

Chapter Two

'I felt encouraged and consoled beyond measure'¹:

Murray the Man.

To all intents and purposes James Murray was an only child. His origins lay in Co. Wicklow on Ireland's east coast directly to the south of Dublin. Named after its principal town, the county stretches 40 miles north to south and 33 miles from east to west. It has three distinct regions: the low lying strip along the east coast, the mountains and valleys of the centre and west and the southern less mountainous area. The largest topographical area in the county is the central western region of mountains, rivers, lakes and valleys. The rugged beauty of these uplands and the contrasting lowlands have contributed to Wicklow's name, the 'Garden of Ireland'. The mountain range is intersected diagonally by a number of great glens most notably Glendalough, Glenmalure and the Glen of Imaal. It is in these highlands and their lakes that some of the most renowned rivers in the county rise. The Kings River joins the Liffey in the north at Blessington Lakes while in the south at the Meeting of the Waters, the Avonmore and Avonbeg form the Avoca, a place of celebrated romantic beauty.² When trying to describe his new home and country to friends in Ireland, Murray aptly likened the Paterson River near Maitland to the Vale of Avoca, which lay on the road between Glendalough and Arklow.³

The mountains of Wicklow have harboured men and women of vastly divergent interests. During the middle ages ascetics and hermits found spiritual fulfilment in the caves and glens of the mountains. In the sixth century St Kevin had founded the great, monastic settlement of Glendalough which became a revered centre of Celtic culture, scholarship and spirituality.⁴ The Wicklow Mountains and hills later provided refuge

¹ Murray to Kirby, 3 December 1868, ICAR.

² J. Kavanagh, S. O'Connor, F. Walsh, *The Last County: The Emergence of Wicklow as a County 1606-1845*, County Wicklow Heritage Project, County Wicklow, 1993, p. 7.

³ Murray to Cullen, 19 March 1868, DDA.

⁴ Kavanagh, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

for rebels and guerilla bands, particularly during the rebellion of Irish Catholics in 1641 and after the rebellion of 1798. Michael Dwyer, a local leader in Wicklow during the '98 rebellion, was able to live off the land of Wicklow for five years before he surrendered to the British. Subsequently, under an amnesty, he was sent to New South Wales.⁵ The Wicklow Mountains provided many kinds of refuge which for Murray were especially significant. Glendalough was the burial ground of his maternal grandparents and parents and it was to this place of renowned beauty and pilgrimage that he retreated to prepare for his consecration as Bishop of Maitland in 1865.⁶

The eastern lowland strip of Co. Wicklow, stretching from Bray in the north to Arklow in the south, has the longest history of settlement. This most densely populated, most fertile and most diverse region of the county included an important fishing industry.⁷ In the eighteenth century many of the Irish and English nobility had country residences in Wicklow.⁸ It was here that the Murrays, a Catholic gentry family, leased two estates, Sheepwalk and Woodmount, from the family of the Earls of Wicklow for just on three hundred years.⁹ The rhetoric and language of the 1787 agreement between the 'Right Honourable Ralph Lord Viscount of Wicklow and Thomas Murray senior, of Sheepwalk, gentleman', clearly establish the class and status of the lessee, James Murray's great grandfather. In 1827 this lease was extended for another 31 years and involved three of Thomas Murray's sons: Peter, his second son, aged about 24, Daniel, his fourth son, about 19, and Thomas, his fifth son, about 14 years.¹⁰ A long lease with its specified fixed nominal rent over the

⁵ P. O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia, A History*, Melbourne, 1977, p. 232. See also, A. M. Whitaker, *Unfinished Revolution: United Irishmen in New South Wales, 1800-1810*, Sydney, 1994, pp. 10-17

⁶ *Catholic Directory of Ireland, 1867*, Dublin, 1867. James Murray to his cousin, James Quinn, 20 October 1858, Murray Papers C 1.2, MDA.

⁷ Kavanagh, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁹ P. J. Murray, grandson of Thomas Murray (junior) of Cooladangan and Sheepwalk and also a celebrated local historian, makes this claim. It should be noted that P.J. Murray's grandfather never lived at Sheepwalk which passed out of the family in 1858. P. J. Murray's claim to Sheepwalk indicates its importance and special place in the Murray family. *Arklow Historical Society Journal*, 1984, p. 52.

¹⁰ Memorial of Written Deed, 1797, Book 656, p. 250, No. 450915, Registry of Deeds, Dublin. The registered deeds relating to the dealings of the Murrays of Sheepwalk

holding period guaranteed the Murrays security of tenure and the prestige arising from the size of their land holdings.¹¹

Sheepwalk was estimated to be 102 acres¹² while Woodmount, occupied by Peter, Thomas' second son, was 64 acres.¹³ Given that by the end of the eighteenth century four out of five farmers held fewer than fifteen acres of land and that one half of farmers held fewer than five, life for the Murray family must have been relatively comfortable.¹⁴ Thomas Murray and his sons farmed rich agricultural river flats, well watered with their own streams, and wooded areas. The combined size of their holdings would have produced a profitable return because their acreages allowed for proper soil maintenance, crop rotation, fertilization, drainage and irrigation. The houses at Sheepwalk and Woodmount are both still standing and they likewise reflect a life of leisure and culture. The building at Sheepwalk, the older of the two, is a simple structure with two gabled wings extending back from the entrance and overlooking the undulating hills of the valley and the River Avoca. By contrast, Woodmount is a two-storey, classic Georgian country house. Box-shaped and symmetrical, its portico at the front features a circular fan light. The tiled floor of the hall opens onto a parlour, dining room and a large kitchen with flagstone floor. A walk through the rooms at Woodmount suggests that Peter Murray, his wife Anne and their four daughters enjoyed elegant living.¹⁵

and Woodmount reveal the more recent fortunes of the family. The registration of deeds was not obligatory; the function of the Registry was simply to provide evidence of legal title in the event of a dispute. For the majority of the population, Catholic tenant families, the possibility of having deeds registered can be discounted. That the Murrays had their deeds registered and copied (Memorials) indicates their social standing. J. Grenham, *Tracing Your Irish Ancestors*, Dublin, 1992, pp. 103-106.

11 J. Mokyr, *Why Ireland Starved: A Quantitative and Analytical History of the Irish Economy, 1800-1850*, London, 1985, p. 82.

12 Memorial of Written Deed, 1787, Book 307, p. 349, No. 261706, Registry of Deeds, Dublin.

13 Memorial of Written Deed, Peter Murray, Woodmount, December 1812, Book 226, p. 646, No. 445533, Registry of Deeds, Dublin.

14 Mokyr, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

15 Personal observation, Sheepwalk and Woodmount, May 1994.

The children and grandchildren of Thomas senior used the advantages and opportunities which their family position and status provided. Some were farmers with considerable land in the coastal regions of Wicklow County.¹⁶ There were others, at least eighteen Murray men and women within three generations, who found their vocation and, subsequently, position and authority within the Catholic Church. One son, Daniel, became Archbishop of Dublin and a grand-daughter, Felicitas Murray, founded the Loretto Convent at Omagh. Among the great-grand sons besides the Bishop of Maitland, were three Jesuits and a priest-professor residing at Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, Dublin.¹⁷

The Murrays also held positions in the commercial world. Matthew Murray was a Dublin shopkeeper,¹⁸ his cousin, William, was a grocer in Exchequer Street, Dublin¹⁹ and another cousin, James, was a brushmaker in South Georges Street, Dublin.²⁰ Murray daughters married into the growing Catholic middle class of Wicklow and Dublin. Bridget, daughter of Thomas Murray senior, married William Smyth, a Wicklow auctioneer.²¹ Another daughter, Elizabeth, married Matthew Lynch, described as a gentleman and large landholder²² and Catherine, a third daughter, married William Darcy of North King Street, City of Dublin, also described as a 'gentleman'.²³ Diversification within the Murray

¹⁶ The family tree prepared by P. J. Murray of Arklow identifies some of the family holdings. For example, Thomas, grandson of Thomas senior, held Cooladangan in Co. Wicklow. The Memorial of Deeds show that two other grandchildren, John and Sarah, married into the Costello family and held land at Ballybaltran in Co. Wicklow. Sarah's husband, William, held at least 74 acres according to Griffith's Valuation. Memorial of Written Deed, William Costello, Book 202, p. 545, No.359083, Deeds, Registry of Deeds, Dublin.

¹⁷ Murray Family Tree, P. J. Murray of Arklow, before 1987.

¹⁸ Matthew Murray was a Dublin shopkeeper according to P. J. Murray's Family Tree. Unfortunately P. J. Murray's elderly daughters of Arklow were not prepared to give access to their father's papers.

¹⁹ Memorial of Written Deed, William Murray, Book 391, p. 560, No. 375379, 28 April 1804, Registry of Deeds, Dublin.

²⁰ Memorial of Written Deed, Matthew Lynch Book, 98, p. 574, Deed, No. 385329, 28 June 1805, Registry of Deeds, Dublin.

²¹ Murray Family Tree, P. J. Murray, Arklow, before 1987.

²² Memorial of Written Deed, Matthew Lynch, Book 98, p. 574, Deed, No. 385329, 28 June 1805, Registry of Deeds, Dublin. At the time of registration Lynch held 255 acres in the Barony of Uppercross and Co. Dublin. The marriage took place in Co. Dublin about 1804.

²³ Memorial of Written Deed, Catherine Darcy, Book 4, No. 78, 4 April 1846, Registry of Deeds, Dublin.

family reflects the increasing urbanisation within Ireland in the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁴ In 1858 the current Lord Wicklow declined to renew the lease and the Murrays' long direct association with Sheepwalk was over. It was obviously a great blow to the family.²⁵ Almost inevitably the family fragmented and scattered and Sheepwalk was no longer the focus for them. Potentially at least, they were a gentry family in decline.

The Murray family remained out of the major quarrels and conflicts which raged around them, particularly at the time of the 1798 rebellion, when Co. Wicklow saw some of the bloodiest and most bitter clashes of all. According to the family historian, Pat Murray, the central episode for the family related to the Battle of Arklow and the escape of young Father Daniel Murray, future Archbishop of Dublin, from the clutches of would-be murderers. In retaliation the militia set fire to all the outhouses at Sheepwalk, destroyed the stores of hay and corn and killed livestock.²⁶ Local tradition has it that the two family homes, Woodmount and Sheepwalk, were the only major Catholic houses in the Arklow area which were not burnt.²⁷ In fact, Thomas Murray's claims for damages of more than £500 indicates that the Murrays did not escape entirely. Nevertheless some mystery surrounds the survival of the Murray houses and the Murray experiences generally. Because the Murrays were Catholics and large landholders in an area well-populated by Protestants, they would have been an obvious target for the militia during the Battle of Arklow. The Rebellion Papers do not identify Thomas Murray senior or any of the Murrays as informants in Wicklow;²⁸ yet the fact that Paul Murray, a nephew of Thomas Murray senior, spent time in Paris trying to

²⁴ Mokyr, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-294.

²⁵ Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

²⁶ Thomas Murray claimed £537.19.4 for damages to out houses, bark, leather, hides, timber and hay. List of Claims to Compensation and Property Loss 1798, Rebellion Papers, Arklow, Co. Wicklow, 620/4/29/43, 1798, 620/7/80/5, 1799, 620/7/76/9, 1799, 620/8/85/23, 1799, p. 8, National Archives, Dublin.

²⁷ P. J. Murray, 'Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, 1823-1852', *Arklow Historical Society Journal*, 1980, pp. 12-13.

²⁸ Rebellion Papers, Arklow, Co. Wicklow, 620/4/29/43, 1798, 620/7/80/5, 1799, 620/7/76/9, 1799, 620/8/85/23, 1799, p. 8, National Archives, Dublin and Daniel Murray Papers, DDA.

gain support for the rebels' cause makes the escape of the Murray family, almost untouched, even more strange.²⁹ The family stories tend to ignore the point that the Murrays' houses of Sheepwalk and Woodmount remained inviolate. Understandably, they focus more on Daniel's heroic escape.

Irish historians maintain that Father Daniel Murray was neutral during the rebellion, and that whilst he agreed with the demands for legislative freedom and social rights, he did not approve of resorting to the 'pike and sword'.³⁰ Other priests were not so neutral. Father John Murphy of Boolavogue advised his people 'that they had better die courageously in the field, than be murdered in their homes'.³¹ The attack upon Daniel Murray was not so much an attack on Daniel Murray of Sheepwalk as on Daniel Murray, priest and associate of rebel priest-leaders such as Father Murphy. However, the lesson which Daniel Murray learned and practised throughout his priestly and episcopal life is no mystery. His approach was always one of conciliation and reason rather than confrontation. One lesson earlier drawn from the '98 rebellion, for Catholics, was the need for uniformity and conformity. It was a lesson which James Murray, born 30 years later, carried with him through life.³²

Although of a different generation the two bishops, Daniel Murray and his grand-nephew, James Murray, had a good deal in common. They had come from a land-holding Catholic gentry family well endowed with accomplishments and material accoutrements. Both men had embraced the cause of the church with great passion. Both had been exposed to continental education systems and societies. Daniel trained at the Irish

²⁹ Paul Murray and others petitioned Joseph Bonaparte for Bernadotte to lead an expedition to Ireland. *Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilisation*, Vol. 3, Persons, National Library, Dublin.

³⁰ M. Lysaght, 'Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin 1823-1852', *Dublin Historical Record*, June 1974, p. 103.

³¹ Quoted by *loc. cit.*

³² Even in 1994, almost 200 years later, the Rebellion of 1798 was still very real for the people of Wicklow. Michael Fogarty in May 1994 recounted the stories handed down to his father who passed them on to Michael. Michael tells the story as if he himself had witnessed them. Interview with Michael Fogarty at the Parish House, Bardarrig and recorded by Father James Murphy, Ireland, 1994.

College in Salamanca in Spain while James went to Propaganda Fide in Rome. The practical tasks they faced as bishops in their respective dioceses were also similar.

For Daniel Murray the restrictions imposed by the Penal Laws had left Irish Catholics largely bereft of formal religion and particularly of churches and schooling. When he came to the Diocese of Dublin in 1809, he began an extensive building programme. Because of the many restrictions of the Penal Laws most Catholic Churches in Dublin were converted warehouses or stables in back streets and laneways. At the time of Daniel Murray's death in 1852, 97 new churches had been built in public places throughout Dublin. The Penal Laws also denied Catholic schooling to children and so the religious education of youth was another of Daniel Murray's primary objectives. To this end he invited Edmund Rice, the founder of the Christian Brothers, to set up a branch of the Society in Dublin in 1812 for the education of boys. Together with Mary Aikenhead, the bishop established the Sisters of Charity in 1815, and with Frances Ball, the Loreto Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1821. In 1824 he encouraged Catherine McAuley's Sisters of Mercy to begin and run schools. Each of these sisterhoods worked with, and for, the poor and particularly for the education of girls.³³ For James Murray the newness of the Australian colonies meant that the Catholics of Maitland were also in need of formal religion, of churches and a system of schools. Like Daniel, the younger James had to start almost at the beginning and to dedicate his life to the building of a diocese.

Daniel and James were, however, men of different generations and their paths diverged significantly. They were unlike each other physically. Daniel resembled the Murrays with their fine features and their narrow long faces. James, particularly in his later years, took after his mother's side, the Doyles. With a round full face and heavy build, he closely resembled his cousins, and fellow Australian bishops, James and Matthew Quinn. Theologically Daniel Murray was a convinced Gallican,

³³ Murray, 'Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, 1823-1852', pp. 15-16.

emphasising the autonomy of the local church.³⁴ His eight years of study in Spain would have nurtured his beliefs, for the Spanish Church had followed the French tendency to reduce Rome's authority in everything but theological matters.³⁵ In the pre-Cullen period Gallicanism was strong within Ireland, too, acknowledging the power and autonomy of the local or national church through the integration of local government and ecclesiastical authority.³⁶ It was an ecclesiological view which had characterized the Irish Church from earliest times with its origins in the Celtic Church with its strong traditions of local independence.³⁷ Bishops who espoused Gallicanism preferred informal gatherings rather than synods, where issues had to be approved by Rome and where attempts might be made to enforce uniformity by canonical means. Certainly, Daniel's allegiance to Rome was strong and he deferred to papal or conciliar decrees, but like many of his Irish predecessors and contemporaries, he gave the local church priority.³⁸ For James Murray, loyalties were balanced differently. As an Irishman, he possessed a great love of his homeland but, as we shall see, he was of the Roman mould.

It was within an Irish family, one which held to a tradition of stability, security and success and, an apparent ability to survive that James Murray spent his early years. He was born on 25 March 1828, the second son of James Murray and Catherine Doyle, probably in the townland of Barndarrig, and was baptised at St Patrick's, Kilquade, on the same day.³⁹ His older brother, William, ten years his senior, was ordained a priest of the Dublin Diocese in 1839 and served in the parishes of Edenberry, Ballina and at St Paul's, Arran Quay, Dublin. There he died in February 1851, a year before James' ordination in Rome.⁴⁰ A third son, Paul, was

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³⁵ R. Valade, 'Catherine McCauley and the Sisters of Mercy of the Americas: An Ecclesiological Analysis', M.A., Washington Theological Union, 1992, p. 9.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁷ J.D. Holmes and B. M. Bickers, *A Short History of the Catholic Church*, Kent, 1987, p. 49.

³⁸ Valade, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 and 14.

³⁹ Baptism Register, St Patrick's Kilquade, Co. Wicklow. Murray's funeral notice identified Barndarrig as his 'home' town. There is no clear evidence of his actual place of birth. *Maitland Mercury*, 12 July 1909.

⁴⁰ *Catholic Directory of Ireland*, 1840-1856 inclusive. Death notice, William Murray, *Dublin Evening Post*, 25 February 1851.

born five years after James, in 1833, and was also baptized at Kilquade with William as one of the godparents.⁴¹ It is likely that Paul died soon after birth or as a young child. Catherine Murray herself died in 1837 at the age of 47 when James was just nine years old.⁴² Despite all efforts, few traces of this generation of the Murray family can be found. However we can draw some conclusions from the little we know. James was part of a very small family and because of the age difference between himself and his elder brother and the loss of his younger brother, he would have been raised as an only child. The emotional self-sufficiency obvious throughout Murray's life, and a vital element of his personal authority, seems to reflect these early childhood experiences.

In this context, it is significant to our understanding of Murray the man that his correspondence reveals very little about his immediate family. In his surviving papers, he makes only one reference to his parents and none to his brothers.⁴³ However, he maintained contact with the Murrays of Wicklow and with the Parish of Barndarrig. Family tradition and photographs have him presiding at the wedding of his cousin, James Murray, great-grand-son of Thomas Murray of Sheepwalk, at Arklow during the bishop's *ad limina* visit in 1881.⁴⁴ In Australia, in June 1878 Murray had presided at the wedding of another cousin, James' older brother, William, at St John the Baptist Cathedral, Maitland. William had emigrated to New South Wales and was a bank manager at Lambton near Newcastle at the time of his marriage.⁴⁵ During Murray's later *ad limina* visit in 1889, he 'spent a few days in County Wicklow ...

41 Baptism Register, St Patrick's Kilquade, 1 January 1833. Further research showed no subsequent reference to Paul.

42 James Murray to his cousin, James Quinn, 20 October 1858, Murray Papers C 1.2, MDA.

43 *Loc. cit.* In this brief note Murray gives his cousin the date of death of his Doyle grandparents, of Lucy Cullen and his mother, Catherine Murray, and states that they were buried at the Seven Churches at Glendalough in Co. Wicklow. He claimed that his father did not know of any other members of the family who were buried there. S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, Maryland, 1995, [1837] pp. 649-661.

44 Photographs held by Miss Helene Murray, daughter of P. J. Murray, Parade Ground, Arklow, County Wicklow. Interviewed, May 1994.

45 Marriage Register, St John's Cathedral, West Maitland, 11 June 1878, Maitland Church Register.

very pleasantly with Canon Dillon⁴⁶ and said Mass in the local parish church at Barndarrig.⁴⁷ A letter written in 1905 by the priest of Barndarrig, Father William Dunphy, establishes that the two kept in touch.⁴⁸ Murray was always interested in the people and events of Barndarrig which he claimed as his 'home' parish.⁴⁹

Both James' parents came from families with an unusually high formal involvement with the church. James' mother, Catherine Doyle, was the sister of John Doyle, parish priest of St Michael's and St John's Parish, Dublin. Catherine's sister, Mary, had married Matthew Quinn. Their son, Andrew, became parish priest of Kingstown, Dublin, and vicar general of the Archdiocese of Dublin, and two other sons, James and Matthew, became bishops of Brisbane and Bathurst respectively.⁵⁰ The Murray and Quinn cousins were also related through their mothers to the Cullen and Moran families.⁵¹ In the former family, Paul Cullen was to become the first Cardinal Archbishop of Ireland since the Reformation, and his nephew, Patrick Moran, the first Cardinal Archbishop of Australia. It was not unusual for Irish Catholic families to have priests and religious brothers and sisters among their sons and daughters, but the number and importance of the ecclesiastical offices held by the Murray, Doyle and Quinn families is extraordinary.

James Murray's background, connections and educational opportunities provided the springboard for his subsequent career in the church. Following his initial schooling in Wicklow, James went to Dublin to pursue classical studies.⁵² It may well have been the case that like his cousins, James and Matthew Quinn, James Murray arrived in the capital

⁴⁶ Murray to Vincent Dwyer, All Hallows College, 17 June 1889, Uncatalogued Papers, Box 1, MDA.

⁴⁷ Michael Fogarty recorded interview by Father James Murphy, Parish Priest of Barndarrig, Kilbride, 30 October 1993.

⁴⁸ Dunphy to Murray, 9 November 1905, Uncatalogued Letters of James Murray, MDA.

⁴⁹ Murray's obituary notice registered Barndarrig as his 'home parish'. *Maitland Mercury*, 12 July 1909.

⁵⁰ C. Roberts, 'James Quinn's Roman Background', *Australasian Catholic Record*, Vol. 37, No. 1, January 1960, pp 11-16.

⁵¹ C. Roberts, 'Bishop James Quinn: From Dublin to Brisbane', Appendix, *Australasian Catholic Record*, Vol. 37, No. 2, April 1960, pp. 116-122.

⁵² *Maitland Mercury*, 10 July 1909.

under the auspices of his uncle, Father John Doyle.⁵³ There is no evidence to suggest that his great-uncle Archbishop Daniel Murray, sponsored him. It is possible, however, that James went to Dublin when he was about nine, the age at which his great-uncle, Daniel had left home. For James it was a time which would have also coincided with his mother's death. In taking this step at that early age he was destined to become a son of the church. On the one hand he did those things required of a child intended for the church and for ecclesiastical preferment. On the other, as we shall see, his chosen path was not totally predictable.

At the age of fourteen James took the next step along the road to the priesthood and proceeded to Rome to live in Urban College and attend the University of Propaganda Fide.⁵⁴ It was obviously a step which James himself saw as significant because 31 years later he recalled the day he left Ireland for Rome, 6 June 1842.⁵⁵ One would have expected James to have followed in the footsteps of his Quinn cousins, James and Matthew, and to have attended the Irish College in Rome. Many Australian historians of the Catholic Church have assumed that he did, so closely has the Australian Church been connected to the college.⁵⁶ Murray, however, broke the pattern which these historians have retrospectively set that the Irish-Australian bishops had all followed the same academic path. It is unclear why he did so. There were certainly enhanced opportunities for those students who attended the international college of Propaganda Fide. The students of Propaganda were held in high esteem by the ecclesiastical

⁵³ Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁵⁴ The seminary, known as the *Collegium Urbanum*, from the name of its founder, Urban VIII, was established on 1 August 1627 and placed under the direction of the Congregation of Propaganda. The Congregation is that part of the pontifical administration charged with the spread of Catholicism and with the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs in non-Catholic countries. *Catholic Encyclopaedia, An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church*, 15 vols, New York, 1907, Vol. XII, pp. 456-457.

⁵⁵ Murray to Cullen, 13 June 1873, DDA.

⁵⁶ J. Molony, *The Roman Mould of the Australian Catholic Church*, Melbourne, 1969, pp. 33-34, Y. McLay, 'James Quinn, First Catholic Bishop of Brisbane', PhD., University of Queensland, 1974, p. 8, O'Farrell, *op. cit.*, p. 198, M. Purcell, 'The Original Sin: Submission as Survival, Women Religious in the Early Maitland Diocese', p. 212, in S. Willis, (ed.) *Women Faith and Fetes*, East Malvern, 1977, N. Byrne, *Robert Dunne 1830-1917: Archbishop of Brisbane*, Brisbane, 1991, p.12 and B. J. Sweeney, 'Matthew Quinn and the Development of Catholic Education 1865-1885', MA, University of Sydney, 1968, p. 7.

hierarchy of Rome and the label, 'ex-student', was used to the advantage of the candidate when appointments to higher offices were being considered.⁵⁷ Priests educated in an international college could develop relationships which might be mutually beneficial in the future.⁵⁸ The choice of Propaganda Fide for Murray instead of the Irish College is unexpected and further marks him out as different.

Murray's days and years at the Palace of Propaganda, were marked by study, examinations and various spiritual exercises. However, there were also holidays and celebrations. These surrounded the great feasts of the liturgical year, especially Easter and Christmas, and the special feasts of the College such as the Feast of Fidelis of Sigmaringen on 24 April. The fact that Fidelis had been under the authority of Propaganda Fide, accounts for his subsequent commemoration at the College.⁵⁹ The arrival of special guests such as the Primate of Armenia and the Coadjutor Vicar Apostolic of Calcutta, both ex-students of the College, called for special religious celebrations, a Pontifical High Mass followed by a dinner and a theatrical performance by the *piccoli* (minor seminarians).⁶⁰ A considerable amount of time was spent preparing for the 'Academy' and its performance. This event, a recitation in various languages performed in the college chapel, was a public display of talent to which various officials and their ladies were invited. The women were, of course, relegated to the chancel (the closed off section of the chapel) for the performance.⁶¹ Students were encouraged to play musical instruments and sing in choirs which not only performed in the college but in various churches throughout Rome.⁶² Holidays were marked by special treats such as the excursion to Tivoli on horseback for the senior students of the college who were due to leave in

⁵⁷ Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, Concerning the Election of Apostolic Administrator with Episcopal Status for the Diocese of Perth, 18 September 1865, APF, Rome.

⁵⁸ J. O'Connor, Seminary of St Charles Borromeo, Philadelphia, to Murray, 19 March 1866, Murray Papers, C 1.10, MDA.

⁵⁹ Fidelis, a German Capuchin missionary in Switzerland, was killed by the Calvinists on 24 April, 1622. *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. XII, p. 460.

⁶⁰ Diary of the Rector of Propaganda College, Rome, 6 January 1850, Rome, APF, Rome hereafter, Diary). Translated by Dr Paul Mulconry, Director of Religious Education, Catholic Education Office, Diocese of Maitland, March 1995.

⁶¹ Diary, 12-15 January 1850.

⁶² Diary, 10 October 1850.

the following year.⁶³ Murray, who professed his *romanità*, relished the learning and culture which he imbibed in Rome.⁶⁴ In later life, when he visited Rome as bishop of Maitland, he described with great warmth the joy of being in the Eternal City.⁶⁵

During his ten years at Propaganda, until his ordination at the age of 24, James made his name as an able, successful and model student. The *Registro* at the Urban College only records the names of his parents, his date of birth, date of entrance to the college and the fact that he was to be ordained for the Dublin Diocese according to the Latin rite.⁶⁶ The only subsequent additions are the dates of his sub-diaconate and diaconate and his ordination in 1852. The college authorities marked out Murray as a leader by entrusting him with positions of responsibility. As an only child in his upbringing, and used to the company of adults, he obviously had matured more quickly than his peers. That he had made his way as a boy of fourteen in a foreign land must have helped him assume responsibility for his own affairs. During his final year at Propaganda he was made *bidello*, the janitor or porter, of the first *camarata*.⁶⁷ His selection to deliver the solemn sermon or discourse for the feast of the Assumption on the 15 August 1850 also marked him out. While it was not an unusual duty for a senior ordinand, the day allotted to Murray was a significant feast of the Blessed Virgin and the occasion of the newly ordained James Keegan's first Mass.⁶⁸ By the time he was 23 the young Murray had distinguished himself. It was no doubt with some poise that he stood before the cardinals of Propaganda to present and dispute for his doctorate

⁶³ Diary, 7 October 1850.

⁶⁴ A term which meant love of things Roman and the hallmark of nineteenth-century Roman trained Irish clerics, Molony, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁶⁵ In 1866 after his consecration as Bishop of Maitland and before his departure to his diocese, he wrote to Dr Teade in Ireland saying how glad he was to be in Rome, that he had taken to his books and was spending time studying. Murray to Teade, Irish College Rome, 13 January 1866 and 28 February 1866, DDA.

⁶⁶ *Registro*, 1767-1846, VII, APF, Rome.

⁶⁷ A *camarata* was a small group of students within a given year arranged according to seniority. Each group had its own specific area for work and study within the college.

⁶⁸ Diary, 15 August 1850.

select questions of ecclesiastical history. The Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda honoured him with a gold medal.⁶⁹

Murray chose for his doctoral thesis questions surrounding the authority of the papacy. Given the political, social, and theological climate in which he was living, his choice is not surprising. He had witnessed at close hand the early years of Pius IX's pontificate and the political events which overtook the pontiff. By 1848 the papacy was under siege, the papal palace attacked and Pius himself forced to flee from Rome to Naples. Murray was in Rome in 1849 when the pope returned seventeen months and seventeen days after the political upheavals of the previous year. Entering the city through the Porta San Giovanni, Pius received an enthusiastic welcome from his people and from the students of Propaganda who were allowed to go to various places along the route to see him.⁷⁰ Soon afterwards the students gathered in the throne room of the Vatican palace to pay him homage.⁷¹ The pope told them of the dangers from which he had escaped during the time of war and of his concerns for the church. Encouraging them in their vocation he spoke of the hopes which the church placed in them. This emotional meeting with Pio Nono left a lasting impression on the young James.⁷²

Pius IX's loss of territorial authority and the last vestige of papal temporal authority outside the Vatican marked the end of a long process reaching back to the eleventh century. In 1075 the conflict of empire and papacy fought between Emperor Henry and Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII) over the investiture of bishops with their symbols of office had reached a climax. It resulted in a pyrrhic victory for the pope when Henry came barefoot through the snow to submit to him at Canossa. Having conceded

⁶⁹ *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 10 July 1909.

⁷⁰ Diary, 12 April 1850.

⁷¹ This involved a special ceremony in which the students prostrated themselves before the pope. As their names and country of origin were called they stood and went forward in twos to kiss the feet of the pope. Diary, 24 April 1850.

⁷² *Loc. cit.*

the principle of lay investiture, Hildebrand had, however, undermined papal temporal power and, ultimately, territorial authority.⁷³

In the nineteenth century and in the face of similar assaults, Pio Nono applied his considerable skills and great charm to strengthening the position of the papacy *vis`a vis* the bishops and the Catholic world in general. Pius had judged the world to be hostile to Christ and to His vicar, and subsequently distanced himself from the changing social and political circumstances of Europe.⁷⁴ In particular he believed that any involvement with liberalism, freemasonry and revolution of any kind would jeopardize his power within the church.⁷⁵ Moreover, the growing strength of the ultramontane movement in the later-nineteenth century reinforced Pius IX's position. The Ultramontanes supported the church's liberty and independence over and against interference by the state. They looked to Rome for guidance and power and saw in the pope, Christ's Vicar, the standard for certainty and clarity and ultimately the means for salvation.⁷⁶ Consequently they emphasised centralization in the church in matters of ecclesiastical government and doctrine. Their philosophy made loyalty to the papacy and to the authority of Rome tantamount to loyalty to Christ Himself.⁷⁷

Pius IX's assertion of papal power was not new. Throughout the church's history popes had laid claim to considerable power and authority and had operated out of a specific understanding of papal primacy and supremacy.⁷⁸ Papal primacy had been established from earliest times. The Bishop of Rome *vis`a vis* the other bishops of the church was the successor of Peter and was thus the final arbiter in questions especially of jurisdiction but also of doctrine. But what that meant in practice was

⁷³ For a discussion of the conflict between Henry and Hildebrand, see G. Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy*, London, 1968, pp. 82-89.

⁷⁴ Molony, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118,

⁷⁷ For a prime example of Ultramontane thinking, see the definition of the Ultramontane movement and its comments on Pius IX, in the nineteenth-century edition, *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 15, pp. 125 and 134.

⁷⁸ H. Daniel-Rops, *Cathedral and Crusade: Studies of the Medieval Church 1050-1350*, London 1957, pp. 183-186.

debatable. In particular, papal supremacy, the position of the papacy *vis`a vis`a* temporal rulers had been strongly contested. In effect the popes asserted that their power was superior to that of the temporal ruler in all matters which came under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This implied a type of territorial authority which was indeed resonant throughout every rank of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Popes also held to their right of ecclesiastical supremacy and claimed all powers of jurisdiction within the church to the detriment of the power of other bishops.⁷⁹

In the second half of the nineteenth century Pius IX's concern with centralization ensured that he became more clearly the focus of church authority. His pontificate epitomised the Ultramontane movement. In 1854 he took the extraordinary step of promulgating in his own right, without the support of a church council, the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.⁸⁰ Ten years later he produced the Syllabus of Errors which, as the title suggests, reiterated in negative terms, the power of the papacy and the rights of the church. In addition, it underlined the church's position *vis`a vis`a* other churches and religions: that outside its walls there is no salvation.⁸¹ Finally, in 1870 the Vatican Council ratified the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility which claims that when the pope speaks *ex cathedra*, he speaks through the divine assistance promised him by Peter and, therefore, infallibly.⁸² As witness to these earlier events, Murray, the young ordinand had been part of some of the most significant events in the history of the Catholic Church.

Murray's doctorate took up the cause of the papacy. Beginning with Peter and the early Church Fathers, he presented a broad sweep of ecclesiastical history up until the Middle Ages, concluding with the Reformation, the Tridentine Church and the papacy of Alexander VII. Throughout his defence Murray emphasized the centrality of papal authority and the significance of the ecclesiastical court of Rome as the

⁷⁹ The Bull, *Unam Sanctam*, 1302, in H. Bettenson, (ed.) *Documents of the Christian Church*, London, 1964, pp. 159-160.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 384.

highest court of appeal. In the introduction, Murray claims that it was in an 'era in which heretics of every ilk and men of no religion at all, [were] joining forces to wage war on the Chair of Peter'. Consequently, Murray attacked those earlier historians, particularly the German and French, who had openly opposed the idea of Roman primacy.⁸³ The young Irish ordinand had imbibed the spirit of the Roman Church and had partaken of spiritual nourishment from a pope disillusioned by the liberal forces working against him, a pope who believed in the unquestionable power of the papacy. Murray's experiences and his training reinforced within him the conviction that those who opposed the temporal or spiritual power of the papacy were automatically in opposition to Christ and His church. As bishop, Murray continued to wrestle with the division between temporal and spiritual power. As we shall see, his beliefs had implications regarding the place of the church and its territorial power within the colony of New South Wales.

In Murray's final year at Propaganda there were 122 students at the college, sixteen of whom were from Ireland. The remaining 106 students came from all parts of the world and represented various rites within the Catholic Communion. Eighteen canonical rites exist within the Catholic Church and although these rites differ in liturgy, ecclesiastical discipline and spiritual heritage each is of equal dignity within the church and subject to the pastoral government of the pope. The countries represented at Propaganda included Canada, Albania, Ethiopia, Constantinople, Spain and Portugal, the Americas, England and Scotland, Egypt and the Middle East, Burma, India, Corsica, Guinea, Poland, Batavia, Scandinavia, Germany, China, Ceylon, Switzerland and Italy.⁸⁴ Consequently, students at the college experienced not only the predominant Latin Rite but the many Oriental or Eastern Rites as well.⁸⁵ Murray enjoyed the great

⁸³ W. G. McMinn, 'Bishop Murray and the Pattern of Australian Catholicism', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 6, Nos 1-4, 1970-1, pp. 348-356.

⁸⁴ Urban College, Catalogue of Alumni 1852, Urban College Rome, APF, Rome.

⁸⁵ Diary, 6 January 1850, APF, Rome. Two rites are derived from the Patriarchate of Alexandria, three from Antioch, nine from the Byzantine Church and two from the East Syrian Church. The Armenian and Latin Rites have no derived rites. The status of each rite has been preserved from the pontificate of Innocent III and popes from that time have insisted on the preservation of each rite. M. M. Wojnar, 'Canonical Rites', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 12, Sydney, 1966, pp. 514-518.

diversity and richness of liturgical ceremony. However, any enjoyment was focused in his own practice of liturgy, and it did not allow for any diversity or flexibility.⁸⁶

It was in Rome that Murray forged his most crucial and enduring friendships. Among friends at Propaganda were Michael and Thomas Doyle who, like Murray, were to be ordained for the Dublin Diocese. Murray remained a close friend of Michael Doyle who travelled with him when he came to Maitland in 1866.⁸⁷ Murray's closest friends and contacts seem to have been at the Irish College, in particular, Patrick Francis Moran who had arrived in Rome the same year as James.⁸⁸ Murray's Quinn cousins, James, ordained in Rome in 1846, and Matthew in 1845, had arrived in Rome in 1836 and 1838 respectively, both at the age of seventeen.⁸⁹ Both stayed in the Eternal City for another two years after ordination. Although the cousins were nine and seven years older than James they became close friends and subsequently a powerful influence as a group within the Australian hierarchy. Closer in age to Murray was fifteen-year-old Robert Dunne who had come from Lismore (Ireland) in 1845. Eventually Dunne became parish priest of Toowoomba and the second bishop of Brisbane, successor to James Quinn.⁹⁰ Timothy O'Mahony, another contemporary, later the first bishop of Armidale, was ordained in 1850.⁹¹ Although these men lived at the Irish College there was contact with the students at Propaganda especially through attendance at the University and gatherings for theatrical and musical evenings.⁹²

Perhaps the single most important influential figure for Murray during those formative years in Rome was Paul Cullen. Born in Co.

⁸⁶ Murray to Teade, 13 January 1866, Rome, DDA.

⁸⁷ R. A. Daly, 'Bishop Murray Settles into Maitland, 1867', *Australasian Catholic Record*, Vol. 37, 1960, pp. 189-201, p.190.

⁸⁸ Roberts, 'James Quinn's Roman Background', pp. 11-16.

⁸⁹ Matthew Quinn had gone to Propaganda but had become ill and transferred to the Irish College. Byrne, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 73 and 131.

⁹¹ Molony, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁹² Students of the Greek, Scots and Irish Colleges attended a theatrical performance at Propaganda by the comic-acrobatic troupe called the Zampini Company, *Diary*, 6 February 1850, APF, Rome.

Kildare in 1803, Cullen entered the College of Propaganda in 1820 after studies at Carlow College. During his senior years he lectured in Scripture and Philosophy and immediately after his ordination in 1830 was appointed professor of Greek and Oriental languages. Two years later he became Rector of the Irish College and in February 1849 Rector of the College of Propaganda.⁹³ His appointment to Propaganda came at a time when the Italian revolutionary triumvirate had ordered the confiscation of the college. Cullen, politically astute, gained the protection of the United States ambassador with the result that the mandate of the triumvirate was revoked.⁹⁴ In December 1849 Pius IX appointed Cullen Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland. Cullen's task in Ireland was to bring unity to the episcopate and ultimately to bring it into line with Rome.⁹⁵ Cullen, whose thirty years' residence in Rome had made him almost Italian, returned reluctantly to Ireland. With a brilliant intellect and steeped in the traditions of the Vatican, he was a strong advocate of the Ultramontanes and a close associate of Pius IX.⁹⁶ This was the man who trained James Murray and other early bishops of Australia.

Murray returned to the diocese of Dublin as a young priest in 1852 and was appointed to the teaching Seminary of St Laurence O'Toole at Harcourt Street and Arran Quay. His maternal uncle, Monsignor John Doyle, had left a large legacy for the promotion of Catholic education and in response to this bequest, James Quinn, also Doyle's nephew, had founded the Harcourt Street School in 1850 and became its first rector.⁹⁷ St Laurence's offered a broad classical education to the sons of the Catholic élite of Dublin. College fees precluded poor Catholics from attending. The success of the college, gauged by its ability to introduce Catholics into the mainstream professions of Irish society, depended on its teachers. Consequently, James Quinn gathered around him well-educated men who were usually socially well connected. The teaching staff was impressive

⁹³ P. Mac Suibhne, *Paul Cullen and His Contemporaries with their Letters from 1820-1902*, Kildare, 1962, 2 vols, Vol. 1, pp. 1-13.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁹⁵ Molony, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁹⁶ Mac Suibhne, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-13.

⁹⁷ C. Roberts, 'Bishop James Quinn: From Dublin to Brisbane', *Australasian Catholic Record*, 1960, Vol. 37, pp.116-122, p.117,

and included both the Quinns, James and Matthew, their cousins, James Murray and James Doyle, the brothers David and Robert Dunne,⁹⁸ and John Forrest who later became the Rector of St John's College in the University of Sydney.⁹⁹ Murray remained on the teaching staff of the St Laurence O'Toole Seminary until the end of 1859.¹⁰⁰ This seminary gave Murray practical experience as a teacher and perhaps inspired him with his abiding interest in education. St Laurence's with its specific aims and organization, also provided Murray with a model for his Sacred Heart College at Maitland.

In 1855, while still on the staff, Murray followed the sure path of preferment within the church when he was appointed secretary to Archbishop Cullen.¹⁰¹ Cullen had succeeded Murray's great-uncle, Daniel Murray, as Archbishop of Dublin in 1852.¹⁰² James Murray remained Cullen's secretary until 1865 when he was consecrated Bishop of Maitland, the same year as Cullen became Ireland's first cardinal.¹⁰³ It was a significant juxtaposition of events as the Church of Rome and Paul Cullen in Ireland were pivotal to Murray's life. Cullen moulded and shaped the Irish Church by means of discipline, religious devotions and education and as his secretary Murray watched the process closely. Discipline was imposed upon bishops, priests and people alike. Cullen insisted that bishops refer to Rome whenever issues arose beyond their competency. Masses were not to be celebrated after 12 o'clock; all sacraments were to be administered within the churches and registers of baptisms and marriages were to be carefully kept. In order to counter the proselytizing attempts of Protestants, mixed marriages were to be avoided, missions preached in every church, sodalities established among the faithful and Catholic books circularized.¹⁰⁴ Cullen also revived Roman Catholic devotions and piety.¹⁰⁵ One of his first initiatives was to introduce the Forty Hours'

⁹⁸ Byrne, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁰ *Catholic Directory of Ireland*, 1852-1866.

¹⁰¹ *Catholic Directory of Ireland*, 1855.

¹⁰² P. Corish, *The Irish Catholic Experience: A Historical Survey*, Dublin, 1985, p.168.

¹⁰³ Mac Suibhne, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 35.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁵ E. Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 77, No. 3, 1972, pp. 625-652. Corish disputes Larkin's claim,

Devotion and the Ceremonies of Holy Week into his diocese. When he began the latter in 1851 the people were delighted and obviously receptive to such innovations. However, Cullen himself, with his fond memories of Rome, 'found the singing horrible and everything else miserable'.¹⁰⁶ His reforming tasks were pervasive and fundamental not only in relation to the Irish Church but for the Australian Church as well.

The Archbishop energetically opposed state interference in ecclesiastical affairs, a policy which caused some tension within the Irish hierarchy. Cullen epitomized the Ultramontane movement and was intolerant of Gallican attitudes including compromise with local secular authorities. Many Irish bishops, including Cullen's predecessor, Daniel Murray, while loyal to Rome, had also wished to preserve the independence of their local church from undue interference from Roman authorities.¹⁰⁷ Cullen's determination to establish a separate system of education in Ireland led to disputes between himself and those bishops who could see the value of the state-run National System¹⁰⁸ which was already operating successfully in dioceses throughout Ireland.¹⁰⁹ Cullen also sought to establish a separate system of education at university level. Such an institution would 'check the growth of error and be a firm bulwark' in the cause of religion and the doctrines of the Catholic Church.¹¹⁰ Having worked as Paul Cullen's secretary for almost twelve years, Murray had learnt a great deal.

maintaining that the devotional revolution attributed to Cullen would have occurred if Cullen had never been Archbishop of Armagh (1849) or of Dublin (1852). He points out that this revival would have taken hold in Ireland through the agency of parish clergy and the revived religious orders just as it was occurring in the wider Catholic world. Corish *op. cit.*, pp. 194 and 232.

¹⁰⁶ I. Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe, 1800-1850*, Blackrock, 1992, p. 371 and Corish, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

¹⁰⁷ Valade, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ The system was established in 1831 and was intended to be non-denominational. Religious instruction for each denomination was to take place one day a week. By 1849 the schools had become denominational in terms of management, personnel and pupils. D. H. Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment, The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1970, pp. 13, 157, 160, 214.

¹⁰⁹ Murphy, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 and 186.

¹¹⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 25 May 1866, Dublin, quoted by the *Maitland Mercury*, 4 August 1866.

In 1865 Murray stood on the threshold of his episcopal career. He had followed the sure path which would lead to the prize of the bishop's mitre and crozier. As a son of the church he had grown to manhood within its securities and certainties, and on the surface his episcopacy seemed an almost pre-ordained outcome. Reared almost as an only child he was cherished and loved. As a young boy going to school in Dublin, destined for the church, all seems to have been as it should have been. His going to Propaganda Fide, however, broke the expected pattern. When the offer of a mitre came, no-one could have predicted what indeed happened although retrospectively we can see some signs of an independent, self-sufficient man of the church who risked all in his initial response.

Murray's first offer was not Maitland, although originally he had been nominated for that See.¹¹¹ It is not clear whether or not he was aware of the nomination but in late May 1865 Pope Pius IX confirmed his appointment to the Diocese of Perth in Western Australia. Before the apostolic briefs were ready, however, Murray took the astonishing step of advising the Cardinal Prefect of his 'insuperable repugnance' against accepting the administration of Perth. Writing to the Cardinal Prefect he explained,

I cannot in anyway think of undertaking so difficult a mission and again I ask your Eminence to relieve me of such a heavy burden. I cannot express to your Eminence my feelings in regard to this plan and I am most unhappy and very tormented and I will never have a moment of peace until I receive a letter that releases me from this office.¹¹²

Given that this was a man who spent his subsequent episcopacy shaping and moulding a diocese characterized by uniformity and conformity, a man who insisted on absolute obedience from clergy, religious and laity, Murray's response to the Perth appointment is wholly surprising.

¹¹¹ For a comprehensive discussion of these moves, see C. P. Dowd, 'Papal Policy Towards Conflict in the Australian Catholic Missions: The Relationship Between John Bede Polding, OSB, Archbishop of Sydney, and the Sacred Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, 1842-1874', PhD., ANU, 1994, pp. 242-246.

¹¹² Murray to Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, 23 July 1865, translated from the Italian by Kathryn McCabe, RSJ, SCPFA.

Two months later, in July 1865, Murray again wrote to Propaganda giving reasons for refusing the episcopacy of Perth.¹¹³ Initially his argument centred on personal considerations. He insisted that he never had a vocation for the foreign missions. During his residence at Propaganda several bishops had approached him with invitations to accompany them to their dioceses in India and America. However, he believed that his 'disposition' and character were such that he 'was never called by God to a foreign mission' and he had refused their invitations. In the weeks following his selection for Perth he had consulted clergy whom he respected for their zeal and learning, men who knew him intimately, and they had all agreed, so he said, that his 'disposition' precluded him from taking the office. These priests had also pointed out to him that the 'extreme heat of the country would render him incapable of carrying out the obligation of the Episcopacy' and that he would have to return home 'without doing any good'.¹¹⁴ Although Murray was an ex-student of a missionary institution, Propaganda Fide, he did not, at that stage, see himself personally suited for the challenge to 'Go teach all nations'. We can glimpse here his sense of his own sophistication and his belief that his future lay elsewhere but somewhere at the heart of the church.

Later in July, Murray wrote again to the Cardinal Prefect outlining a further reason for not accepting Perth. While his previous letter had already expressed his concern about the number of Benedictines in Western Australia, his next letter underlines that concern in very definite ways. According to Murray, 'the Benedictine Fathers will have everything their own way' so that he, 'without any help, without means and without a number of priests', would be helpless. Here Murray identified the crux

¹¹³ In effect Murray was to be coadjutor with the right of succession to Bishop Brady of Perth. Documents concerning the Election of An Apostolic Administrator with Episcopal status for the Diocese of Perth, 18 September 1865, paragraph 11, SCPFA.

¹¹⁴ Murray to Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, 2 July 1865, SCPFA.

of the problem and probably the main reason for his aversion to the appointment. He would have little or no authority in Perth.¹¹⁵

There were good reasons for Murray's anxiety regarding the Perth Mission apart from his own personal misgivings, 'disposition' and fear of failure. The Spanish Benedictines had established two communities in Western Australia, one at Subiaco, near Perth, and the other at New Norcia, some distance to the north. Great rivalry existed between the two houses and between the two superiors, Monsignor Serra, Bishop of Port Victoria, and Monsignor Salvado, head of the house at New Norcia. These two men held strongly contrasting views on the practice of the Benedictine rule and on the management of finances.¹¹⁶ Murray was very wary of the Benedictines and had little time for Archbishop John Bede Polding of Sydney and the other Sydney Benedictines. As a student at Propaganda, Murray had taken an oath never to join a religious order, a practice required of secular clergy of the time.¹¹⁷ While Murray was not opposed to religious orders, the Benedictine conflicts in Western Australia and the situation in Sydney vindicated his commitment to the secular clerical state. Cullen, for his part, added weight to Murray's argument, claiming that Catholics in Perth were few in number and becoming fewer and that the inhabitants included English convicts of the 'worst breed and without religion'. He also claimed that the Diocese of Perth had been the scene of heated debate among clergy, the people and the government. According to Cullen, Perth was no place to put a young and inexperienced bishop.¹¹⁸ By the end of July Murray was ready to reach a compromise. Paul Cullen, again acting on Murray's behalf, wrote to the Cardinal Prefect advising him that provided Murray was free of every connection with Perth he would be ready to go to some other part of Australia. He would indeed be an excellent bishop.¹¹⁹ Thus Murray was prepared to accept the See of Maitland when it was offered to him.

¹¹⁵ Murray to Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, 23 July 1865, SCPFA.

¹¹⁶ Serra, Subiaco, to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, 24 April 1858 and Salvado, New Norcia, to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, 25 September 1858, SCPFA.

¹¹⁷ Oath in Murray's handwriting, 2 July 1851, APF, Rome.

¹¹⁸ Paul Cullen to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, 21 July 1865, SCPFA.

¹¹⁹ Paul Cullen to Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, 8 August 1865, SCPFA.

These circumstances relating to Murray's appointment throw a distinctive light upon Murray himself and Cullen, his mentor. The subsequent and widely held view of Murray's refusal of Perth is more favourable to him than the picture I have given here, and is consistent with a particular view of the Catholic Church in Australia in relation to Ireland. Murray's contemporary, friend and colleague, Patrick Francis Moran, claims that Murray refused Perth because 'his constitution was quite unequal to the climate of the colony'.¹²⁰ Patrick O'Farrell and John Molony do not mention the incident but concentrate on the standard view that Murray's appointment to Maitland was simply another move on Cullen's chessboard of Australian sees.¹²¹ The belief that Cullen strategically placed his bishops as part of a grandly conceived scheme for the Australian Church remains strong. Other historians support the view of a Cullenite Australian Church at least to the extent that Cullen exerted a great deal of influence on the Irish bishops who came to Australia and that he used his position and knowledge of the Roman hierarchy to influence appointments in the Australian colonies.¹²²

However, Murray's refusal of Perth suggests that Cullen was not the only one making the moves, that Murray himself had read the situation and was not going to be party to the Benedictine disputes and controversies of Western Australia. Murray, it seems, was a much more complex character than the traditional view has allowed. He was not as single-mindedly ambitious and compliant as he might first appear. And it seems that he was prepared to jeopardize his prospects for a bishopric (or else was remarkably sure of his ability to get one more agreeable to him). Other men had refused appointments and had not been given a second chance. John Crookall, for example, had been offered the See of Armidale in 1866. Crookall, an Englishman and a few years Murray's senior had studied at the English College in Rome. After his ordination in 1848 he

¹²⁰ P. F. Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*, Sydney, n.d., p. 336.

¹²¹ O'Farrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 198 and 33-34.

¹²² McLay, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 36, M. Potts, "'We Never Sink': Matthew Quinn as Bishop of Bathurst 1865-1885", BA (hons) University of Sydney, 1971, pp. 3-4 and Dowd, *op. cit.*, pp. 219 and 245.

worked at St Edmund's College, London, and later at St Mary's College, Woolhampton. When offered the See of Armidale in 1866 he refused to go. In 1870 Crookall's fellow priests nominated him for the See of Southwark and although he had headed the list of nominations, Rome appointed another man. Crookall's name appeared again at the top of a list of nominations for the See of Southhampton in 1882 but Rome again passed him over.¹²³ Obviously Crookall did not have a Paul Cullen to act on his behalf. Murray's refusal of Perth points to a determination, strong mindedness and a general carefulness all of which make him different from his contemporaries, particularly his cousins, James and Matthew Quinn.

Having accepted the See of Maitland, Murray's first thought was to 'hasten to Rome ... to secure for [himself] and faithful people the blessing of the Supreme Pontiff'.¹²⁴ While in Rome he had the joy of singing the Christmas Midnight Mass in the Chapel of his Alma Mater.¹²⁵ This delightful baroque Chapel, which serves as the spiritual heart of the Urban College, was designed by Borromini in 1647.¹²⁶ It is a small building, an octagonal with rounded corners flanked by pilasters, so that pairs of ribs are projected across the vault. Large oval windows in the vault and simple rectangular windows at a lower level allow light to filter through the chapel.¹²⁷ The frescos on walls and ceiling highlight significant events in the life of Christ, reflecting Renaissance spirituality. Close to the main altar is an interpretation of the adoration of the Magi from which the chapel, *Re Magi*, takes its name.¹²⁸ On the left of the altar is a depiction of the crucifixion with a number of saints surrounding it and to the right a painting of the Madonna and Child also surrounded by saints who stand or kneel in adoration. At the back of the Chapel, the missionary theme is made explicit with a depiction of the call of the apostles, Peter and

¹²³ For further details, see J. Farrell, 'Genesis of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Armidale', *Journal of the Armidale and District Historical Society*, No 38, April 1995, pp. 17-31, p. 26.

¹²⁴ *Loc. cit.*

¹²⁵ Murray to Cullen, 15 December 1865, DDA.

¹²⁶ A. Blunt, *Borromini*, London, 1979, p. 183.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-187 and personal observation.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Andrew, and the conversion of the great missionary, Paul, on the road to Damascus. High above the main altar and serving as the Gospel imperative for this missionary college is a painting of the Ascension with the words, 'Go teach all nations'.¹²⁹ The occasion and the setting must have done much to strengthen Murray's resolve regarding his appointment to Maitland. After all, he had the weight and might of Rome behind him.

Murray also had the experiences of Ireland. As Cullen's secretary he had been closely associated with the clergy of the Dublin Diocese and in his frequent dealings with these men he had been valued as a man of tact and discretion. The local clergy expressed their esteem and affection for him when he left Dublin for Maitland in May 1866. On that occasion they presented him with a 'gold chalice and a well filled purse'. Although Murray had not been a parish priest his brother priests acknowledged his devotion to 'the interests of the poor in the city and his action on their behalf during his leisure hours' a part of his character which was to be not much in evidence during his life as a bishop.¹³⁰ Most importantly, however, Murray had been closely associated with the devotional changes wrought by Cullen in the Irish Church and had witnessed at first hand Cullen's approach to change. It was noted at his farewell that he

had been in constant communication with the learned and the wise ... he was neither inexperienced in the ways of ecclesiastical rule nor unacquainted with its responsibilities ... he knew what it was to be zealous in season and out of season for the honour of the Church of Christ and the integrity of the Faith.

In Murray's response to the address, he commented upon the many advantages that had been his as secretary to 'one of the most illustrious prelates of the Church of God'. He believed that he would do well to emulate Cullen, claiming that 'much could be achieved for the glory of God by a united clergy and people'. He highlighted, too, other aspects of

¹²⁹ Description from photographs of *Re Magi Chapel, Collegio Di Propaganda Fide*, Rome, March 1994.

¹³⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 25 May 1866, Dublin, quoted by the *Maitland Mercury*, 4 August 1866, .

Cullen's episcopacy, stressing especially 'the value of education and training given in Catholic schools conducted by our nuns'.¹³¹ Murray had acquired a blueprint for the moulding of his diocese.

The man who finally agreed to undertake the episcopacy of Maitland had an impressive ecclesiastical pedigree. He was also distinctly genteel, well educated, articulate and politically astute. Irish and Roman, he was fiercely loyal to the church, to the papacy and to his archbishop, and he regarded each with warm affection. Allied with these qualities was the great weapon of personal charm. The defence of his doctorate in Rome and his twelve years as Cullen's secretary provided opportunities for him to hone his skills and gifts. James Murray arrived in the Maitland Diocese in November 1866. The changing events and personalities of the church both in Rome and Ireland had shaped and moulded him in their image. In the colony of New South Wales, however, other factors began to play their part. Not least of these were the Catholics of Maitland themselves. Murray had come with a blueprint for the making of a diocese, but the priests, the faithful and the religious women each had a role to play in the shaping of this particular Catholic community.

¹³¹ *Loc. cit.*

St John the Baptist Cathedral, West Maitland



(v) Built by Dean Lynch in 1846, Murray claimed this Church as his Cathedral in November 1866