

MAY 2019



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CHAMPAGNAT

AN INTERNATIONAL MARIST JOURNAL OF CHARISM IN EDUCATION

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Inside:

- Helder Camara Lecture
- Irish Marist Brothers in Oceania

Champagnat: An International Marist Journal of Charism in Education
aims to assist its readers to integrate charism into education in a way that gives great life
and hope. Marists provide one example of this mission.

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VIEWPOINT AND CONTRIBUTORS

The good thing about this publication is that there is no mention of Brexit! The days of the British Empire and the “Mother Country” are surely now part of our Australian history books. Why we need to be flooded with Brexit, Theresa May, and whatever happens between writing this piece and the publication and circulation of this journal is in the hands of the gods, and surely we do not need to be constantly reminded of Brexit in this country!

More to the point, this is an international Marist journal, and the one thing that binds us together is our Marist Charism, our call to follow in the footsteps of St Marcellin Champagnat to make Jesus known and loved by all. Such a statement is a good one to start each day with: it is crystal clear, positive and full of hope.

This certainly has a preference to us as opposed to some of the agenda that comes our way when one turns the television on first thing in the morning!

As an international journal, we have four contributors for this edition:

Frank Freeman is an Australian Salesian priest, former high school principal, and currently the editor of the *Salesian Bulletin*. He is also the archivist for the Australian Catholic Press Association. Any of the Marists who have been associated with the Diocese of Sale would know him as he spent many years in Bairnsdale. Frank provides us with a beautiful reflection on the Resurrection – the joy of Easter. God comes to us through the Risen Jesus. The reflection is printed with permission and it provides each of us with a great sense of hope for all that tomorrow brings for us.

Ned Prendergast taught for a quarter of a century at Marian College Ballsbridge, in Dublin, Ireland. He later joined the Marino Institute of Education where he was best known for a project entitled *Reimagining the Catholic School*. From 2007 until his retirement he was Director of Faith Development with CEIST, a trust body for Catholic Voluntary secondary schools. In his retirement he has been working on the history and archives of the

Marist Brothers in Ireland. Ned’s contribution focuses on the contribution of the Irish Marists who became missionaries to Oceania. Some of these men came to Oceania as Brothers; others came to Oceania and joined the Institute here. It is interesting research, and something that has been neglected on our part in recent years. Such research always evokes discussion, and this is important for us as our Marist story continues to evolve.

Austen Ivereigh is a London-based Catholic journalist, author and commentator. Austen published *The Great Reformer: Francis and the Making of a Radical Pope*. Austen was in Melbourne recently for the 2019 Helder Camara Lecture where he spoke on Pope Francis evangelizing the world as it is today. The lecture is printed with permission. Our gratitude to Brother Mark O’Connor who facilitated this. What Ivereigh has to say is well researched and it has much to tell us particularly at this time when we approach the Australian Plenary Council 2020. This Plenary Council will hopefully not only have an influence in developing a pathway for the future of the Church in Australia, but also for the world-wide Church.

David de Carvalho has recently been appointed Chief Executive Officer for the Australian Curriculum and Reporting Authority. David’s address to St Joseph’s College students and the school community who received Academic Awards took place in February 2019.

Thank you to these contributors. We are very grateful. For more than twenty years the *Champagnat Journal* has been seeking to make a small but effective contribution to our Marist heritage and to our ministries of evangelization. All suggestions and contributions to this publication always receive every consideration. Our gratitude also goes to those who have helped to establish the journal over many years: Brother John McMahan, Des Connolly, and many, many other people.

Br Tony Paterson
Editor

THANK YOU

Our gratitude to those who have contributed papers to this edition, and to the proof-readers and to those who have assisted with the peer-review process. The Management Committee.

FRANK FREEMAN

Easter Reflection

“He has risen.....”

It is a very difficult task to change people’s attitudes or mind-sets, as anyone engaged in education will readily tell you. To change whole personalities, to turn around life’s patterns, needs a miracle.

Twelve men, unlettered in the main, yet skilled in the practical aspects of the fishermen trade, once followed Christ for diverse reasons. Some dreamt of an earthly kingdom in which they would have power and prestige. Others imagined they would be endowed with great supernatural powers. All however bathed in the reflected popularity of the new teacher from Nazareth. The shame of their leader’s public execution, however, shattered all such dreams. In fear, they huddled together in the upper room, behind locked doors and then retired to their old working haunts, the shores of Lake Galilee.

In these two places they were totally transformed by a power which, measured by its all-pervading effects, must have been supernatural. And what a transformation it was! They went out fearlessly to proclaim to the whole known world, that “He has Risen”, and this despite encountering opposition and ridicule on all sides.

Now no longer petty factions, bickering among themselves as to “who was the greatest”; no longer weak and indecisive; no longer beating a coward’s retreat in the face of opposition, but strong and courageous, united to seed the world with His words and His ways. I often think that such a transformation is the greatest proof of the Resurrection.

Yes, even in mighty Rome, then the centre of political power, wealth, munificence and materialism, they had the courage to preach the ridiculous idea that a person, crucified as a common

criminal under Roman law, was in fact God Incarnate. That was just as absurd to the Romans as the idea of a supreme Deity is to today’s professed atheists, or the idea of chastity to today’s sexually permissive society.

How sincere were these twelve transformed men? The proof of their sincerity lay in their spilled blood. Nor did it all end with Roman swords blunted by Christian bodies, or wild beasts satiated with Christian blood. The cycles of the years have spun away into history, yet each cycle has produced millions of transformed hearts, minds and voices to echo the cry.. “He has risen”.

In our own times, great eternal truths have been dissolved away by the acids of disbelief, selfishness and ignorance. We need now more than ever, brave followers of Christ, to witness to the fact that, despite the hopelessness which seems to have settled over us, despite our inability to solve the major world problems, a radical transformation is still possible. It is the “Light of Christ”, that same power which long ago transformed simple fishermen into giants of apostles, which can still radically change our materialistic, pleasure-loving, selfish society into a “kingdom of justice, a kingdom of love, peace and understanding.”

This Eastertide, let us, encouraged by our Lenten prayer, self-denial and almsgiving, be bold enough not only to hope and pray for such a transformation but also with uplifted voices, confidently proclaim “He is risen.... He is risen indeed”.

The concept of resurrection lies at the very heart of Christianity.

Frank Freeman SDB

Irish Marist Brothers in Oceania

Every Irish Marist Brother was in a sense a missionary. If you were born in Co. Mayo and served as a Brother in Co. Roscommon or in Athlone, you were a man on a mission. But given how many French, Belgian, Scottish and English Brothers worked in Ireland in the early years, the internationality of the early Marists must have affected the Irish Brothers' sense of themselves as members of an international religious Institute. The sea and train journeys that young men often had to take to attend novitiates on the continent of Europe would also have reinforced that message. While some Irish Brothers never moved very far from where they were born, it was more likely that they would be subject at some stage to the displacement and experience of exile that characterizes a missionary institute. While some feared such a move abroad there is no doubt that many others exhibited the Irish thirst for adventure and for the ideal of serving the Gospel and the Institute in a foreign land. One way or another the story of Irish Marist Brothers is never a story just about Ireland because Irish Brothers had a habit of turning up in almost any of the various far-flung parts of the world where the Institute had a mission. In some instances they were bringing Christianity and Christian education to places considered as 'pagan' while in other instances they were supporting an Irish diaspora in ways that we are only beginning to appreciate as a nation.¹

In the factors that governed who stayed in Ireland and who went abroad, some Brothers cited what others regarded as a myth – that the cleverest lads were the ones who were sent abroad. This led sometimes to black humour about keeping your

head down, about how Dumfries missed some cute foxes across the Irish sea and how it might have been a relief to all if some who remained had been promoted to an external opportunity. Others observed that if you got a bit big for your boots wherever you were stationed, it would only be a matter of time before you would be making a new start where your glorious reputation was unheralded. They cite Bro Frank McGovern being sent to Nigeria at the height of his prowess as a Co Sligo senior footballer, or Bro Walfrid being shifted to London as Glasgow Celtic soared into orbit. The nub of the story however is that Irish men were always up for the missionary venture wherever it led even if it meant never seeing their native land or their family again in this life.

In looking at the prevalence of far-flung mission it is important to remember that the sense of the Marist Brothers as a missionary institute as we know it today only emerged towards the end of the 19th Century. The first push towards internationalism had come when Pope Gregory XV1 asked the Brothers to accompany the Marist Fathers to Oceania in 1836 while Champagnat was still alive.² Brothers were also sent to New Caledonia as part of the Pacific mission but the overall experience caused the Brothers to pause and rethink the idea of missions. In accompanying the Marist Fathers to Oceania the Brothers found themselves depicted as 'assistants' and the New Caledonia experience only underlined the Brothers' presence as being of service to other missionary orders or to the French government. Hence the decision in 1859 to stop sending Brothers to the missions under the template that had prevailed up to that point.³

1 The Irish Marist Brothers who were in Scotland and in London were serving a Catholic population that was largely Irish. Similar statements can be made about Irish Brothers in Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada, and to a certain extent also South Africa.

2 Pope Gregory XV1 had been in charge of Propaganda Fidei before becoming Pope and he was the last religious to become Pope until Pope Francis.

3 In spite of the decision of 1859 Brothers did go to Syria (Lebanon) in 1868 but departed in 1875 returning again in 1895. See Chronnologie p. 513

The first Marist Brother foundation outside of Europe was in South Africa. In 1865 Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of Propaganda, acting on a request from Bishop Grimley, Vicar Apostolic of the Cape, asked the Marist Brothers to found a mission in Cape Colony.⁴ In 1867 five Brothers sailed from Toulon on the warboat 'Ifhegenia' to the Cape of Good Hope establishing the Marist Brothers as the pioneers of Catholic education in Africa. Their first pupil who arrived in May 1867 was William Coughlin, of Irish descent.

Throughout the subsequent history of the Province, young Irish men either joined the Institute with the express purpose of working in South Africa, or moved there after they had joined. Some Brothers were sent to South Africa for health reasons and since it was on the route to Australia it was not unknown for Brothers to end up there rather than at their intended destination.

RETURN TO OCEANIA 1872

Five years after the Brothers took up an invitation to South Africa they answered a similar call to Australia. But everything about the 1872 mission to Sydney suggested that this time around they were not going to follow the pattern of the earlier 1838 mission to Oceania and that they were determined to plough their own furrow. The opening of an Australian Novitiate at St Patrick's Harrington Street in 1872 bespoke their autonomous intentions. While they remained very close to the Marist Fathers in Australia the Brothers' new focus was on relationships with

bishops and parish priests and fitting into diocesan and parish structures that were serving settler as well as indigenous communities.⁶

The Province of Australia was formally erected in July 1903 when the general council, expelled from France and relocated to Grugliasco in Italy, notified the Brothers that the Holy See, following developments in the codification of Canon Law,⁷ had approved the creation of four new provinces including one centered on Australia. By 1909 the new Australian province had 18 schools in Australia, 9 in New Zealand, 3 in Fiji and 3 in Samoa. Of the Brothers who made up the Province at that stage, 18 had come from Ireland, 11 from the United Kingdom and 5 from Germany with 37 French Brothers concentrated in New Caledonia.⁸

IRISH BROTHERS IN THE FOUNDING COMMUNITY

Irish Brothers had been prominent in the new Australian mission from its beginning and the little team of four Brothers setting out for Sydney in 1872 had strong Irish connections. Its Director **Bro Ludovic** (Pierre Laboureyras 1842-1924) a 28 year old Frenchman, had already served in Sligo and of his three confreres two were Irish. **Bro Jarlath** (Thomas Finand) aged 25 years was sub-director and **Bro Peter** (Patrick Tennyson) aged 25 years also, had the dual role of cook and teacher. The team was completed by **Bro Augustinus** (Donald McDonald) a 21 year old Scot who had only taken his vows a few days before departure. The two Irish

4 *History of the Institute*, Lanfrey Vol 2 p 212.

5 During his time as Superior General of the Society of Mary Fr Colin sent to Oceania 74 Marist Priests and 26 Little Brothers of Mary. While Bishop Pompallier (who had been Champagnat's assistant at Le Hermitage) regularly referred to the Brothers as Catechists it was 'lesser occupations' that invariably took up most of the Brothers time and energy and some Brothers were reporting back to Le Hermitage that their occupation had been reduced to that of servant. (see Bro Edward Clisby *Far Distant Shores: The Marist Brothers of the Schools in New Zealand, Samoa, Fiji, Tonga and Kiribati 1838-2013* Clisby p 20). Pompallier's ambivalent treatment of the Brothers arose, according to Clisby, from his effort to exalt the position of priests in the eyes of status-conscious Maori and class-conscious Europeans and to this end the Brothers were asked to lay aside their religious habit and dress as laymen, and to take their meals separately from the priests. (ibid p 42). Another factor partly explaining Pompallier's actions was the severe resistance the earlier Wesleyan missionaries were putting up against the spread of the Catholic mission. There was a certain irony, Clisby states, in the fact that Pompallier, who at Le Hermitage had been responsible for teaching the Brothers catechetics, should have been their main obstacle in carrying out this ministry on the missions. (ibid p 43) One of the treasures of the Marist Brothers in Sydney is a letter written by Champagnat to Pompallier in May 1838 which was discovered in Auckland by Bro Stanislaus Healy and taken back to the archives in St Joseph's College, Hunters Hill.

6 Clisby underlines continuity between the renewed mission to Australia and the earlier one.

7 This was the moment in which religious life and its rules were formally regulated and when, for instance, the vow of obedience was replaced by the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience.

8 See Lanfrey Vol 2 p 211.

Brothers played a significant role in the early days of the Australian foundation particularly in their relationship with the Catholic population of St Patrick's parish Sydney where the Brothers were based. St Patrick's was an overwhelmingly Irish parish with clergy who were also predominantly Irish.⁹ Ironically it was his close relationship with the Irish population and its Irish priests and the partisanship it gave rise to that led Bro Jarlath to take the boat back to Europe in 1874 and to leave the Institute some time later¹⁰. Bro Peter also left the Institute later in the same year due, Bro Doyle tells us, to 'scruples he could not shake off'. He was to spend the remainder of his days in Australia.¹¹ By 1874 the Harrington Street Novitiate was up and running with the names of the novices leaving little doubt that the majority of them were of Irish extraction.¹²

BRO JOHN DULLEA – THE FIRST AUSTRALIAN PROVINCIAL

While Bro Ludovic is rightly credited for his leading role in founding the Australian Mission, it is the legendary Irishman who became the first Australian Provincial who is credited with its consolidation.¹³ Appointed only four years after the

arrival of the first Brothers in Sydney **Bro John** (Denis Dullea 1841-1914) had been born at Dunmanway, Co Cork¹⁴ and had set out for America with his parents at the height of the Famine only for the emigrant ship to go on fire and the family to end up in London where his mother died. Shortly afterwards his father gained employment with an English railway construction company in Brussels where Denis spent part of his young life. Returning to London he became acquainted with the Marist Brothers at St Anne's, Whitechapel and entered Beaucamps in 1858. Following profession he had distinguished himself as a teacher and headmaster in Glasgow before being sent to Australia at 34 years of age as its first Provincial in which role he served from 1876 to 1893 and again from 1897 to 1900.¹⁵ On leaving Australia Bro John became the first non-French Assistant-General of the Institute, a role he held until his death at Grugliasco on January 6th 1914.

From 1893 to 1897 Bro John had returned as the first Provincial in the British Isles where he pursued a rigorous policy of clearing out what he saw as dry rot in the structure of the province, especially in London where in 1896 he dismissed a dozen Brothers and closed three schools.¹⁶ In his

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- 9 I had the great privilege of staying with the Marist Fathers in St Patrick's Parish Sydney in 2002 while attending on behalf of the Marino Institute of Education, a conference on Catholic School Leadership at Australian Catholic University.
- 10 In his 1972 book on *The Story of the Marist Brothers in Australia 1872-1972* Bro Alban Doyle talks about 'trouble in the shape of silly talk about nationality and discrimination, a taste for spirits and a loosening of reserve and prudence' (P 79). Edward Clisby in *Far Distant Shores* describes how the Irish populations of the Australian and New Zealand parishes introduced into the atmosphere the issue of Irish independence from Britain (p 11) and how such agitation gradually burned itself out as the first generations of Brothers were succeeded not only by those born in Australia and New Zealand but also by Maori, Samoan, Fijian, Tongan and other Brothers.
- 11 Patrick Tennyson taught for a period subsequently with the Jesuit Fathers in Melbourne and in 1881 took over a hotel in Port Fairy, Victoria, where he was Mayor from 1897-1900. His great-grand-daughter was later Professor of Nursing at Swinburne University in Melbourne, married, ironically, to a former Marist Brother. There is a tradition in the Tennyson family that a son of Irish patriot Charles Gavan Duffy (first editor of the Nation newspaper and founder of the Tenant Right League, MP for New Ross, Emigrant to Australia in 1856, 8th Premier of Victoria 1971-72) was a contemporary of Patrick Tennyson at Beaucamps having grown up at Nice where his father had retired in 1880. The younger Duffy went on to be well known in Victorian Britain.
- 12 The name of the first postulant was Andrew Fitzgerald and that of the second was William Farrell. (Doyle *ibid* p 65-67) They were followed by Richard Healy, James Clarke, David Dengate and Walter Fitzgerald. (*ibid* P 81)
- 13 See Lanfrey *History of the Institute* Vol 1 p 312
- 14 Bro Wilfrid says that Bro John was always referred to among the Brothers of his time as 'John of Cork'.
- 15 While the Australian province was officially erected in 1903 following Rome's approval of the Institute's Rule, it had been operating administratively as a province from 1876.
- 16 See Bro Clare's *History of the Province* p 50. Bro Clare estimates that between 1890 and 1897 Bro John purged about 40 Brothers throughout the Province. As Lanfrey Vol 1 (p 312) saw it, Bro John had absorbed from the French superiors a certain type of non-compromising Marist spirit which viewed national cultural traits as decadence.

time as Provincial in Australia Bro John extended the Brothers' work from New South Wales to Victoria and South Australia, across to New Zealand and Fiji with a renewed mission to Samoa. He is remembered particularly for St. Joseph's College at Hunter's Hill, Sydney and for his commitment to an increase in vocations to the Brothers whose numbers in the province increased from 12 in 1876 to 185 in 1912. It is said that Bro John had the name of every Brother, Postulant and Novice on a list kept in his Missal and that he prayed for each of their struggles and illnesses and followed their triumphs and failures as if they were his children. Bro John was remembered as an ascetic of strong intellect and as a man of prayer whose noble bearing and kindly manner earned the loyalty of his confreres when his obvious strictness and tenacity might not otherwise have been forgiven. Such was the esteem in which the Superior General Bro Stratonique held Bro John that on his death in 1914 seventy two pages of volume 12 of the Circulars were devoted to his memory. Bro Alban Doyle catches something essential about him in the following comment:

'He was great in his freedom from those littlenesses which self-seeking – often unconscious – breeds in weaker men. The clear and unhesitating manner in which he gave a decision or tendered an advice not only stamped him as a man of powerful intellect and enlightened judgment but showed that he was absolutely untrammelled by personal consideration of any kind.'¹⁷

It is a testament to the work of Bro John and Bro Ludovic before him that by 1922 there would be 28 Marist Brother schools in Australia and New Zealand, two provinces, each with its own Juniorate and a total of 218 Brothers, 15 Novices, 13 Postulants, 68 Juniors and 7087 pupils.¹⁸

Bro John was succeeded as Assistant General by **Bro Columbanus Brady** the Cavan man with whom we are already familiar in Ireland due to his roles in South Africa and Baillieborough. Bro Columbanus is cited in Bro Owen Kavanagh's *Marist Brothers*¹⁹ not only because of his role with



Bro Austin (James) Somers in old age c. 1937. He had emigrated from Sligo to Dundee and arrived as a Brother in Australia in 1892 having served for a time in South Africa. Photograph courtesy of Bro Brian Etherington of the Australian Province.

the English-Speaking Provinces but because he died in Auckland on a visit there in 1927.

Another Irish-born Brother who served as Provincial in Sydney was **Bro Urban** (Bernard Conlan 1854-1902) from Sligo. We have already noted him among the South African Brothers because although sent to Australia by Bro John in 1880 he stopped off in South Africa and remained there until returning to Britain as Provincial in 1897. He reached Australia finally in 1901 having been appointed as Provincial in Sydney, but he held his post for only 8 months due to his death in 1902 at 46 years of age.

¹⁷ Doyle *ibid* p 471

¹⁸ These statistics are taken from Doyle *ibid* p 268

¹⁹ *Marist Brothers* by Bro Owen Kavanagh was published in Drummoyne in 1986. A copy is to be found in the Marist Brother Ireland Archive.

Like his fellow Sligo man Bro Urban, **Bro Austin** (James Somers 1852-1939) was another of those who served in both South Africa and Australia. He had emigrated to Dundee with his family in the aftermath of the Famine and having gone to South Africa as a Marist Brother in 1883 he left for Australia in 1892 where he is recorded as the founder of the Kilmore School in Victoria. He taught subsequently in a number of Sydney schools before ending his days as a grey haired gardener at the Mittagong juniorate and later in St Josephs and his beloved Kilmore. He is buried in the famous Field of Mars cemetery in Sydney.

FOLLOWING THE NAMES

Of the 400 names of Marist Brothers who served in Australia²⁰ recorded in Bro Owen Kavanagh's *Marist Brothers*, 176 of these names are as Irish as Murphy, Walsh, Doyle, Flaherty, O'Sullivan, Daly, Healy, Dunleavy, Hayden, O'Grady, Corrigan, Coughlan, O'Callaghan, Mahony, Nugent, Quirke, Staunton. There's even a Prendergast among them²¹. The photographs that accompany the names are in themselves a study of the Irish face. Twenty seven of the names are of Brothers born in Ireland²² while many are descendents of Irish parents or grandparents who set out for Australia or New Zealand from parts of the UK as well as Ireland itself. We cannot fully claim the **two Gaffney brothers, Bro Henry and Bro Columba** for instance, because even though their parents were Irish the brothers were born in Cardiff in Wales from where they emigrated with their mother to Brisbane after their father's death. It is even harder to know who should claim **Bro Louis Benedict Donnelly** (1865-1883) given that he was actually born on the ship taking his parents to New Zealand.

Many of the Irish-born Brothers belong to those early generations of Brother missionaries who never saw their native land again. Among the earliest of them is **Bro Canute Quinn**, born in Co Tyrone in 1840 and who emigrated to New Zealand in 1871. Three years later he entered the

old St Patrick's Novitiate at Harrington Street, Sydney and following profession, and despite a weak heart, worked tirelessly in building and maintenance – was never known to take a holiday – until the effects of the Spanish Flu carried him to his eternal reward in 1919. **Bro Matthew McGaghan** (1852-1888) a Leitrim man had been chosen by Bro Louis Marie SG as one of the first Brothers to go to New Zealand but remained in Sydney when another Brother offered to take his place on the onward journey. He served as Headmaster in Paramatta, as Assistant Master of Novices to Bro Ludovic and finally at St Joseph's, Hunters Hill where he died suddenly in his sleep at only 35 years of age.

Another of the early Irish Marist Brothers was **Bro Luke Reidy**, born in Co Clare in 1886 whose family emigrated to New Zealand and who was professed at Hunters Hill and taught for 6 years in Sydney before returning to New Zealand where he taught until his death at 73 years of age.

Bro Henry Ahearn, born in Cork in 1866, had emigrated with his family to Sydney and entered the novitiate at Hunters Hill in 1882. **Bro Basil Kelly** had emigrated to New Zealand in the late 1870s and was already a qualified teacher in the state system before joining the Institute and serving in Bendigo and Sydney before transferring back New Zealand in 1897. **Bro Columban** (John Cook 1880-1955) a Cavan man sent to Australia in 1912, served in Bendigo, Mittagong, Campbelltown and Springwood before dying in Richmond at seventy six years of age. Bro Columban was the younger brother of Bro Justin (Hugh Cooke) whose heart was broken by the fire in Bailieborough and who went to an early grave in 1921 at only forty six years of age.

LEAVING THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY

Among the most interesting motives governing some early Brothers leaving Ireland is the discomfort attached to their work as officers in the Royal Irish Constabulary. **Bro Kevin (Daniel) McGonigle** born in 1852 had been a member of

20 New Zealand was part of the Australian province until 1917.

21 **Bro John Leonard (Leo) Prendergast** had just started teaching at Kogarah when he died of tuberculosis in 1933 at 21 years of age. The smiling face looking out from the page is reminiscent of a grand-uncle of mine.

22 The names of Bro Jarlath (Thomas) Finand and Bro Peter (Patrick) Tennyson, the first two Irish born Marist Brothers in Australia, are not mentioned because they did not end their lives in the Institute.

the RIC in Donegal before entering the novitiate in St Patrick's Sydney in 1876 at 24 years of age. He is described as working tirelessly as cook, gardener and farm manager until his death at 79 years of age. **Bro Patrick (William) Quirke** born in Abbeyfeale Co Limerick in 1856 had also found the duties attached to membership of the RIC distasteful to his nature (he claimed the 'he could not arrest a man')²³ and he emigrated to New Zealand where he received the religious habit of the Brothers in 1881, serving as cook and gardener in Wellington and Mittagong until his death at 77 years of age. He loved playing the fiddle and collecting articles on Our Lady and was described by the Provincial Bro John Dullea as 'a man who does good without noise'. **Bro Paul Ignatius Timoney**, the son of a Cavan RIC officer, had sailed to Australia a year before the 1916 Rising and was professed in 1917 before dying of consumption the following year at only 25 years of age.

THE SCOURGE OF CONSUMPTION

One of the saddest things about the Marist Brothers of the period is how many of them died from Tuberculosis. **Bro Columban Traynor**, born in Monaghan in 1851 and who entered the Hunters Hill novitiate in 1878 died of Tuberculosis in 1890 at 39 years of age. He had been supervising the building of St Joseph's Hunters Hill when he died. **Bro Celestine McPhellamy** was born in Cork in 1862 and received the religious habit from Bro Ludovic in Hunters Hill in 1882 but died of consumption in New Zealand in 1890 at only 28 years of age. **Bro Liguori Donnelly** is said to have contacted the disease in Sydney and asked to be transferred to New Zealand where he could die 'with weapons in hand' as he put it, helping out in the orphanage at Stoke, near Nelson. Among the youngest to die was **Bro Daniel O'Shea** born in Co Clare in 1863 who emigrated to New Zealand in 1881 and who was only seven years in the Brothers when he died in 1888 at 24 years of age.

MANUAL WORKERS WITH LATE VOCATIONS

While many of the Irish-born Marist Brothers were among the finest leaders and teachers in the evolving provinces of Australia and New Zealand, two features that characterize a significant number of the early Irish-born Brothers are confinement to manual work due to the absence of formal education, and the lateness of their vocations. These men give a sense of the Ireland they left behind as a place where the educational uplift being offered by the Marist Brothers from the 1860s onwards was urgent and necessary. In many cases their stories are of poor and uneducated emigrants who fled the famine and misery of their homeland and who found themselves in a regiment of the British army²⁴ or farming, labouring or working on the railways. **Bro Malachy (Michael) Landers** had been born in Aglish, Co Tipperary in 1838 and entered the Hunters Hill novitiate in 1885 at 47 years of age, having worked at various occupations. That he was dead at 55 might say something of the hard roads he had taken in his earlier life. Another such name, mentioned by Lanfrey, was **Bro Finan McBarron** (1845-1913) who emigrated to New Zealand and worked as a coachman and farmer before joining the Institute when 43 years of age, offering his services as a manual worker.²⁵ Another to join at 43 years of age was **Bro Septimus Kavanagh**, born in Drumcullen, Co Offaly in 1853 who was professed at Hunters Hill in 1902 and who served most of his subsequent life as cook for various Brother communities. **Bro Damian Cronin** had been born in Ballinskelligs Co Kerry in 1849 and landed in Dunedin where he worked as a labourer before joining the Brothers in 1877 serving until his death at 70 as a manager of farms and orchards. Perhaps the oldest of the late vocations from Ireland was **Bro Macarius Walsh** from Cork who arrived in Australia in 1878 and entered the novitiate at Hunters Hill at 55 years of age. He worked as bursar in Hunters Hill for four years before illness took him away at only 59 years of age. A similar story is that of **Bro Matthew**

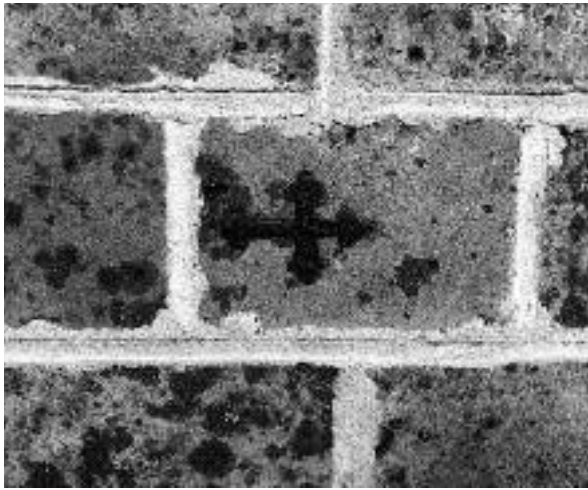
23 Owen Kavanagh *Marist Brothers* p 208

24 Edward Clisby refers to the arrival in the Napier of the 1850s of the soldiers of the predominantly Irish and Catholic 65th Regiment followed subsequently by other mainly Irish Catholic regiments. One of four New Zealand postulants who entered the Sydney novitiate in 1875 was David Watt a 33 year old Irishman who had obtained his demission from the Imperial army. *ibid* p 11

25 Lanfrey Vol2 p 300-301

(John) Mc Fadden who was born at Fannett, Co. Donegal in 1859 and who, following emigration, worked as a farmer in Timaru before joining the Brothers at 35 years of age serving mostly in New Zealand until his death in 1916 at 57 years of age. Born in the same year as Bro Matthew was **Bro Justinian (Thomas) Walsh**, a Mayo man who found himself working on the railways of North Queensland until at 34 years of age he answered an advertisement in a newspaper placed by the Marist Brothers. He it was who laid out the grounds of St. Joseph's College, Hunters Hill, planted the orchards at Mittagong and dug graves for his confreres in the Field of Mars cemetery until his own grave was dug there by others when he was 63 years of age.

Bro Finbar Mullan was yet another manual labourer, born in Derry and with no formal education. Having lived for some years at Napier he entered Hunters Hill in 1891 at 23 years of age. He never lost contact with his family in Ireland and had his confreres write his letters and read the replies. He is remembered for a combination of



This imprint of a cross is found on a brick on the western wall of the original novitiate building at Mittagong and legend has it that the imprint was made by Brother Finbar Mullen's rosary crucifix when the brick was first moulded. Brother Finbar used this marking to identify the Brothers' bricks when they were fired at the local brickworks. Photograph courtesy of Bro Brian Etherington of the Australian Province.

simplicity and ruggedness and a rapier wit that served him well in 50 years of service at Mittagong.

One of the most interesting routes to the Brotherhood was that of **Bro Kilian Solan** whose name might not sound definitively Irish but who was born in Ireland in 1859 and who had been in the employment of the famous Mother MacKilop, Foundress of the Sisters of St Joseph. He joined the novitiate at Hunters Hill in 1894 at 35 years of age and is remembered as a particularly gifted tradesman and much loved groundsman at St Josephs.

It is touching to note that in the Australian biographies the notes on Brothers involved in manual work are never the shortest ones. The Brothers who 'were not schoolmen' are invariably described as 'true Marists' and 'much loved' with the virtues of humility, friendliness and hard work always to the fore. They are constantly reported as having contributed greatly to the peace, progress and harmony of their communities. Anyone who has any experience of such men will recognize the prevalence for dry wit that is attributed to them, not to mention a view of the world, that if not quite jaundiced, was taken at something of an obtuse angle. While eyebrows are sometimes raised today at the idea of taking in men for their capacity to do hard manual work, emphasis should also be given to how the Marist Brothers embraced men whose limited educational capacities arose from harsh historical circumstances and how the Brothers welcomed the contribution and faith of these men and allowed them to render the services they wished to offer to the development of a growing church and a young nation. There was always something of Marcellin Champagnat in the way the Institute saw such men, how it looked beyond the surface at the heart and character and soul of a man, how it valued what was lowly in the eyes of others and how it invariably responded to the offer of humble service with a place at the table. That such men were often in questionable health adds a deeper layer of compassion to the story.²⁶

Among the more privileged Irish-born men to join the Marist Brothers in Australia were two men who had been educated in the famous Cistercian monastery school at Mount Melleray, Co Waterford. **Bro Mark Lenehan** had been born in

²⁶ Lanfrey p 229 has a note on the phasing out of manual workers as a way of being Brother.

Waterford in 1843 and after three years in Mount Melleray studying for the priesthood emigrated to Australia where he joined the New South Wales mounted police. He entered Hunters Hill under Bro Ludovic in 1881 and had a distinguished career as Headmaster and Director in New Zealand until his sudden death in 1904 at 61 years of age. **Bro Louis Benedict O'Callaghan** had been born in Emly, Co Tipperary in 1857 and spent six years with the Mount Mellary Trappists before finding himself as a teacher in the State System in New South Wales. He was transferred to New Zealand in 1899 shortly after joining the Brothers and it is easy to imagine the two Mount Melleray men meeting up and comparing notes. The conversations did not last long because Bro Louis died suddenly on a voyage across the Tasman sea at 42 years of age, the long journey of his short life ending with burial at sea.

Another Brother who is presumed to have had a watery grave is **Bro Donatus Fitzgerald**. Of his place of birth we are unsure but we do know that he was one of three Marist Brothers captured by the Japanese in the North Solomon Islands around 1942 and who are thought to have perished when the Destroyer that took them away was sunk.

BRINGING UP THE REAR

Providence ordained that the last Irish-born Marist Brother gifted to Australia would be of the best-wine-kept-until-last variety. **Bro Fergus McCann** was born in Kilbrogan near Bandon in Co Cork in May 1912 and emigrated to Sydney with his parents and two siblings in 1925. The family's eldest son Pat was already on the way to becoming a De La Salle Brother who would teach in Maynooth alongside Bro Eamon. Fergus made his first vows in Mittagong seven years after his arrival in Australia and after a quarter century as a distinguished schoolman became Novice Master for the Sydney Province. Many of the Irish Brothers got to know him when he was Sub-Master of Second Novices in Fribourg. He was very respected as a scripture scholar, theologian and ecumenist and as a member of the post Vatican 11 Constitutions Commission he travelled the world explaining the new Constitutions. Bro Fergus was admired for his self-mortification and humility and

the memory of his kindness and reluctance to judge another sustains his reputation among the Brothers as one of the true Marist saints. He lived to the ripe old age of 91 years and is buried in the Brothers' Cemetery in Mittagong.

Whatever about Irish Brothers sent to Australia, one Australian Brother who was very well known in the UK and Ireland was **Bro Clement** (John Murray 1867-1957) a punctilious Assistant General noted for his insistence on 'regularity' and 'the Rule' and of whom it is said in *Remembering the Marist Brothers* that 'Brothers looked forward to the annual retreat when he was not there!²⁷ Clement's Australian accent often baffled the UK and Irish Brothers and Bro Wilfriid Harrison loves to tell a story about how the Brothers always listened to the recognizable place-name at the end of Clement's speech in case it represented their next posting. On one occasion however when he mentioned Ostend at the end of a sentence, all the Brothers present stood up.

The teller of that story, **Brother Wilfriid** who retired to the community at Marian College at the end of a long career, went to work in Australia during the period of the Nigerian mission as an 'exchange' for Brother Becket who was loaned from Australia for that mission. Wilfriid remembers how as a young Brother of twenty he was serving as cook in the Provincial House at Mount St Michaels when the Provincial Bro Kenneth was preoccupied with who he would send to Australia in exchange for Bro Becket. Kenneth was in the kitchen having a cup of tea and Wilfriid happened to be peeling potatoes at the sink when the Provincial asked him, almost casually, if he would like to go to Australia. Wilfriid jumped at the offer and stayed for seven years, working in Bendigo for two years and in Adelaide for five, and having, as he always says, a wonderful time. He remembers spending Christmas 1952 on board the ship to Australia. It took four weeks: Gibraltar, Port Said, Aden, Columbo in Sri Lanka, then Perth for an afternoon, then Adelaide where he slept overnight in Sacred Heart College, then back on the ship and on to Melbourne where he disembarked. He remembers Bendigo being very backward in comparison to today with the main thoroughfare exceptionally wide so that the bullock teams of the

gold rush era would have room to turn. Then he was off to Thebarton in Adelaide for five years, Bro Becket having extended his stay in Nigeria. Wilfriid didn't get home to see his widowed mother in all that time but didn't mind too much: there were Irish La Salle Brothers with him who had not been home in 25 years. He remembers that there were 700 Marist Brothers at that time in the two Australian provinces, one centered on Sydney and the other on Melbourne. Most Brothers referred to the provinces as North and South. It was an odd kind of division as Wilfriid saw it: Western Australia, Victoria, and South Australia were part of the Southern or Melbourne Province while the Northern Province of Sydney had Queensland, the Northern Territory the East Coast to Adelaide which is most of Australia since, as he put it, there is nothing after Adelaide up as far as Perth. The division of the provinces had happened in 1948 and Wilfriid remembers the Brothers being very proud of their past pupils and the story being told that five past pupil bishops turned up for one event in Sacred Heart Adelaide around that time. The Brothers were particularly proud of past-pupil Archbishop Gilroy of Sydney who doubled the Catholic School System in Australia during his tenure and who was made a Cardinal in 1946.²⁸ That moment in 1946 is often held up as the highpoint of Australian Marist Brother history. Wilfriid went back to Australia in November 2017 to see his old friends and former students and found the Marist Brother world, like the world everywhere, to be a greatly changed place, especially after the abuse scandals that had wounded the Brothers reputation as it had done elsewhere.

THE NEW ZEALAND PERSPECTIVE:

When the Marist Brothers returned to Australia in 1872 New Zealand was in the picture from the beginning as is evident from four Irishmen from New Zealand entering the Sydney Novitiate in 1875 with letters of introduction from parish priests in New Zealand seeking Brother-teachers

for their parishes. Between 1875 and 1900 a total of 34 candidates of Irish nationality entered the Sydney novitiate from New Zealand, many of them former soldiers from British regiments. The records show that 14 of these men died in the congregation.

The Society of Mary mission to New Zealand went all the way back to 1838 when Bishop Pompallier landed at Totara Point in Hokianga Harbour on January 10th and in a Mass celebrated three days later inaugurated the Catholic Church in New Zealand. Marist Brothers were involved in that mission from its beginning, acting as catechists whenever possible, more often than not doing whatever needed to be done. One of them, French Bro Elie-Regis Marin is credited with producing the first syrah wine in New Zealand. When the Brothers' mission resumed in 1876 we encounter many of the Irish-born Brothers already mentioned in the Australian lists from Kavanagh's *Marist Brothers*. We find for instance the 23 year old Cavan native **Bro Matthew McGaghan** among the three Brothers who founded the first establishment at Wellington. Later we find the former Mount Melleray man **Bro Mark Lenehan** contributing greatly to the reputation of that establishment and to that of Auckland. Of the early Brothers in Auckland **Bro Damian Cronin** from Ballinskelligs and **Bro Henry Ahearn** from Co Cork are to be found in the company of the outstanding **Bro Edwin Farrell**²⁹ and **Bro Jerome Harroway**, both born in the UK of Irish parents. **Bro Bernard Hanafin**, also Irish-born, was one of the early Brothers in Christchurch. A number of Irish-born Brothers were involved in St Mary's Industrial school at Stoke, outside Nelson on the South Island: **Bros Patrick Quirke** from Abbeyfeale, **Celestine McPhellamy** from Cork, together with **Finan McBarron**, **Damian Cronin** and the ailing **Ligouri Donnelly** already mentioned.

When the Whanganui mission was opened in January 1894 two young Irish born Brothers were part of the founding mission, **Bro Alfred Sage**, then 34 and the 21 year old **Bro Colman Butler**³⁰. Neither of them is mentioned in Kavanagh's *Marist*

28 The Annals of Champagnat House Athlone contain an article on Cardinal Gilroy's life pasted onto pages 170-171 taken from 'The Ulster Examiner' of March 30th 1946. The same Annals record Cardinal Gilroy's visit to the Brothers in Glasgow in June 1958 and events at which the Irish Brothers were represented by Bro Gerald and Mr J.J. Jennings (p 247)

29 Bro Gerald records in the Annals of Champagnat House Athlone for September 1953 that 'Bro Edwin of New Zealand visited and dined with us while on his way back to NZ from France where he had completed his Second Novitiate.' P 209.

30 Clisby, *ibid* p 114

Brothers so it is likely that they left the Institute at some stage. Another Irish born Brother who is not recorded in Kavanagh was **Bro Dunstan McGrath** who served with distinction in Ivercargill before leaving the Institute, marrying locally and carrying on his teaching in a nearby state school, much to the embarrassment of Dean Burke who had told his parishioners that Dunstan was gone home to Ireland to look after his aged mother.³¹

Bro Basil Kelly, one of the most outstanding Irish-born Brothers who had been first Director in Bendigo, Victoria, and Director also at Hunters Hill was transferred to Christchurch in 1897 and was part of the first Provincial Council when New Zealand became a province officially in 1917 encompassing not only the two islands of New Zealand but four of the Fiji Islands, and four of the islands of Samoa.³² Brothers of Australian origin who were in New Zealand at that time and Brothers of New Zealand origin who were in Australia were entitled to ask for a return to their respective provinces of origin. **Bro Denis Reilly**, born in New South Wales of Irish ancestry became the first provincial of New Zealand. One of his successors as provincial, **Bro Louis Hughes**, born in New Zealand of Irish parents, would on visiting Europe for a general chapter in 1946 play a major role in the vocation stories of his Irish cousins Bro Gerard Cahill and Bro Angelo Stewart.

When the New Zealand Province opened its first Juniorate in Tuakau, south of Auckland at the beginning of 1922,³³ the first master of juniors was Irish-born **Bro Anselm Butler** from Kells, Co Kilkenny who had just retired as director of Ivercargill and who remained in his post until 1929 when ill-health forced him to retire.

Of the Irish-born Sydney novices who came up from New Zealand a number have not yet been mentioned.³⁴ **Bro Leonard (Philip) Leeney** had been born in Ireland in 1857 and entered from Waimate NZ in 1884 and taught in both Australia

and New Zealand until ill-health forced his retirement at the turn of the century. **Bro Bertrand (John) Barry** born in Co Clare in 1875, entered from Napier in 1890 and remained a notable teacher and director in Australia until his death in 1940. **Bro Fidelis (Henry) Somerville** born in Dublin in 1881 is described as a gifted musician and artist with associated volatile temperament who survived 30 appointments in 40 years until his death at Claremont NZ in 1942. Of the later arrivals in New Zealand **Bro Cormac (James) Quinn** who was born in Armagh in 1902 emigrated to New Zealand at 20 years of age and entered the Mittagong Novitiate six years later. He served most of his life in the mission schools of Fiji and Samoa and died in Suva, Fiji in 1977. **Bro Sylvester (Arthur) Heeney** born in Co Louth in 1913 emigrated with his family to New Zealand as a two year old and entered the novitiate in 1936 serving subsequently as a notable teacher and director until his death in 1992. Finally **Bro Columba(Thomas) Mc Kiernan** who was born in Co Cavan in 1916 entered the novitiate in 1936 and taught in Fiji for 27 years until poor health forced his return to New Zealand.

THE COMPETITION FOR SCHOOLS

While the main story about competition for schools was that of communities vying with each other to attract a Brothers school to their area, one particular New Zealand story that echoed similar stories in Australia³⁵ and that sparks the curiosity of an Irish reader relates to an element of competition that sometimes arose between the Marist Brothers and the Irish Christian Brothers. A full understanding of this issue would need to examine the challenge for viability that both congregations were experiencing and the need to have both primary and secondary schools in a given location. While bishops who had been Marist priests naturally tended to favour Marist Brothers,

31 *ibid* p 130

32 At this point there were 69 Brothers in the new province with 10 schools in New Zealand, four in Samoa and four in Fiji. (Clisby *ibid* p 564)

33 Up until 1931 boys leaving the New Zealand juniorate as postulants went across the Tasman Sea to the Mittagong Novitiate in New South Wales. From 1932 the former 'Castle Claremont' outside Timaru became the NZ Marist Brothers Novitiate. The names of the first five postulants, O'Driscoll, Heeney, Dunn, Murray and Hodgins suggest a continuing Irish ancestry in most cases.

34 Details of the following Brothers were sent to us by Bro Ted Clisby.

35 See the story of Cardinal Patrick Moran and the Marists in St Mary's Cathedral School Sydney. Clisby p 137 -138

Irish bishops – with mostly Irish Catholic populations and very often Irish parish priests as well – tended to prefer Irish Christian Brothers in their schools. When the Bishops opened their schools to government inspection in the late 1890s – in order for Catholic students to qualify for Public Service employment – the pendulum swung in favour of the Marist Brothers because the Irish Christian Brothers refused inspection in accordance with their rule.³⁶ On one occasion in Auckland in 1928 the promise of an extra school to the Marist Brothers by Bishop Cleary ran into difficulty when the bishop did not consult with his coadjutor who happened to have responsibility for educational affairs. Trouble arose when Bishop Cleary died before the school was opened and his coadjutor and successor, Bishop James Liston, offered the property to the Christian Brothers instead. Bishop Liston had received his primary education from the Christian Brothers in Dunedin where Bro Michael Hanrahan who was now Christian Brother Provincial, had been a fellow student. The issue was appealed to Rome by the Marist Brothers where the Sacred Congregation for Religious duly adjudicated that a bishop was entitled to make whatever provision he wanted in his own diocese. Clisby simply comments that the incident did not help relations between the two congregations of Brothers.³⁷

THE LAY OF THE LAND:

Another of the stories from New Zealand that exercises an Irish mind was the constant antipathy the Brothers experienced from some elements of Protestant society. Bigotry was fanned by the Orange Lodge whose xenophobia about Irish Nationalism and French interference led at times to open persecution. In the 1880s the Lodge sponsored lecture tours by purportedly former Catholic religious anxious to expose the evils of Roman Catholicism and one outcome of their campaign was the closure of the Stoke Industrial school near Nelson following exaggerated allegations about the harshness of its regime. The

war years 1914-1918 saw a resurgence of anti-Catholic paranoia in Protestant circles associated with the Orange Lodge. In July 1914 the parliamentary defeat of a proposal for Bible-based religious education was blamed on Catholics with an Auckland Baptist minister Howard Elliott particularly virulent in his condemnation of 'Romanism'. Catholic resistance to conscription, – together with reported applications for exemption for religious Brothers, news coverage of the Irish Rebellion of 1916 and a civic reception for the Apostolic Delegate – further fanned the flames of bigotry. Commenting on the Brothers at one stage, J.J. North, editor of the New Zealand Baptist, opined that celibacy made the Brothers unhealthy, the vow of poverty made them scum labour and Irish blood made them a menace in the classrooms of the Empire.³⁸ It says something about the lay of the land that after a long debate on exemption from military service it was extended finally to Quakers only.

It is against such a background that it seems appropriate to remember here the story of **Bro Egbert Jackson**, a son of Irish immigrants, whose name would not strike you immediately as Irish but who is remembered by the New Zealand Brothers particularly for his Irishness. Indeed such was his love of Ireland and the lengths he went to in defending and celebrating Ireland that his name deserves remembrance in the country of his affections where it is unknown.³⁹ In Edward Clisby's telling of the story, Egbert's feistiness had come to his superiors' notice as a delegate to the General Chapter of 1932 when he took the opportunity to sing *God Defend New Zealand* in Maori from the dome of St Peter's Basilica and later to declaim *Emmet's Farewell Speech from the Dock* at various street corners in Dublin while visiting his Irish relatives. Regarded as an eccentric on many fronts⁴⁰ Egbert was remembered by his former students for his special obsession with Irish history and culture. Tasked with developing secondary education at Ivercargill and Greymouth, Egbert fulminated at the presentation of European,

36 See also the story of Bishop Moran in Wellington, cousin of Cardinal Moran as related in Clisby *ibid* p 12837 *ibid* p 208

38 Quoted in Clisby *ibid* p 170

39 See Clisby *ibid* p 203 and 225 ff.

40 Egbert corresponded with George Bernard Shaw on the subject of phonetic spelling and introduced amended versions of cricket and rugby, the latter involving a mixture of rugby, soccer and Gaelic football.

British and Irish history in the standard school texts of the period. The negative and distorted portrayal of the Catholic Church and the manner in which the Irish were marginalized and caricatured offended him greatly. He spent much of the time in his Religion and Latin classes teaching Irish history and poetry. He told his students that there were two versions of Irish history, one Irish and one English. The English one, he told them, was ninety nine per cent lies and the other one percent couldn't be believed either. The novelist Dan Davin, who was his student at Ivercargill, remembered him reading in tears to the class a poem of his own composition on the 1922 death of Michael Collins. Another student of Egbert's, this time at Greymouth, the historian Patrick O'Farrell, devoted 17 sympathetic pages of *Vanished Kingdoms*, a personal study of the Irish in Australia and New Zealand published in 1990, to the manner in which Egbert became a colonial crusader for Ireland, and how he taught students such as Dan Davin to use their New Zealand Irishness to create a voice of their own. After his 1932 visit to Ireland Egbert contributed pro-Irish articles to whatever journal that would publish them and by the 1950s had compiled enough material for a proposed *magnus opus* that would carry the title: *Ireland the Valiant and the Virtuous*. Alas it was never published and by this stage Egbert's superiors were wary of what the Provincial described as 'our most eccentric confrere'. Although retired in 1953 Egbert continued his Irish crusade through correspondence until he died in Christchurch in 1970 at 90 years of age.⁴¹

Clisby's final comment on him is very interesting from an Irish perspective, not only as a final word on Bro Egbert himself but on the eventual fate of the Irish nationalism which many of the early Irish-born Brothers had carried into exile.

'He had no following among his brothers. They were more realists, down-to-earth, responsive to the local scene, as O'Farrell also testifies in his description of Philip Greener's

affectionate correspondence with his sister Mary in Greymouth hospital before her death at the age of 19 in 1939. The French origin of the congregation, the international composition of the early novitiate groups and communities in the Pacific, as well as impatience with the overly political stance of some of the early Irish bishops in Australia and New Zealand, meant that the Marist Brothers, unlike some other congregations, a body of clergy and many laypeople, did not closely identify their Catholicism with Irish culture or history.⁴²

THE GAME OF RUGBY:

A final New Zealand Marist story relates to the sport of rugby. For many New Zealanders sport is a second language and the name Marist in New Zealand is associated first and foremost with rugby, not just for prowess in the game but for a culture of sportsmanship as well. As with Celtic in Glasgow, as with Notre Dame in Indiana, the passionate pursuit of an inflated leather ball proved to be very effective in gaining begrudged acceptance for marginalized Catholics in a mainly hostile Protestant society. That this should happen by way of Marist Brothers in New Zealand and Australia might not have been expected given the antipathy towards 'unhealthy competitiveness' professed by the early French Brothers. That antipathy was one that Irishman Bro John Dullea did not sympathize with or support but it would be 1904 before Sacred Heart College in Auckland fielded its first rugby fifteen, winning its first championship only two years later in 1906. Although it did not achieve another championship until 1939 it remained in the top three rugby schools in Auckland with its first All Black past-pupils making their appearance in 1924. Something similar happened in Whanganui where after an entry into the junior grade competition the Brothers school won that competition for the first few years of its involvement. Prowess at rugby was

41 That Bro Owen Kavanagh's Marist Brothers makes no reference to Bro Egbert's 'Irishness', describing him simply as 'erudite and strong-willed in his opinions' and how 'he retained his creative vitality, his interest in public affairs (and his eagerness to offer remedies for many)' is amusing at one level given what we know of him from Clisby and others. It says something also about the quandary that arises from any attempt to determine from among the Pacific Brothers with Irish names or even English ones, who is Irish and who is not.

42 Clisby, *ibid* p 227.

supported by old boy associations and Clisby devotes a whole chapter of *Far Distant Shores* to this topic⁴³ with the Christchurch association described as particularly famous. During my years in Marian College the Brothers never tired of telling us about the Marist All Blacks who came to Lansdowne Road whenever they played Ireland but we never quite got hold of how significant that was. Catholicism is recognized as the best example in New Zealand of a denomination successfully merging faith with sport and Catholicism in this instance equated to the Marist schools and clubs. As Clisby put it:

‘They enabled sport to become an important focus in the life of most Catholic parishes, encouraged the development of a Catholic sporting community, and provided gifted sportspeople with the opportunity of reaching heights in a variety of sports.’⁴⁴

It was no wonder that Tom Morrison, chairman of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union from 1962-1969 said of rugby in his country:

‘The game itself, particularly in New Zealand, owes a great debt to the Marist Brothers.’⁴⁵

A TORCH IS PASSED

The Marist Brothers in Oceania, Sydney, Melbourne and New Zealand have been subject to

the same levels of restructuring happening elsewhere and all are now part of the District of the Pacific. On December 15th 2013, exactly 175 years after the first Brothers arrived in New Zealand the new district saw its first Maori provincial when the Superior General Bro Emili Turu Rofes handed on a symbolic light of leadership to Bro David McDonald.

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43 See Clisby *ibid* Chapter 14, ‘The Old Boys and the Marist Clubs’ pp 268-291

44 Clisby *ibid* p 291

45 Quoted in Clisby *ibid* p 291

BR TONY PATERSON

From the Province Archives

AUSTRALIAN MARISTS AT WORK

Brother Urban Corrigan

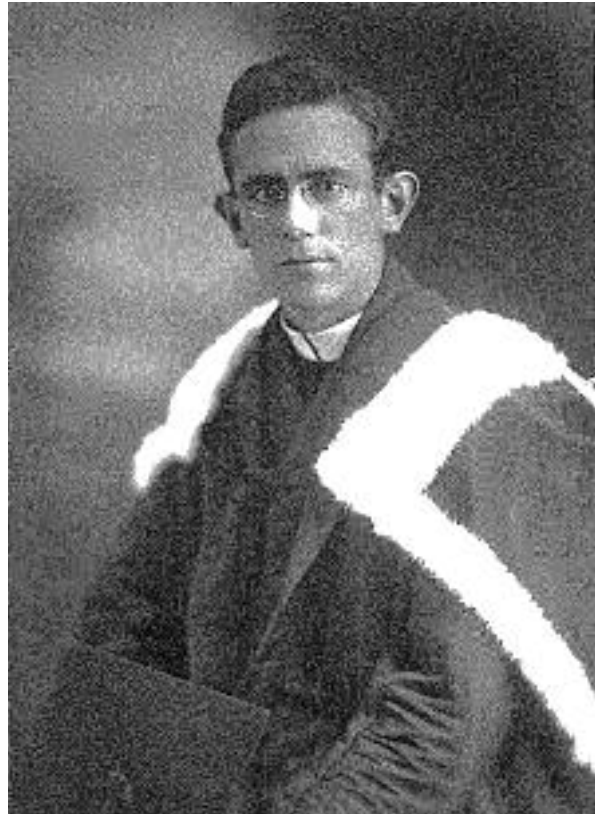
1. BACKGROUND:

Lawrence Corrigan was born at Parkville in Melbourne on 4th March 1895. His father was a jockey and trainer at the nearby Flemington Racecourse. Lawrence attended Assumption College Kilmore, and entered the Juniorate at Hunters Hill in 1908. We are told that he possessed outstanding scholastic ability, quickly completing his Master's degree and Diploma of Education¹. Much of this study was undertaken while teaching at Darlinghurst. In the late twenties he was appointed to New Norcia in Western Australia; and in January 1932 he was assigned to Mittagong to assist Brother Frederick Eddy in establishing the scholasticate². He soon undertook further study completing his MA. The thesis for this degree was titled "Catholic Education in New South Wales", a work of research that became a standard text. His final Australian appointment was to Hamilton in New South Wales. He then left for South Africa to assist the province there. He died suddenly on the eve of his planned return to Australia on 12th January 1950. He was 54 years old.

2. CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES:

Angus and Robertson published Brother Urban's book, based on his MA thesis in 1930. At the time of its publication it would have been a significant moment and achievement, not only for the Marist Brothers, but also for the Australian Catholic Church.

Nearly 90 years later, the book is of significant historical importance for all Catholic educators. It is a very lucid and authoritative account of the struggle of the Catholic Church in Australia to maintain her education rights, from the days when the schools were the accepted charge of the church to the days when they lost government funding, and the State sought to take charge of such schools,



1 As reported in his file in the Australian Province Archives Mascot.

2 Scholasticate: teacher training centre in Mittagong for Marist Brothers of the then Australian Province.

and failed to realize just how committed the Catholics (and other denominations) were to maintain their own schools independent of the state.

Any serious historian interested in the history of, and funding of Catholic schools, would be interested in the book. Corrigan had access to Church documents and libraries all around Sydney, and despite his Mittagong duties, he completed this work part-time and on a 'shoe-string budget'. Names acknowledged in the book are also of significance. For example, Eris O'Brien wrote the *Introduction* for the book in May 1929. He later became Archbishop of Canberra-Goulburn; Archbishop Kelly of Sydney gave Corrigan access to Church documents and the Diocesan Archives; and Monsignor T. Hayden, the President of St Patrick's College, Manly, gave him access to the seminary library. In a very real sense, Corrigan was a pioneer who was able to record the Catholic educational story in this country. Many Marists have followed including:

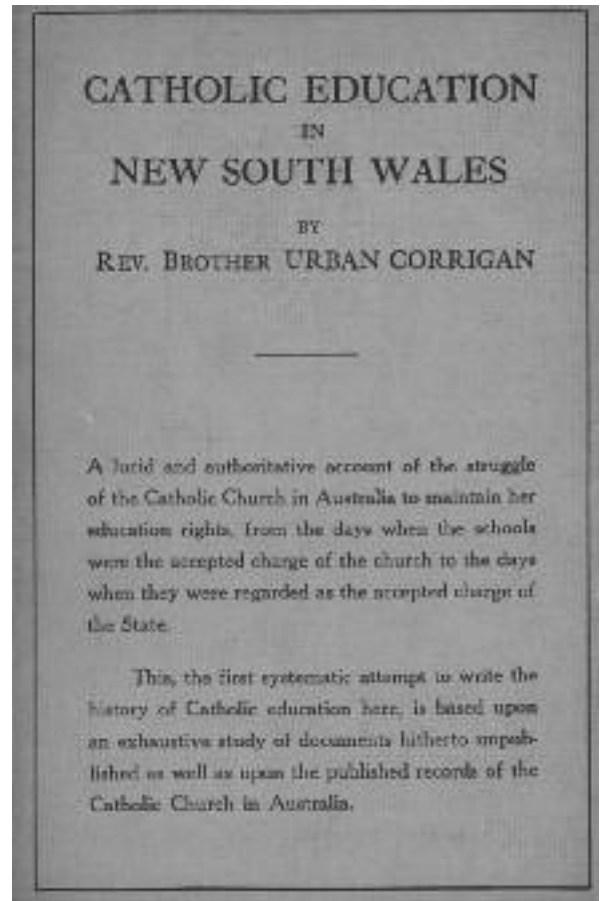
- the late Brother Ronald Fogarty who completed a two volume history of Catholic education in Australia in the 1950s.

- Brother John Luttrell who has written extensively on Catholic history and education in New South Wales. John's latest book – the biography of the late Norman Cardinal Gilroy provides a wonderful window of Church and Society during Gilroy's tenure as Archbishop of Sydney.

- Brother Michael Green's international contribution to writing the third volume of the History of the Marist Brothers celebrating our Bicentenary in 2017; and his recent publication "Now with Enthusiasm: Charism, God's Mission and Catholic Schools Today".

- The work of Brother John McMahon over more than twenty years to establish "The Champagnat Journal"; and as we write –

- The ongoing work of Brother Kelvin Canavan, the Emeritus Executive Director for the Sydney Archdiocese is busy writing his *memoirs* and documenting his recollections of more than forty years of leadership in such education. Likewise the work of a number of Brothers busy writing the History of the Marist Brothers in Australia 1872-



2022 when we celebrate 150 years in this country. Writers undertaking research for this project include Brothers Julian Casey, Neville Solomon, John Luttrell, Peter Rodney and the Province Archivist searching for 'archeological gems' that will all help to streamline the story.

- There are many others of course, including all of the men and women who work in the Marist Schools Australia network today.

The one copy of the Corrigan book in the Province Archives is not for loan. However, all is not lost! I am presently negotiating to have the book digitized and it will then be available online: for the student or the general reader interested in the history of Catholic education in Australia. Stay tuned!

Br Tony Paterson
Province Archivist

DAVID DE CARVALHO

Address to St Joseph's College Academic Awards, 1 February 2019

Address to St Joseph's College Academic Awards, 1 February 2019 -by David de Carvalho, recently appointed Chief Executive Officer for the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority. The address is printed with permission.

I am very honoured to be speaking to you today, particularly as an old boy of Riverview, who suffered many rugby defeats at the hands of Joe-boys. I am also a former Jesuit, so I also think it's great that Chris Hayes, after serving his apprenticeship at Riverview and Xavier with the Jesuits, and some time with the Christian Brothers at St Edmunds in Canberra, has finally proven himself worthy of becoming a principal at a Marist Brothers School.

First, can I congratulate all the young men whose wonderful academic achievements we are celebrating here tonight. You have no doubt worked extremely hard, with the support and encouragement of your wonderful teachers and families, to reach this point.

I am very familiar with the wonderful Marist spirit of education, the spirit of Marcellin Champagnat, as both my sons went to school at Marist Canberra, where Ross Tarlinton was the first lay principal, as he was at Joeys. I cannot tell you how many times I have heard a stirring rendition of Sub Tuum sung with passion by young men being supported to adulthood in the Marist tradition.

The Sub Tuum is one of the Church's most ancient prayers, and certainly the oldest prayer known that invokes Mary. In the University of Manchester there is a papyrus copy of this text in Greek that is dated approximately to the year 250AD, from the early Christian community of Egypt. So it goes way back.

The term used for Mary in the original Greek is

Theokotos which means God-bearer or Birth-giver to God. In the Latin version with which we are more familiar this is translated as Dei Genetrix. This term goes to the heart of Marist spirituality and mission. Marists understand their project to be a sharing in Mary's work of bringing Christ-life to birth and being with the Church as it comes to be born.

So it's not inappropriate for me to be asking the high academic achievers of St Joseph's, especially those who completed their HSC last year, how will you be Christ-bearers in today's world.

Let me begin with a story about my father taking me to visit the NSW state library in the early 70s, when the debates around government funding of Catholic schools were really hotting up. I was about seven or eight. I must have only been familiar with the term "public" in the context of dinner table conversations between Mum and Dad about public schools and Catholic schools. So as my father and I approached the entrance I looked up and above the doorway it said "Public Entrance". I stopped in my tracks, grabbed Dad's hand and said, "Dad, where do we go in?" He looked at me quizzically and said "What do you mean? Here is the entrance." I replied, "No, this is the public entrance. We're Catholic. Where do we go in?"

The story, and in particular the question – "Where do we go in?" – has some relevance for this gathering. You are spending, or have spent, your formative years in one of Australia's premier Catholic educational institutions. The HSC graduates are about to enter a broader world, one which is waiting for you and for what you have to offer it. So where, or perhaps it might be better to ask, how, will you go in to that world, the world that is created and loved by God, and that needs you.

But before you can answer that question, which



is a question about action, you need to assess your existential situation. Before you can act, first you must SEE and JUDGE. Australian cartoonist, Michael Leunig, urges us to look through the “understander-scope” at our world. And there you will see much that needs improving, and so many opportunities for you to make your mark.

Unfortunately, as you look at our world, you may discern that the virtues of truthfulness, justice, compassion, generosity, integrity and humility are more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Perhaps it has always been thus, However, I do think the signs of our times suggest that people are now less inclined to be open-minded and willing to engage in dialogue for the purpose of learning and advancing the common good.

In his 2017 book, “The Death of Expertise: the campaign against established knowledge and why it matters”, Professor Tom Nicholls from the US Naval College asserts that the general knowledge of the average American has reached an all time low. But worse than this, he says “we are proud of our own ignorance”. Further, “As a result of

advances in technology, we now have access to more information than ever before. But this has not ushered in a new Age of Enlightenment. Rather it has helped fuel a surge in narcissistic and misguided anti-intellectual egalitarianism that has crippled the possibility of informal reasoned debate on all manner of public issues.”

Sad to say, there are signs that this contagion has spread across the Pacific. While Australians are saturated in information, our stocks of wisdom seem to have been depleted. So, how do we become wise, not just clever?

We must go one step further in our analysis, and exercising self-awareness, include ourselves in the landscape which we are trying to understand. Self-awareness, self-critique, self-understanding, is essential for correct decision-making. You must be willing, in the Aussie vernacular, to “take a good hard look at yourselves.” Importantly, you must be suspicious of your own motives, and be willing to address biases or distortions in your own perspective.

Such reflections will hopefully lead you to adopt

a disposition of intellectual humility, of radical openness to the possibility that you might be wrong, which is an essential prerequisite for lifelong learning and for wisdom. For some high academic achievers, this can be difficult.

One of the earliest known recommendations for the development of an educational curriculum was an inscription at the temple of the Apollo at Delphi: “Know thyself.”

So the most important journey of discovery you will make in the course of your life, and it is a journey that is life-long, is the journey of self-discovery.

When thinking about what you are to do with your lives, don’t ask what the world needs. Ask what makes you come alive, and go do it. Because what the world needs is people who have come alive.

We only have a short time on earth, so it is natural that we want an answer to the question “What ought I to do with my life?” But this isn’t the most important question. The more elemental and demanding question is “Who am I?” Our deepest calling is to grow into our own authentic self, whether or not it conforms to some image of who we ought to be. As we do so, we will not only find the joy that every human being seeks—we will also find our path of genuine service in the world. True joy joins self and service. True vocation is “the place where your deep gladness meets the world’s need.

As we learn more about the seed of our true self that was planted when we were born, we also learn more about the ecosystem in which we were planted—the network of family, community and social relations within which we are called to live responsibly, accountably, and joyfully with people of every sort.

As we deepen our understanding of both seed and system, self and community, we are better able to embody the great commandment to love both my neighbour and myself.

Deepening your self-understanding, as a person who is precious and held in the palm of God’s hand, is the secret to a fulfilling life of service and joy.

So, my hope for you is this, that as you leave Joey’s tonight, some of you perhaps for the final time, and you reflect on where and how you are going to inject yourselves into God’s world, that you will commit to deepening your self-knowledge, to becoming wise, as opposed to simply clever. That will ensure you live a meaningful life, a life of being true to your own purpose, which is God’s purpose for you.

For those of you who are still continuing your time here at Joey’s, can I urge you never to take your good fortune for granted. You are able to enjoy the incredible opportunities this school has to offer because of the hard work and sacrifice of your parents. You are here because they love you and want the best for you. They want you to discover your own passions and your own interests so that you can discover who you are and develop the capabilities that will allow you to live the lives you will find fulfilling.

Finally, can I ask you to not leave tonight before you have thanked your teachers. There is no more noble profession than teaching. Jesus was called “Teacher”. The teachers in the room know what a deep joy it is to behold that moment of insight, when a student whom they have encouraged to struggle with a difficult problem, to experience the tension of inquiry, finally gets it! The “aha” moment, when a student experiences the joy of understanding because of the way you have led them to that moment. There is nothing like it. The role of the teacher is to fan the flames of wonder. In St Luke’s Gospel, Christ says that he has come to bring fire to the earth. I’m sure that each of you is going to set the world on fire in some way. It’s up to each of you to find that way for yourselves. What the world needs is people who have are fully alive, who’s hearts and minds are on fire with a love of truth and with a desire to be the best they can be. St Joseph’s is a wonderful community where those flames are fanned. Be grateful. Give thanks that you are part of this community.

“Sub Tuum”!

AUSTEN IVEREIGH, D.PHIL.

FELLOW IN CONTEMPORARY CHURCH HISTORY, CAMPION HALL, OXFORD

Hélder Câmara Lecture

Newman College, Melbourne 21 March 2019

‘Close And Concrete: Pope Francis Evangelizing A World In Flux’

When he addressed its gathering at the Olympic Stadium in Rome in 2014, Pope Francis warned the Charismatic Renewal against turning in on itself, existing for its own self, and thereby becoming an obstacle to salvation. “You are dispensers of God’s grace, not its arbiters!” he told them. “Don’t act like a tollhouse for the Holy Spirit!” And he urged them to read the third document of Malines by two great churchmen of the 1970s: Cardinal Leo Suenens of Brussels, and the Bishop of Olinda and Recife for whom this lecture is named, Dom Helder Câmara.

The Malines documents were a series of discernment reflections in the early 1970s by leading church figures on the fast-spreading and surprising eruption of the charismatic renewal. The one the pope was urging them to read, was about service to humanity, not separating personal faith from the justice of the Kingdom of God. Camara was the icon of that integrity in Latin America at that time: he had led the group of bishops who signed the Pact of the Catacomb following the Council, inspired by John XXIII’s call for a Church for all, but especially of the poor. Francis had famously identified with this current on the days after his election, telling journalists he dreamed of a “poor Church, for the poor”.

In that Malines document, Dom Helder says this: “If the Church is to give the example it must, if it is to be the living presence of Christ among

men and with men, it urgently and permanently needs to cast off its concern for prestige, to unharness itself from the chariot of the mighty, and to agree to live the prophecy of the Master, which is valid for all times: “Behold, I send you out as sheep in the midst of wolves ... They will hand you over to courts of judgment” (Mt. 10, 16-17).¹

When he was with the Italian bishops in May 2016, Francis mentioned Camara again — it’s the second reference I’ve been able to find. He was observing how a priest is a priest in so far as he is part of God’s holy faithful people, and not apart from it. This shared identity of lay and clergy — the fruit of a shared baptism, which showers gifts of ministry on all, was what frees us from what he called the “isolating and imprisoning self-referentiality” of clericalism. And he quoted Dom Hélder: “When your boat starts to put down roots into the calm of the pier, set forth out to sea.” Not, Francis says, just because you have a mission to fulfil, but because you are in essence a missionary: “in the encounter with Jesus you have experienced the fulness of life, and therefore you desire with your whole being that others recognize themselves in Him.”²

Friends, it’s very good to be with you this afternoon, to bring together these two great Latin-American church figures. My subject is Francis’s understanding of evangelization: how the Church is called to witness to the Gospel in this change of

1 To participants in the 37th National Convocation of the Renewal in the Holy Spirit (1 June 2014)

2 *Address Of His Holiness Pope Francis To The Italian Episcopal Conference* Synod Hall, Monday, 16 May 2016

era, this time of tribulation, this world in flux. I want to share some insights from my three years of researching the deep thinking behind this remarkable pontificate: how Francis sees that the Church needs to change in order to evangelize the contemporary world.

Whenever we speak of a vision for evangelization, we start with a discernment of the age. Francis's discernment is that of the Latin-American Church at the conference of Aparecida in 2007, the CELAM general conference which he shaped and which shaped him. At the heart of Aparecida is the conviction that the Church in the western world has got stuck in self-referentiality, an institutional introversion, and at its worst has embraced a form of corruption, spiritual worldiness, manifest in moralism and clericalism. I want to suggest to you how Francis is helping the Church to respond to the conversion to which Aparecida saw the Holy Spirit calling us, what was called there a pastoral and missionary conversion.

At the heart of this conversion is Dom Helder's call to the Church: to unharness itself from the chariots of the mighty, to live as sheep among wolves, and to set forth out to sea — if you'll excuse me mixing three metaphors in one sentence. The call, as Francis defines it, is to learn to emulate the Lord's *synktakabasis*, his going out, his coming down and coming near, in order to be *close and concrete*.

That's why I've called this lecture 'close and concrete'. It's a favourite idea of Francis's: the fleshy proximity of the Incarnation in response to the cold world of technocracy, and the Church's own version of that cold technocracy, Pelagianism and Gnosticism.

This is the vision of Aparecida which Francis re-expressed in *Evangelii Gaudium*. It has been given new drama and urgency by this new wave of the clergy abuse revelations that erupted last year, as if God were impatient with the progress that the Church has so far made in responding to *Evangelii Gaudium*. This dark moment of institutional failure that you are experiencing with dramatic intensity here in Australia, is in the Pope's discernment not a distraction from the pastoral conversion he is calling forth but is integral to it. The revelations of the past have punctured our present; and in the shock and shame of ordinary Catholics and the intense hostility and suspicion towards the Church

and its leaders exhibited by wider society, can be glimpsed the acceleration of that conversion.

My friends, Francis is leading the Church on an Ignatian retreat. In his "tribulation letters" that Francis has been writing to the people of God at this time, it is clear he sees we have reached that moment when the spirits are at their most vivid and shrill. The sheer ferocity, rapidity and scale of events suggest, for Pope Francis, an unveiling, an apocalypse. Cardinals are being incarcerated and laicized; there is mob fury; the air is thick with accusation and counter-accusation; there is a hunt for scapegoats — including the pope himself — and demands for purges. It is a time of confusion: Who is guilty, and who innocent? Who can we trust?

The pope's role is to open up the Church to the grace that it is being offered at this time; to openly face and confess our sin and failure, and to recentre ourselves on Christ. And above all to discern: to realize what is the hysterical, panicked, angry spirit of the enemy of human nature, and where is the spirit of goodness and mercy, of gentle growth, which is pruning the Church.

He recently told the clergy in Rome: "it is evident that the true meaning of what is happening has to be sought in the bad spirit, in the enemy, who is acting with the pretense of being the Lord of the World". The unveiling of this spirit — the spirit of domination, of abuse — is a shock; yet it is also a sign of God acting in history. "So let's not be discouraged!" he said. "The Lord is purifying His spouse and is converting us all to Him ... He is making us understand that without Him we are dust".

He urged them to read Chapter 16 of Ezekiel, the story of Israel as an ungrateful whore whom God wins back through mercy. "I am going to renew my covenant with you," God tells Ezekiel/Israel, "and you will learn that I am the Lord, and so remember and be covered with shame, and in your confusion be reduced to silence, when I have pardoned you for all you have done."

I was fascinated by this reference because this is the chapter which he has often spoken about as his own story. When Francis reads those pages, he told Andrea Tornielli in 2016 (*The Name of God is Mercy*), "everything here seems written just for me. Jesus looked at me with mercy, he took me, he put me on the street ... And he has given me an

important grace: the grace of shame.”

Jorge Mario encountered that grace – God’s favor -- late in his adolescence, just at the point when he was developing into a tough, self-reliant leader. The experience of shame and grace, of being forgiven, taken in and sent out, would turn him around; and if this would be the template of his teaching: how the grace of shame opens us to the experience of mercy, and mercy leads into mission. It is said that the Holy Spirit at the conclave gives the Church the pope that we need for this time. Perhaps here, in this nexus of shame and grace and conversion, after five years of his pontificate, we are beginning to see more clearly why the cardinals chose Jorge Mario Bergoglio.

I have divided the following into three parts: (1) the discernment of Aparecida of how the Church needs to change: pastoral conversion in response to the ‘change of era’; (2) what it means to be a missionary, pastoral Church recentered on Christ; (3) how the clergy sex abuse crisis is assisting and accelerating that conversion.

And in each section, I have three words to hang these ideas on: so nine words in all.

I: DISCERNMENT & CONVERSION IN RESPONSE TO THE ‘CHANGE OF ERA’

(a) Paralysis

What made Aparecida — and Bergoglio, its great articulator — unique in the contemporary Church was not so much the analysis of modernity, but how the Latin-American Church believed it should respond to it. The bishops at the shrine noted a change of era, driven by digital technology, and considered its impact on society, the poor, and on culture, using the see-judge-act method. What they saw was the erosion of community and culture, the destruction of nature, the weakening of families and respect for life, as well as corruption and growing inequality as the result of idolizing money. And they noted how the traditional faith transmission belts were frayed or breaking as Christianity was expelled from law and culture and families fragmented.

So this wasn’t original, although it was very sophisticated. What was original was their judgement: for at Aparecida they didn’t simply lament and deplore these circumstances, but criticized those attitudes that saw only “confusion,

danger and threats”, or which sought to respond with “worn-out ideologies or irresponsible aggressions” — basically, the angry, condemnatory stance of many churchmen faced with change, which was to blame the culture for the Church’s failure to evangelize. Instead, they asked how the Church needed to change in order to respond to these new circumstances. Rather than condemn and lament, Aparecida sought to discern and reform. Faced with a world in flux, it invited the Church to rethink its mission.

So what we have here is not just a response to a world in flux, but a diagnosis of why the Church was failing to evangelize. In a letter he wrote to catechists in Buenos Aires a few months after the conference of Aparecida, Bergoglio said the greatest threat to the Church lay not outside but within, from the temptation of fearful self-enclosure faced with the tribulation of change. Just when circumstances demanded that the Church evangelize it had curled in on itself. At a homily at the shrine, Bergoglio made a very deep impression on those present. He spoke of a journey of reorientation, “to free us from becoming a self-referential Church”. And he used an image there of the crippled woman in the Gospel “who does no more than look at herself, with the people of God off somewhere else”.

It was a powerful image of a fearful, clericalist Church obsessed with its own success and maintenance that had withdrawn from the people. God had not abandoned his people; the Church had. An evangelizing Church was one that returned to the people, to encounter God in the lives of the people. The homily captivated those present, convincing many of them that Bergoglio was the one anointed to lead the Church at this time. When Francis gave a précis of the same homily in his reflections at the pre-conclave gathering in Rome five years later, using exactly that diagnosis and even that image, many of the cardinals reached the same conclusion, and elected him pope days later.

More than a document, Aparecida was a happening. Bergoglio saw it as a “grace event”, a Latin-American Pentecost. Just as in the Upper Room in Jerusalem, when the shattered and fearful disciples were visited by the Holy Spirit and emboldened for mission, Aparecida’s effect was to unleash the missionary potential of the Latin

American Church, giving it new energy and direction at a time of fear and uncertainty. Those who were at Aparecida felt this Pentecost wind, convinced it was the Holy Spirit's invitation to not just the Latin-Americans but the universal Church, which Francis's election in 2013 appeared to confirm.

(b) Moralism

Aparecida saw that in reacting fearfully and defensively to secularization and relativism, many Catholics had become victims of what Massimo Borghesi (The Mind of Pope Francis) calls "the moralistic drift that characterizes Catholicism in an era of globalization". In *Evangelii Gaudium* Francis speaks of *eticismo sin bondad*, which is very badly translated by our friends in the Secretariat of State as "ethical systems bereft of kindness", but really means "cold moralism": the reduction of the Christian offer to a set of precepts, as if being Catholic meant signing up to an ethical code.

Aparecida asked the Church to restore the kerygma, the personal encounter with a loving God of mercy, to the heart of its proclamation. In its beautiful passages on this *encuentro fundante*, the "foundational encounter", Aparecida describes the amazement of the disciples at the "exceptional quality of the one speaking to them, especially how he treated them, satisfying the hunger and thirst for life that was in their hearts," and spelled out the different ways of having this meeting with Christ: in sacraments, liturgies, prayer, and contemplation of Scripture. But Aparecida also spoke of the encounter outside, in popular culture and among the poor, and *Evangelii Gaudium* gave the example of a mother of a sick child praying not in a church or even a sanctuary but in her humble house, gazing with love at a Crucifix. This is an important hermeneutic shift: God is present in the lives of people, His grace assisting them; the Church's task was to facilitate that encounter.

Restore grace, in other words. Christianity was not "a titanic effort of the will, the effort of someone who decides to be consistent and succeeds," as Bergoglio had put it in a 2001 speech on *Veritatis Splendor*. "No. Christian morality is simply a response. It is the heartfelt response to a surprising, unforeseeable, 'unjust' mercy ... This is why the Christian conception of morality is a revolution; it is not a never falling down but an

always getting up again."

What Aparecida identified was a Pelagian tendency in Catholicism to believe that the simple act of declaring what was true, or to pronounce the law, was somehow sufficient. As if Christianity were a moral code or a set of precepts, an ideology, and the Church was essentially a regulator and law-giver, distant and abstract and holiness a matter of the will.

Nothing better captures this shift from moralism to openness to grace than *Amoris Laetitia* where he says Jesus "set forth a demanding ideal yet never failed to show compassion and closeness to the frailty of individuals like the Samaritan woman or the woman caught in adultery." As he put it in what is arguably the document's key passage (#37):

We have long thought that simply by stressing doctrinal, bioethical and moral issues, without encouraging openness to grace, we were providing sufficient support to families, strengthening the marriage bond and giving meaning to marital life. We find it difficult to present marriage more as a dynamic path to personal development and fulfilment than as a lifelong burden. We also find it hard to make room for the consciences of the faithful, who very often respond as best they can to the Gospel amid their limitations, and are capable of carrying out their own discernment in complex situations. We have been called to form consciences, not replace them.

c. Clericalism

The Australian Royal Commission puts it well: "Clericalism is linked to a sense of entitlement, superiority and exclusion, and abuse of power." It creates a bunker mentality that leads naturally to cover-up. "Clericalism nurtured ideas that the Catholic Church was autonomous and self-sufficient, and promoted the idea that child sexual abuse by clergy and religious was a matter to be dealt with internally and in secret."

Francis has from the beginning declared war on clericalism, seeing it as the major obstacle to evangelization and pastoral conversion. For Francis, clericalism is far more than a vice or failing; it is a symptom of the persistence of a post-Constantinian ecclesiology that conceives of the institution as self-sufficient, superior to and

separate from the outside world, and in which the security, reputation and internal relationships of the clerical caste are the center of attention, and the institution exists for itself. In *Evangelii Gaudium* Francis opposes this mentality to his dream of a “missionary option”, such that the Church’s structures and culture “can be suitably channeled for the evangelization of today’s world rather than for her self-preservation”.

It is a mentality, a *forma mentis*, of superiority. “You do not have to be a priest to be clericalist,” Francis told Father Fernando Prado. “Clericalism is an aristocracy.” As such it is a corruption of Vatican II’s clear teaching that the church is the People of God, all endowed with gifts for mission. The purpose of evangelization is not to recruit adherents or fill the pews, but to raise up what Aparecida calls “missionary disciples”, followers of Christ.

Bergoglio’s speech in Aparecida identified the obstacles to this: people with complex personal lives kept from parishes by a black-and-white legalism; the marginalization of young people with a call to service and mission; the lack of formation of priests who do not accompany people but lecture them and so on. So many of Francis’s pastoral reforms have been geared to removing these obstacles to the Church’s proximity: thus the synods on the family and young people, the reform of priestly formation, and so on.

At the heart of clericalism is the misuse of power. To understand what Francis means by clericalism, it is helpful to use a distinction he has long used between a mediator – one who serves another’s needs, interceding for them – and an intermediary or middleman, who profits from others. One uses the power to serve, the other the power to exploit. Francis has come to see clergy sex abuse as not, firstly, about a sexual sin, which it obviously is, but an abuse of power, the eroticization of a corrupt power relationship.

Clericalism lives off people, rather than for them. “Lay people are part of the faithful Holy People of God and thus are the protagonists of the Church and of the world,” Francis told Cardinal Marc Ouellet in a 2016 letter. “We are called to serve them, not to be served by them.” When Jesus commanded his followers not to “lord it over” others as the Romans did (Mk 10:42-44), he was asking them to avoid potestas — power over, in the

sense of ownership of rights over others, as a company boss or landlord or king has — in favor of *potentia*: a power to nurture and guide. Francis modeled this power-as-service at the start of the Easter liturgies that first year as Jesus had at the last supper: by washing feet.

Clericalism corrupts this power, and uses it for the service of an aristocracy. Clericalism naturally seeks wealth and privilege. It has a sense of entitlement. At its most extreme, that sense of entitlement leads to the sexual gratification of shepherds by exploiting the most vulnerable in the flock.

Clericalism’s sense of entitlement also leads to a need to promote its moralism through the state. Francis wants the Gospel proclamation to rely on the power of its own attractiveness, not be imposed through the iron cage of the law or the potestas of political alliances. The Church “does not need apologists for her causes nor crusaders for her battles but rather humble and confident sowers of the Truth,” he told the Vatican’s Congregation for Bishops. A bishop was firstly a “witness to the Risen One”; in safeguarding doctrine he does so “not to measure how distant the world is from it, but to fascinate the world, to captivate it with the beauty of love, and seduce it with the freedom that the Gospel gives.” The Church grows, he told the bishops in Mexico City’s cathedral in February 2016, by embodying mercy and through close contact with its faithful people, not through links to power and wealth and the “seductive illusion of underhand agreements”. Unless they witnessed to having seen Jesus, “then the words with which we recall him will be rhetorical and empty figures of speech ... mere babbling orphans behind a tomb.”

(2) WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A MISSIONARY, PASTORAL CHURCH RE-CENTERED ON CHRIST

If the paralysis of defensiveness, the reductionism of moralism, and the corruption of clericalism are the great obstacles to evangelization, what does the opposite look like?

(a) mission

While he was rector of the Colegio Máximo in San Miguel, in Buenos Aires province, Bergoglio created a parish with seven barrios or neighborhoods, and a number of chapels or Mass centres; and he would send out the young Jesuits

in formation to go from house to house, praying with people, hearing their stories, inviting them to Mass or catechesis, connecting them with social projects, and so on. It still happens today in the parish, but now the missions, as they call them, are done by young people in the parish. The purpose of the mission is not to fill the pews but to enable an encounter with the God of mercy. The locus of that encounter, for most people, is their own lives, especially in their needs and their anguish.

This is a key idea in Aparecida — almost a mental shift. Aparecida had noted how the Christian Church came into existence 2,000 years ago in a similar context of urban pluralism, which it made use of to grow. It wasn't, back then, a powerful civic institution seeking influence in the circles of power; Christ's followers were often hounded and persecuted. Yet faith spread rapidly through chaotic cities, because their "gaze of faith" allowed them to see God alive in His people, especially on the margins, and went out to meet Him there.

What Aparecida expressed was a desire to return to "that attitude that planted the faith in the beginnings of the Church". To embrace the idea of mission as not so much an activity or a program as a way of being: "permanent" and "paradigmatic". Not just *ad extra*, but *ad intra* at the same time. In going out on mission, the Church is converted and evangelized. It's spelled out beautifully in *Evangelii Gaudium*: the People of God evangelizes itself.

The parish isn't just its buildings or the people at Mass on Sunday, but the ties among those who make up its community, only some of whom will be baptized Mass-goers. Aparecida called for a Church "visibly present as a mother who reaches out, a welcoming home, a constant school of missionary communion", as Bergoglio put it back in Buenos Aires. Aparecida also spoke of the encounter outside, in popular culture and among the poor.

Evangelization is not proselytism. Its purpose is not to recover market share, or fill the pews. It is not a matter of plans and programs, of strategies, tactics, maneuvers, techniques, as if all depended on the power of the evangelizer. In the mindset of the Gospel, Francis said in Asunción, Paraguay, in July 2015, "you do not convince people with arguments, strategies or tactics. You convince them by simply learning how to welcome them." As he

had earlier put it: "Jesus didn't proselytize, he accompanied Closeness: that's the program."

(b) Mercy

A few months after Aparecida, Bergoglio gave an interview in Rome to the magazine *30 Giorni* in which he said the Church should not be afraid "to depend solely on the tenderness of God". In a world largely deaf to the Church's words, "only the presence of a God who loves and saves us will catch people's attention", he said, adding that the Church's evangelizing fervor would return in so far as it witnessed to "the One who loved us first".

He made the point with the Old Testament story of Jonah, the reluctant prophet famous for being swallowed and later regurgitated by a whale. Jonah had at the time been on a ship bound for Tarsis, fleeing God's instruction to evangelize the wicked city of Nineveh. What Jonah was really fleeing, said Bergoglio, was God's mercy, which was unacceptable to him. For Jonah, the archetypal upright religious fellow, quick to anger and poor in mercy, the world was divided into righteous and unrighteous. In the same way, said Bergoglio, there were nowadays "those who, from the closed world of their Tarsis, complain about everything or, feeling their identity threatened, launch themselves into battles only in the end to be still more self-focussed and self-referential". As a description of the defensive, moralistic Catholicism of the time, it could hardly be improved on.

Francis spelled out the challenge in the strongest possible terms. "Perhaps we have long since forgotten how to show and live the way of mercy," he wrote in *Misericordiae Vultus*. The Church's very credibility was at stake in its acceptance or resistance of the need for this conversion, for it had fallen into the mindset of Jonah. Francis's mission has been to restore mercy to the forefront of the Church's proclamation, to bring into the first paragraph the lede that had somehow got buried further down in the story.

In *Misericordiae Vultus* Francis quoted St John Paul II that contemporary technocracy had no room for mercy. But this begged the question. If western culture were now becoming detached from its Christian roots and reverting to paganism — as the widespread practice of abortion and divorce, and a sink-or-swim mentality that trusted only in human and material power, suggested — why was

the Church not exploding with converts and vocations? Why was it not notorious for its mercy, infamous for its compassion, outrageous in its standing with the outcast? Why is the Church known not for its mercy but for its moralism?

Hence *Misericordiae Vultus* made the embrace of mercy a life-or-death matter for the Church's future. Wherever there are Christians, Francis said simply, echoing Stark, "everyone should find an oasis of mercy." In the Jubilee Francis showed how this is done. Mercy is not an idea but a way of being and doing that reflects how God interacts with and saves humanity. That action, as Francis expressed it continually throughout the Jubilee, was a dynamic in four stages: coming close ("welcoming"); sensing need ("discerning"); responding concretely and individually ("accompanying"); and a final stage that involved change: conversion and belonging ("integrating"). The fourfold move was at the heart of *Amoris Laetitia*, and underpinned, for example, the Vatican's advocacy of migrants. To offer mercy in this way is to evangelize, because it performs the way God saves us. It is to experience God.

There can be no evangelization without mercy because mercy communicates who God is: how he responds to sin and suffering in any form. He does so by being close and concrete. The Jubilee of Mercy wasn't just an indictment of cold moralism, but also the kind of social justice that fails to be close. Sure, faith without justice makes no sense: Christ could not be separated from the kingdom he proclaimed. But nor can you separate justice from proximity. Poverty and wretchedness are always unique; they seek to conceal themselves, and can only be revealed by personal contact.

This was why Francis was resisting both an unqualified 'no' or 'yes' on the Communion question, because both shut out God's grace and the Holy Spirit's freedom of action: the first by keeping the doors closed, making change hard; the second by opening them so wide there was no need for change. Neither the lax nor the strict priest witnesses to Christ, he told clergy in March 2014, because "neither takes seriously the person in front of him." While the rigorist "nails the person to the law as understood in a cold and rigid way", the indulgent "only appears merciful, but does not take seriously the problems of that person's conscience, minimizing the sin." *Amoris* demands closeness, accompaniment, discernment, not a taking refuge

in abstraction. That's why some hate it. But its authority is not in dispute: it is the fruit of the greatest experience of ecclesial discernment since the Vatican Council — as well as the pope's own discernment. "I sincerely believe," Francis says in *Amoris*, "Jesus wants a Church attentive to the goodness which the Holy Spirit sows in the midst of human weakness."

c. Synodality

The overhaul of the synod of bishops in Rome, and Francis's bid to introduce synodality into the life of the Church may well come to be seen as his greatest reform. The modern synod of bishops, inspired by the councils of the early Church, was created by Pope Paul VI in 1965 to make it easier for the pope and the curia to listen to the local Church and engage the faithful. But under the long pontificate of John Paul II the traffic was mostly in the other direction: the synod became simply another means used by Rome for making sure the bishops listened to the Vatican. Having been a delegate at various synods, one of which (2001) he chaired, Bergoglio was convinced that as it was then constituted, the synod could never be a means of discerning, by the light of the Holy Spirit, responses to doctrinal and pastoral challenges.

"Either there is a pyramidal church, in which what Peter says is done, or there is a synodal church," he told the Belgian magazine *Tertio*. He defined this "synodal Church" as a kind of inverted pyramid, in "in which Peter is Peter but he accompanies the Church, he lets her grow, he listens to her, he learns from this reality and goes about harmonizing it, discerning what comes from the Church and restoring it to her."

It was what he lived at Aparecida that led Francis confidently to tell the bishops in the 2015 synod that "it is precisely this path of synodality that God expects of the Church of the third millennium". His speech marking the 50th anniversary of Paul VI's refounding of the synod during the final session of the Second Vatican Council so inspired Archbishop Mark Coleridge that the Archbishop of Brisbane returned with the idea of what became the Plenary Council.

Synodality takes seriously the Church as the people of God walking together, led by the Holy Spirit that makes itself felt in free speech and humble listening. Synodality understands that

there could be no clear distinction between the “learning” (Ecclesia docens) and the “teaching” Church (Ecclesia discens); to teach means to listen; you cannot evangelize without listening. When the people of God evangelizes itself it listens to the Holy Spirit.

“Speak boldly, listen humbly”, Francis said at the start of Synod 2014. Synodality takes seriously the participation of the people of God in the governance and direction of the Church. It is to restore the ancient church principle that *quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari debet* — what affects all should be discussed by all. It is also key to fostering the kind of adult Christian culture required by a Church of missionary disciples. Participation, consultation, collaboration, mutual listening, discernment — these are the hallmarks of an evangelizing Church rather than a clerical, paralyzed one, or a liberal, worldly one.

(3) HOW THE CLERGY SEX ABUSE CRISIS IS ASSISTING AND ACCELERATING PASTORAL CONVERSION

It’s wonderful to come here and find your bishops so boldly embracing the *kairós* of conversion offered by this crisis. Bishop Vincent Long on the first Sunday of Lent, for example, spoke of the need for the Church “to die a certain death ... needs to die to whatever is an obstacle, a shackle or a stumbling block to its mission so that it can rise to shine the Gospel of hope for humanity”. He saw the Church moving from a position of power and strength to that of powerlessness and vulnerability; from a position of wealth and influence to that of being poor and humble; from a position of greatness to being a minority.” — exactly the transition called for by Dom Helder.³

The remarkable thing about this crisis is that it has appeared almost from nowhere. The combination of so many different reports about the past — Royal Commission, Pennsylvania Grand Jury in July following McCarrick, the German bishops’ report of last October — all coming together at the same time, puncturing the present, means the Church finds itself suddenly fulfilling

Matthew 10 as quoted by Camara: as sheep in the midst of wolves, handed over to courts of judgment (Mt. 10, 16-17).

It is, as Archbishop Peter on Monday, for St Patrick’s, described it, as “an earthquake” that has shifted the landscape permanently. He speaks of broken ground and crumbling edifices ... of letting go of the past and beginning anew. His words remind me of Cardinal Bergoglio’s to his priest after he returned from Aparecida: “What happens in a change of era is that things are no longer in their place ... What seemed to us normal about family, Church, society and the world, will no longer apparently be that way”. The shift Bergoglio described is exactly the 3 Homily for the First Sunday of Lent Year C 2019 with the Rite of Election at St Patrick’s Cathedral, Parramatta; one Archbishop Peter spoke of in describing the need to “move away from the institutional centre and relocate ourselves among our local neighbourhoods of grace.”⁴ Both bishops are describing precisely the transition to a pastoral, missionary Church, shorn of clericalism, close to the people with Christ at its center.

a. Truth

The conversion begins with facing the truth: about our era, and specifically about the Church’s past and current failures. The revelations of the past year force us to face the truth about a culture, a leadership, an institutional corruption that can’t be rationalized away: it’s not after all about how we deal with the rotten apples; it’s the barrel itself: the culture in which McCarrick could ascend the ecclesiastical ladder even while it was commonly known he was a predatory homosexual, and which Alfonso Lopez Trujillo could be made president of the Pontifical Council for the Family when he was famous for his appetite for rent boys in Medellín. How do we account for this? We can’t.

Addressing the curia at Christmas, Francis likened the media’s role in exposing the corruption to that of the prophet Nathan confronting David and making him see the seriousness of his sin; they “sought to unmask these predators and to make their victims’ voices heard.”⁵ As he put it to the

3 Homily for the First Sunday of Lent Year C 2019 with the Rite of Election at St Patrick’s Cathedral, Parramatta;

4 Archbishop Comensoli delivers Patrick Oration

5 Christmas greetings to the Roman Curia (21 December 2018)

People of God last August: The outcry of the victims, long ignored, proved more powerful than attempts to silence it, showing that “the Lord heard that cry and once again shows us on which side he stands”. The scandals are a sign of God’s coming: “An awareness of sin helps us to acknowledge the errors, the crimes and the wounds caused in the past and allows us, in the present, to be more open and committed along a journey of renewed conversion.”⁶ What had gone wrong? In his second letter to the Chilean bishops, which he handed them in Rome in April last year, he asked them to go back to the source of what he called their loss of ecclesial center. The Church in Chile at one time used to put Christ in the center, and therefore defended the dignity of its people against the powerful; it was humble, prayerful, joyful, and evangelizing. But then came “a loss of prophetic power” and a “change in its center”, with the result that the Church “itself became the center of attention”.

The loss of ecclesial center meant that the Church became “uprooted from the life of the People of God” which led to “desolation and the perversion of the nature of Church”. The result was “the loss of the healthy awareness of knowing that we belong to God’s holy, faithful people which precedes us and — thank God — will succeed us.” Whenever the People of God has been reduced to “small elites”, Francis told the Chileans, it leads to a “peculiar way of understanding the Church’s authority, one common in many communities where sexual abuse and the abuse of power and conscience have occurred”. Clericalism, “whether fostered by priests themselves or by lay persons”, both enables and perpetuates abuse. “To say ‘no’ to abuse is to say an emphatic ‘no’ to all forms of clericalism.”

b. Conversion

In his first letter to the Chilean bishops after receiving Archbishop Scicluna’s report into cover-up and corruption, Francis told them that it was at times like this, when we are “weak, frightened and armor-plated in our comfortable winter palaces”, that “God’s love comes out to meet us to purify our intentions, that we might love as free, mature and critical people”.

The risk for our Churches is to want to stay inside those comfortable winter palaces. The more intense the storm, the greater the desire to keep your head down, stay indoors, batten down the hatches, wait for it to pass. But that is to miss the grace which is on offer.

Back in 1987 Bergoglio wrote about “criteria of discernment, criteria of action so as not to allow ourselves to be dragged down by institutional desolation”. He has referred to these criteria a number of times this past year. In times of persecutions and tribulations the temptations are to focus ideas; to becoming fixated with enemies — the bad people out there, the good people in here — to have an exaggerated sense of victimhood, and of “dwelling on our own desolations.” Rather than discern and reform, to lament and condemn.

In January last year, Francis warned the religious and clergy in Santiago’s cathedral of two temptations in particular in an era of change and anxiety: “of becoming closed, isolating ourselves and defending our ways of seeing things, which then turn out as nothing more than fine monologues” and “to think that everything is wrong, and in place of ‘good news’, the only thing we profess is apathy and disappointment.”

Francis showed a different path: Peter’s forgiveness by Christ following his betrayal. Facing his weakness, saved by God’s mercy, the failed sinner became a joyful, grateful apostle, sent out to serve. He was capable of evangelizing not because he was righteous and successful, but because he was a forgiven failure, and could therefore witness to the power of the very mercy he proclaimed.

Francis told the bishops: “A wounded Church does not make herself the center of things, does not believe that she is perfect, but puts at the center the one who can heal those wounds, whose name is Jesus Christ.” And he added: “To know both Peter disheartened and Peter transfigured is an invitation to pass from being a Church of the unhappy and disheartened to a Church that serves all those people who are unhappy and disheartened in our midst.”

Here we have the heart of pastoral conversion: a Church that can be of the poor, for the poor, because it is a wounded Church. Its failures were

6 Letter to People of God

not a reason for recoiling from the world but an invitation to serve it in humility.

The Argentine Jesuits say that Bergoglio's extraordinary gift in spiritual direction was to spot the temptations specific to each person.

In holding the Church to this path of conversion, Francis has been carefully pointing out these temptations. In the case of Chile, for example, he warned against taking refuge in abstraction and verbiage — the Latin-American vice, one might say. While to the US bishops he has warned them against taking refuge in technical or juridical reforms which are necessary but insufficient. As James Hanvey SJ puts it: "If we do not listen and then respond beyond the necessary protocols and legal instruments, the Church will miss the grace that is being offered. It will run the risk of making itself and its own survival an end in itself, succumbing to the temptation of institutional idolatry."

In both cases Francis warned the bishops against the urge to denounce, blame, and scapegoat, to call up a restorationist reform and crusades of purification against "enemies within" — to avoid the hard task of selfaccusation, in other words, by accusing others. Archbishop Viganò would offer a perfect example of this temptation.

To restore Christ to the center meant to face the truth, confess your sin, and in fasting and prayer to trust in the power of God's mercy to bring about an institutional metanoia.

A spiritual corruption can only be purged by a spiritual conversion, a starting-again from Christ. The temptation to accuse, to deflect responsibility, can only be countered by self-accusation.

As Francis said in his speech following the recent anti-abuse summit in Rome, what he called a "positivistic" approach could supply an explanation, but not the meaning; in this case, what we are dealing with is "a manifestation of brazen, aggressive and destructive evil" which in its pride and in its arrogance considers itself "the Lord of the world".

Protocols and legal structures, punishment of offenders, these are at times necessary, but they will not — as some of the victims groups seem to think — change a culture; they are the necessary signs of conversion, but they are not conversion itself. Indeed, they may become substitutes for it. As Hanvey puts it: "The pope is engaged in something much more difficult: he is asking for the profound adaptive change that conversion requires. Such

adaptive change is no threat to the essence and the truth of the Church; it recovers it."

c. People of God

Finally, the theological locus of this conversion has to be the People of God. An evil rooted in clericalism cannot be countered by clericalism. In calling for "a penitential exercise of prayer and fasting" Francis in his letter to the people of God noted that "*the only way that we have to respond to this evil* that has darkened so many lives is to experience it as a task regarding all of us as the People of God." This was "an ecclesial transformation that involves us all".

In his letter to the US bishops at the start of their January 2019 retreat at Mundelein, Francis continually warned against trying to deal with their crisis of credibility by means of new norms or organigrams as if they were "a human resources agency" or "evangelization business". The conversion had to be a *metanoia*, a change in "our ways of praying, of managing power and money, of exercising authority and how we relate to each other and to our world", he told the Chileans. Only by entering into "affective communion with the feeling of our people" would the bishops avoid banality, defensiveness and triumphalism, or the attempt to reduce everything to a matter of ethics and doctrine.

"It is impossible to imagine the future with this anointing operating in each of you", he told the faithful in Chile, before going on to outline that future as a new ecclesial culture in which the most vulnerable are listened to, in which criticism is not dismissed as treason, and an atmosphere of respect and care replaces an abusive culture.

For the pope, in other words, change was a process that would be triggered by the Church becoming what *Lumen Gentium* imagined it to be. From the process of encounter and conversion as a body would flow the necessary moral transformation of both individuals and the institution. Through tribulation, conversion; out of conversion and the experience of mercy, mission and evangelization.

CONCLUSION

Both Aparecida and Francis's so-called "tribulation letters" in response to the clergy abuse crisis have in common that they take a clear-eyed view of the current moment. There is no

defensiveness, no pining for the past, no attempt at evading or minimizing sin and failure.

But the response is not despair or lamentation; it is not condemnation or resistance. Nor does it take refuge in the fantasy of a restorationist reform, or a strategy of resistance. It is to accept that God is acting in history, and that there is a grace on offer inviting the Church to *metanoia* and thence to mission.

His conviction is that in accusing ourselves, and not anyone else, we create space for God's mercy to act. With the grace of fortitude and perseverance, and integrating through synodality the presence of God's holy people and the charisms that the Spirit has so richly bestowed upon them, a new future can be glimpsed, one in which, as Helder Camara hoped, we go out as sheep among wolves, rich in

receiving and offering mercy, untethered from the chariots of power.

Pastoral conversion is to be free of paralysis, moralism and clericalism; to embrace mission, mercy and solidarity. The abuse crisis offers the chance to accelerate this conversion: by facing the truth of failure, and receiving grace, we can finally take seriously the missionary discipleship of the people of God.

The Church has been plunged into desolation, both in its response to secularization and by the revelation of its own failure. Yet Francis's words are of consolation. The consolation lies in what the Spirit is calling forth: a Church that recognizes it cannot guarantee its own existence and survival but must live from Christ, capable of transcending self-referentiality in order to evangelize a world in flux.

