all would have been titles in his own library back in Australia. But he would have borrowed these particular ones from an Ecclesiastical Library that was to hand.

#### Goold portrait in oils by Mayer & Co Munich 1874



Franz Mayer Inc of Munich

Portrait of Archbishop James Alipius Goold OSA Oil on canvas 110  $\times$  90 cm. Commissioned by Goold in Munich 1874.

Collection of Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne

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The later Goold portrait shows an older man. It was supplied by Mayer of Munich & London after 1874. It is a straightforward portrait of an Archbishop with little of the symbols of the earlier painting. It shows Goold holding his Office or Breviary from which he would have prayed at different times during the day. Goold is dressed almost exactly as he appeared in his earlier portrait. It is worth mentioning here that Goold also gave this painting away; this time to the Good Shepherd Sisters, his second Religious Order to arrive in 1863, to hang in their Bishop's Parlour in Abbotsford. It hung there until c1985 when the Sisters donated it to the MDHC.

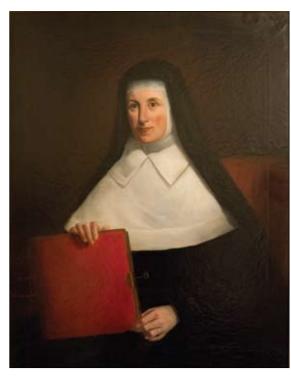
#### The Bishop's Parlour

It is important here to include a note to explain the significance of the Bishop's Parlour. Prior to Vatican II, when the Bishop or any other priest for that matter came to the Convent to say the morning Mass, he would have been fasting since midnight. So the Sisters would have prepared some food and refreshments for him to have after Mass before he headed off again. He usually partook of this breaking of his fast or breakfast at the dining table in a room at the convent that was set aside for visitors. This would have been the parlour, sometimes also referred to as the Bishop's Parlour. It was usually a beautifully furnished room that was not used by the nuns who lived a semi-enclosed life elsewhere in the convent. Special visitors and also families visiting their loved ones, who were nuns at the convent, also may have used this parlour. So the audience of people who would have viewed the paintings hanging there would be the Bishop/Archbishop himself, visiting priests, all other visitors including family members of the nuns. The frame is very simple.

#### Catherine McAuley portrait in oils 1859

The Sisters of Mercy also have hanging in their Bishop's Parlour a fine portrait of their Founder in Ireland, Catherine McAuley. Goold was in Ireland in 1859 and was extremely grateful that this second group of women were going to Australia to join the two who had come over from Western Australia in 1857. Goold was well aware that these women were leaving their families and their homeland to go to the other side of the world and would never see them again. Goold had this portrait painted for them to take with them. It was a remarkable, expensive and thoughtful gift. At this time, in 1859, Goold also gave the Sisters at Fitzroy his own portrait, presumably to hang alongside the painting of their Founder.

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Unknown artist
Portrait of Mother Catherine
McAuley RSM

Oil on canvas, 98 x 67 cm Commissioned by Goold in Dublin 1859.

Collection of Sisters of Mercy Melbourne

Goold wrote to his Vicar General Fitzpatrick from Ireland in May 1859:

I have I may say secured a community of Sisters of Mercy – able – active and well educated. Write to Dean Hayes to make preparations for a few of these good Sisters at Geelong ... I have ordered a copy of the portrait of the foundress of the Mercy Order. The Sisters perhaps will take it with them <sup>16</sup>

The portrait shows a strong and intelligent face with a direct but compassionate gaze. Mother McAuley wears a wedding ring on her left hand indicating her commitment to her vow of chastity as a Bride of Christ. She holds a large red work book with a key. The Dublin Sisters have commented by E-mail of 13 July 2018 to their Melbourne Archivist, that it would not be the Annals of the Order as they have very ornate covers. Either it just symbolises the Annals, given that Catherine was the founder, or perhaps the ornate covers were added later. The book may contain the names and date of entry and profession of each Sister. It may also have included the daily record of the Sisters lives

and the achievements of the Order. There seems to be another similar large red work book in the background. The Sisters of Mercy Archives in Melbourne sent an image of this portrait to the Sisters in Dublin. It is not a copy of any Catherine McAuley portraits that the Irish Sisters are familiar with there. It remains a mystery. Perhaps it is an original, although Goold refers to it in his letter as a copy. Perhaps it was copied from an existing portrait but changed by the artist. Catherine and two companions established the Sisters of Mercy in Dublin in 1831. The Sisters of Mercy went on to become one the most important Religious Orders sent from Ireland to the New World. Their mission has included education, nursing, hospitals, orphanages and shelter for women. Goold was well aware that a Bishop could not properly administer or provide for his Diocese without them and other Religious Orders like them.

#### Goold marble bust by Simonetti Rome 1859

In 1859 Goold also had a fine marble bust made of himself by Simonetti of Rome. It is in the rather heroic Roman style along the lines of the Pius IX bust by Tadolini in 1852.



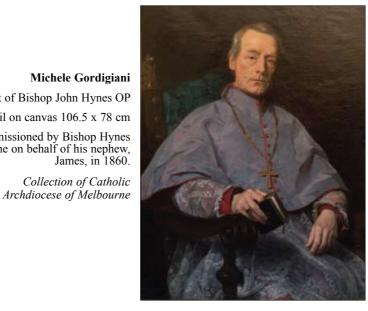
#### Achille Simonetti

Portrait bust of Bishop James Alipius Goold

Marble,  $72 \times 50 \times 26$  cm Commissioned by Goold in Rome 1859.

Collection of Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne

Michele Gordigiani Portrait of Bishop John Hynes OP Oil on canvas 106.5 x 78 cm Commissioned by Bishop Hynes in Rome on behalf of his nephew. James, in 1860. Collection of Catholic



#### Hynes portrait in oils by Gordigani 1859

The portrait of Bishop John Hynes OP is referred to in Hynes letter to Goold 22 December 1859:

As you are so anxious to have a likeness of self, I shall have done for you before I leave Rome. 17

The portrait is by Michele Gordigani. It is a very fine portrait in which Hynes holds his Office or breviary that he would have prayed from many times a day. Hynes is dressed in choir dress with a grey cape. Perhaps this indicates that he is Dominican, a Religious Order Bishop like his nephew, Goold. Bishop John Hynes was Goold's maternal Uncle. After his retirement he acted as Goold's official Agent in Europe and was his confidant and advisor. The frame on Hynes portrait is most ornate, similar to later frames used by Goold and Carr.

#### Pius IX portrait in oils from 1868

Goold acquired another portrait of an older Pius IX, perhaps from 1868 or even 1874. Pius sits on a throne with his right raised in blessing, a very similar pose to the one from 1847. He wears an elaborate Papal tiara or crown, of which he had a number. The tiara represents the Pope's kingship, a sensitive subject at this time of the unification of Italy.



Unknown artist (Italian)

Portrait of Pope Pius IX,
c. 1868–74

Oil on canvas, 213 x 151 cm

Acquired in Rome in 1868 or 1874.

Collection of Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne

#### Preaching stole from Pius IX Vatican I 1869-1870

A lovely preaching stole was a gift to Goold from Pope Pius IX when Goold attended Vatican I in 1869–1870. This stole is cloth-of-gold and is embroidered with Pius' crest. The stole is first mentioned in the West in the 6th century. After the 9th century it came gradually into symbolic use

for the priest. The stole is a symbol of the authority of the priest to speak in the name of the Church.

### Goold tinted photographic portrait to Presentation Sisters after 1873

Hand-tinted photographic print, 32 x 24.5 cm Gift of Bishop Goold to Presentation Sisters, c. 1873. Plaque added later.

Portrait of Bishop James Goold

c. 1873. Plaque added later.

Collection of Catholic Archdiocese
of Melbourne



A portrait of Goold that is a tinted photograph appears to have been given to the Presentation Sisters after their arrival in Victoria in 1873. Later the Sisters added a plaque:

James Alipius Goold First Archbishop of Melbourne Friend and Benefactor Of Windsor Convent Died 1886

#### Goold portrait in oils by Palethorpe c.1875

There is another small portrait of Goold in oils in the Collection. It was painted by E Palethorpe, about whom nothing is known. It depicts Goold in about 1860s but may have been painted from a photograph. The Collection holds a similar-sized portrait in oils, also by Palethorpe, of Cardinal Manning 1875–1892. Both, while lovely portraits, may have been painted at the same time and both from photographs because Palethorpe is said to be a local artist and Manning never travelled to Australia.

On 7 December 1882, Goold wrote to Pope Leo XIII asking for a gift that would be auctioned to raise funds to complete the Cathedral. He attached two drawings of the Cathedral. The Pope replied and sent a mosaic of the Virgin. 18



E Palethorpe

Portrait of Bishop James Goold

Oil on canvas, 59.5 x 49.5 cm.

Collection of Catholic Archdiocese
of Melbourne

#### Comparison of Goold's first portrait with those of Carr and Mannix

It is interesting to compare the first portrait of Goold with the official first portraits of his two successors, Carr and Mannix. They were both Irish and so would have been well versed in the informative iconography of Episcopal portraits. They would have known the two Goold portraits that had hung in two different Convents since they were painted, having seen them when they visited the two convents. Neither portrait had ever hung within the Archdiocese until the Good Shepherd Sisters donated theirs to the MDHC in c1985.

#### Carr portrait in oils Vienna c.1886



**Emil Bauch** 

Portrait of Archbishop Thomas Carr

Oil on canvas, 197.5 x 117 cm Vienna c 1886

Collection of Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne

Thomas Carr's portrait was painted by Emil Bauch of Vienna (Wien). We presume that Carr may have had it painted before he even left Europe. If so, Carr would not have seen Goold's portrait before his was painted but it is still painted in a similar tradition. Appointed in 1886, Carr didn't arrive in Australia until 1887. Carr wears a Bishop's black cassock with purple trim and with cape, his episcopal cross on his chest. He wears a skull cap on his head in this and also in a later portrait. He is reasonably young but was already Bishop of Galway. This is the youngest portrait or even photographic image that we have of him, clearly painted at the very beginning of his episcopate.

The painting shows the Archbishop holding the letter of appointment from the Pope. An image of his appointing Pope, Leo XIII, is above him to his right. Disappearing out of the painting, in the top right, is the bottom part of an image that seems to be The Transfiguration. This is the feast and image of the Augustinians. So it is possibly an acknowledgment to Goold, now departed. In Carr's portrait, there are also books and some large work books or registers, indicating both the

pastor and the administrator. This brings to mind the convention evident in the Catherine McAuley portrait. Carr is looking out, possibly towards Australia. He was the contented Bishop of Galway where he had his childhood home and family members. The carpet in the foreground is a little ruffled, perhaps indicating some apprehension on the part of the new Archbishop to travel so far from home.

The portrait has a beautiful and elaborate frame. Is could well be European. There is no other frame like it in the Archdiocesan Collection. Like Goold, Carr also had at least one later portrait painted but again, like Goold, it doesn't compare with this younger Carr at the start of his illustrious career in Melbourne.

#### Mannix portrait in oils by Meldrum 1919

The Mannix portrait was painted by the Victorian artist, Max Meldrum in 1919. It is the last Melbourne Archdiocesan portrait that is still in the tradition of the European Episcopal portrait. It is a stunning representation of the man. It shows Mannix two years into his new office He stands straight and tall, looking the viewer directly in the eye. He is ready to face the tasks ahead. As with Carr's portrait, his much admired predecessor, Mannix is wearing a Bishop's black

#### Max Meldrum

Portrait of Archbishop Daniel Mannix Oil on canvas, 227 x 122 cm Commissioned by Mannix 1919

Collection of Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne



working cassock with cape. He wears a purple (Bishop's) biretta on his head. Mannix would appear in this same uniform for the rest of his life.

The Simonetti bust of Goold is clearly in the background to his right, indicating that he stands on the shoulders of those who went before him, particularly Goold, the father of the Archdiocese. The frame was chosen by Meldrum. It has an interesting story of its own to be told at another time.

#### Tradition of Melbourne Archbishop's portraits

Up until Archbishop Hart, 2001–2018, each incoming Archbishop of Melbourne has had an official portrait in oils painted of himself. The portraits all vary as do the artists they chose to paint them. But they remain within a long tradition of using the visual image as a symbol of authority. They can be a subject for further study. Both Goold's and Carr's later official portraits do not contain the rich symbolism of their first portraits. But Mannix followed in the original tradition.

For his first portrait Goold, no doubt following the example of Pius himself, did not choose a Colonial portrait painter. He went to the best available in Europe. This first portrait shows a young, energetic Bishop, ready for office. It is undoubtedly the gem of this Collection and owes much to its origins in Rome. It is a wonderful example of the European Episcopal portrait. Catholicism was a European entity brought to the 'New World', with the best of intentions, along with all the other expressions of Colonialism. It is this reality that underlays Goold's decision to engage European artists to represent episcopal authority in the new State of Victoria.

**Endnotes** 

<sup>1</sup> Britannica.com/biography, 2018, p. 1.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Britannica.com/biography, 2018, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Piusthenineth.com ..., 2018 p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Catholic.org/saints ..., 2018, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Italian ... 2018, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Britannica.com ... 2018, p. 1.

Olleoni, Paola, 2018, Research on Fondo Oceania at Propaganda Fide 1860–1886.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Hynes, 1859. Letter to Goold, 5 January 1859.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> O'Kane, 1976, p.111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Barclay-Lloyd, *Footprints* 20, No. 1, 2003, p. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Bourke, 1988, p. 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Bourke, 1988, p. 119.

- 13 Hufschmidt, 1996.
- <sup>14</sup> Hynes, 1859. Letter to Goold, 22 December 1859.
- 15 O'Kane, 1976, p. 110.
- <sup>16</sup> Goold, 1859. Letter to Fitzpatrick, Dublin, 22 December 1859.
- 17 Goold, 1859. Letter to Fitzpatrick, Dublin, May 1859.
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## VISUALISING JAMES GOOLD'S PERSONAL LIBRARY

Huw Sandaver

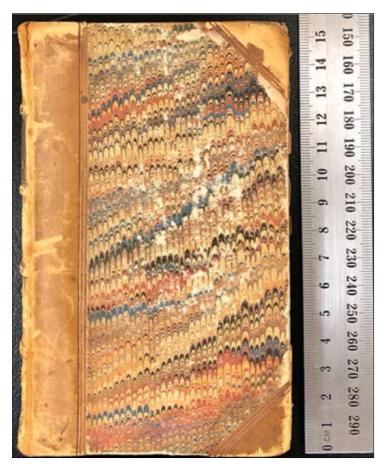
A personal library is much like a snapshot of personality, or as Milton states much more eloquently than I can: 'books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.' 1

James Alipius Goold's personal library, having lain dormant for 130 years, is now rediscovered, starting only with a list with just enough detail to identify volumes. Goold's inventory is a wealth of data, but it is difficult to visualise the makeup of his library merely from a handwritten list. As meticulous as the inventory is, it doesn't describe in great detail the nature of the objects he collected – there's no listing of illustrations or descriptions of bindings, no pagination and most of the information that we would generally take for granted in a library catalogue record is missing, after all, library science was only a nascent field, which really only became an established field after Goold's death. Fortunately, there is at least one visual clue included in the data – the (mostly guessed at) format that the book was printed in.

Let's take one of the very first books on Goold's shelves. Rather whimsically this was the *Fables of La Fontaine*. The inventory lists this as a 24mo (Vigesimo-quarto) or a book that is roughly 14 centimetres tall, having been folded 6 times from a broadsheet to create 24 leaves in a gathering.

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The only problem is, the format can't be accurately determined for anything printed on wove paper, which is mostly everything printed after 1807. There is also no date of publication listed for this particular item. Primarily the search for this item was visual: size was key – it was small and published in Paris before 1865, which was the year that the inventory was compiled. While we ended up finding the item, which incidentally is somewhat rare – the only other library holding the item that we know of is the National Library of France; the format as listed in the inventory is incorrect – it's actually a small duodecimo (or 12mo). This is because a printer can start with a large or small sheet when they start folding. The inventory data is unreliable but given that we knew it was small, locating it visually was our best guide.



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Why would Goold own this tiny book of fables in French? I think this question can be answered if we look back at Goold's heritage in Ireland. In the early eighteenth century, French books were imported in great numbers as well as being printed in Ireland for the Huguenot population who were fleeing persecution in France settling mainly in Dublin, Portarlington, Lisburn and Cork, where Goold was born. During this time French was replacing Latin as the dominant language for the educated. Primarily this would have consisted of aristocrats, clergy and scholars and fluency in French would have been seen as a major cultural achievement. and certainly a fashionable boast for the nobility. La Fontaine's fables are in fact one of the most found works in eighteenth century aristocratic private libraries in Ireland, simply because of prestige. Many luxury editions of the work were produced in this period, often with extremely fine bindings, and Goold's edition is no exception, although showing the ravages of time, his edition is a half polished calf binding with exquisite gold tooled decoration with title inset on red goatskin leather, known as Levant Morocco. It also has marbled paper over the boards and speckled edges – quite the premium item, even if it contained no illustrations.

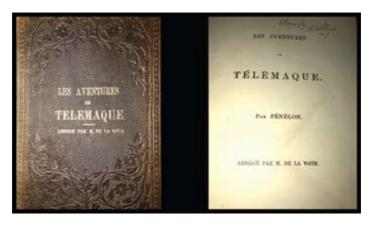
In breaking down Goold's collection we can see that in his collecting habits he mirrored the aristocratic formula for what a sophisticated library should contain.

Here we see the list of the top twenty French authors identified in eighteenth century private libraries.<sup>2</sup>

Voltaire, François Marie Arouet	53%
Fénelon, François de Salignac	46%
Boileau, Nicolas dit Despreaux	45%
Molière, Jean-Baptiste Poquelin	42%
Bible and New Testament	42%
Montesquieu, Charles de Secondate	42%
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques	39%
Le Sage, Alan René	37%
Racine, Jean-Baptiste	35%
Corneille, Pierre	33%
La Fontaine, Jean de	33%
Bossuet, Jacques Benigne	31%
Vertot, Abbe Rene Aubert de	29%
Crebillon, père	28%
Pascal, Blaise	28%
Fontenelle, Bernard le Bovier de	26%
Marmontel, Jean-François de	26%
Bayle, Pierre	25%
Raynal, Guillaume Thomas François	
La Bruyère, Jean de	24%

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Many from this list we've discovered and a few we haven't and some may have made their way into Goold's library from other provenances. Let's take this extremely rare abridged edition of Fenelon's *Les aventures de Telemaque* (the second item on this list), which bares the name of Thomas Donaghy, as seen by the signature on the title page.



Donaghy was a close associate of Goold from the North of Ireland, and formerly professor of All Hallows College in Dublin who took the position as Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral after ill health forced him to give up his academic position.



Moving down this list we have Goold's 1844 edition of the Plays of Jean Racine bound in half crushed morocco over French shell marbled boards and gold tooling on the spine.

This item also bares the signature of John Fitzpatrick from Dublin, who must have gifted it to Goold at some point, since Goold's distinctive imprint appears on the same page as Fitzpatrick's pencil signature as well as another provenance – Thomas McCarthy, who dates his ownership

from 1847. Inside the font cover we can see the bookseller's label of Richard Milliken, a bookseller operating in Dublin from the early nineteenth century.



Here we see 15 College Green as it is today – an Italian Coffee Shop! Bookshops actually had a deep connection with coffee houses during the 18th and 19th centuries in Dublin, in fact many booksellers also ran coffee shops, since they tended to be centres of the exchange of news and gossip, drawing in their customers seeking a newspaper or pamphlet on the latest political intrigue.



A recent find was Goold's 1857 edition of Boileau Despreux's works, which appeared in nearly half of the eighteenth century Irish private libraries with catalogues available.

Another interesting item from this list is Goold's 1845 edition of Bossuet's History of the variations of the protestant churches. While the text of this item isn't in French (it's an English translation), it's been bound with the markings of Maynooth College. I don't think Goold appropriated it from the library, but we do see the provenance of Andrew Higgins, dated June 27 1849. We don't know who Higgins is, or whether he had any association with Goold but the item has ended up in Goold's library, complete with his imprint and later shelf mark. The work itself is an elaborate binding with the binder's name gold tooled into the front cover pastedown.



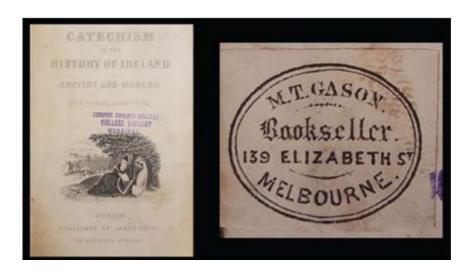
Gerald Bellew was located at 79 Grafton Street, which again now or was at some stage a café. Originally his workshop was conveniently sandwiched between two wine merchants. The Maynooth binding is an elaborate affair with a large gold tooled decoration in the centre of the cover featuring St Patrick and floriated gold tooling on the spine with the title gold tooled onto red levant morocco leather and with the edges of the paper marbled in the French Shell pattern. The endpapers are marbled in the Spanish Wave pattern.



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In case I've left the impression that Goold was only following some kind of aristocratic proforma let's look at some provenance from closer to home.

In Goold's collection there is work entitled *Catechism of the history of Ireland* published by James Duffy in Dublin seen here with an interesting engraved vignette, which Duffy appears to have liked so much it was reused for multiple Irish historical works. Inside we can see the label of the bookseller Michael T. Gason



While it's not unusual to see a local bookseller's label inside one of Goold's books, Gason seemed to have further involvement with Goold. There isn't a lot of information on Gason but he was a printer and publisher as well as a bookseller, producing such work as *An essay on the ignorant despotism of newspapers; Together with a proposition for putting an end to ill-designed and evil-disposed journalists* and he was at one stage the Vice-President of the St Patrick's Society – a formal Irish association prominent in the mid-19th century.

In the 1860s a scandal erupted over a letter sent to the editor of *The Age* by a whistle-blower identifying himself only as 'Hibernicus'. The letter detailed various misappropriations of funds, chiefly over a proposed purchase of a portrait of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, seemingly causing a ruckus over the idea that the society should be politically neutral.<sup>3</sup>

FOOTPRINTS 44 December 2019

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AGE.

Sin,—Permit me to state in answer to your correspondent assuming in this morning's issue the next of plane. "Hibernious" that I did not ruck a notice of motion at the meeting in December, but when Mr Stephen Donovan objected to have it "discussed" on that evening. I at once gave notice of motion for the ensuing general meeting.

I most emphatically affirm that I did not solicit (or to use "Hisberaicus" own word—
"whip in") any one member of the Society, or non member, to vote with me in the matter, and as I did not canvass re-opinious of the neighbors who were there I am unable to say what empority there might be for or against the

proposition.

With regard to the proper application of my words, I did not ask "Hibernicus" schooling, but take credit to myself for knowing as much

of that matter as himself.

"Hibernicus" may enjoy the friendship of both the hon, gentlemen alluded to "for ever and a dag," for aught I care. Although I value the friendship of an honest and honorable man, I have never courted the favor or friendship of either.

Respecting your correspondent's assertion about "the about schemes for dissipating the funds of the seciety," I have only to say, that as far as I am concerned, it is absolutely and completely untrue. I had nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with the project of establishing

I an fund

To the establishment of a Celtic or any other newspaper that would tend to isolate the Irish colonists from their fellow colonists, I am

totally opposed.

The signature of the cheque alluded to is simply this: The secretary of the society wanted to make use of a quarter's salary due to him, and after the president and I had signed a cheque for the amount, he, the secretary (not being successful in getting the treasurer's signature in consequence of illness), applied to Mr Ryan, a member of committee, to sign his name; being known at the bank, his signature was accepted. This set of the secretary, the officers and committee at once condemned on its coming to their knowledge. With respect to the tenders I have only to state that the highest tender was not accepted, and copies of the amounts and the names of the tenders were taken and retained.

As far as I am concerned, I am done with this disgraceful transaction, and beg you will excuse use for trespassing so much on your

columns.

I am, &c., M. T. GASON. Yet Gason definitely had some involvement with Duffy, having been part of an organising committee for a public dinner welcoming Duffy to Victoria and signing his name to welcoming letters and so on.

Gason and the president of the St Patrick's Society defended the proposal in a letter to the editor of *The Age* as neutral, and they also make a curious reference to a controversial publication.

During this period, Irish Catholics had been agitating for a newspaper, though Goold had consistently refused to fund one. However, eventually he relented, with the understanding that his trusted confident W H Archer would be the editor. The paper entitled *The Catholic Chronicle* was produced by Gason and funded directly by Goold, with contributions from Duffy.

The Catholic Chronicle ran into problems early however — with clergy rebelling over the idea that a non-Irish Catholic should be at the head of the enterprise. I can't do any better than this description of the discord from the Leader in 1887:

If it were fair to give readers an idea of the scenes at the Episcopal dinner table when the period for tumblers of punch came round they would prove highly amusing. The discussions between ardent Young Ireland clergymen and the representative of English Catholicity were enlivening enough to have led to glorious manifestations of a freely conducted Donnybrook fair. The late Rev. Father Parle confessed that every night before he went to bed "he prayed God that England might be humiliated for her treatment of the land of Saints," and I could not help remarking that, considering the constancy and fervor of the prayers, they seemed to have been wholly ignored in the quarter to which they were addressed. This of course produced the tornado. Father Parle rose to his feet, the late Michael O'Grady thumped the table and made the punch tumblers dance again; all spoke at once, and discord burst over the head of the adventurous English critic.<sup>4</sup>

Apparently though what really brought the paper down was that it was basically too boring for anyone to have much interest in. From the short-lived enterprise only four or five issues were ever produced and now seem to be completely lost.

I don't know if the St Patrick's Society ever managed to commission a portrait of Duffy, but there is another curious connection in Goold's book.

Henry McManus, who created the original drawing for the engraving shown here was a childhood friend of Charles Gavan Duffy, who lived with him for a period of time, while he struggled to make ends meet as an artist. Incidentally, this is Duffy's *Standing Rules and Orders* from the Victorian Legislative Assembly, which is in the Mannix Library collection. I don't think it was acquired by Goold, but it is anyone's guess as to how it came to be part of the Mannix collection.



Of course, these visual cues that tease out the interconnectedness of Goold's collection are completely missing from looking at a list of books – so I'll end with one that isn't on Goold's list but could be part of Goold's collection.

Here we have an item from Redmond Barry's book collection, probably sold in a sale of his library by Gemmell and Tuckett in 1881. An article in the *Herald* refers to the books being 'sacrificed remorselessly' and mostly given away at low costs. It's an apt description for this particular item – *The Irish rebellion ... together with the barbarous cruelties and bloody massacres which ensued thereupon.* It's a curious item – Goold's interest in book collecting was very mature at this point in time, and it's the same period that he seems to have been collecting handpressed items – his earliest work was collected after 1874 and he acquired some 16th century items from James Corbett, later the Bishop of Sale, during the 1880s, recorded in his ledger. If the collection was created in the image of an 18th century aristocratic library, and this curious item was printed during this time, perhaps it was a natural acquisition for Goold. Whoever collected it, it's been preserved as part of the rare books collection at Mannix Library.



## **Endnotes**

- <sup>1</sup> John Milton, *Of education; Areopagitica; The commonwealth*, The Riverside literature series, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911).
- <sup>2</sup> Máire Kennedy, 'The Top 20 French Authors in Eighteenth-Century Irish Private Libraries', *Linen Hall Review* 12, no. 1 (1995).
- <sup>3</sup> M T Gason, 'To the editor of The Age', *The Age* (Melbourne), Sat. 7 Jan. 1860.
- <sup>4</sup> 'The Catholic and Irish Press Duffy and O'Shanassy Dr Goold's Troubles', *The Leader* (Melbourne), Sat. 16 July 1887.
- <sup>5</sup> 'Sir Redmond Barry's Library', *The Herald* (Melbourne), 10 March 1881.

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- 'Sir Redmond Barry's Library'. The Herald (Melbourne), 10 March 1881, p. 3.

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