"FROM THE SACRED HEART TO THE HEART OF THE SACRED":

The Spiritual Journey of Australian Catholics Since the Second Vatican Council

Submitted by

Rev. Fr. Paul William Dillon Cashen M.S.C., B.R.S., M.M.R.Sc.

A thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

School of Theology, New South Wales

Faculty of Arts

Australian Catholic University

Research Services

Locked Bag 4115,

Fitzroy, Victoria 3065

Australia

Submitted 4th June, 2005

AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERITY

Candidate's Certificate

I certify that the thesis entitled

"From the Sacred Heart to the Heart of the Sacred":

The Spiritual Journey of Australian Catholics since the Second Vatican Council.

Submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

is the result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this thesis whole or in part has not been presented for the awarding of a higher degree at this or any other tertiary educational institution.

Full Name: Paul William Dillon Cashen

Signed: ……..

Date: ……

Acknowledgements

The source of this research has been and continues to be the commitment that Catholics have made to search for God in the Australian context and environment. Over many years of living and ministering with many people in differing localities across the country I became aware of their search to give expression to God's presence amidst the changes and the challenges that had come into their lives. This response revealed the spirit of the Second Vatican Council in a way that its documents could only suggest. As such this was a conclusion before I began the research. Therefore, this thesis is dedicated to the many who inspired and encouraged my life as a priest and gave expression to the spiritual journey that we undertake together in this land.

There have been two principle sources of support that I have drawn on: my family of origin from the eldest to the youngest and my religious family in the community and beyond. Both have sustained and encouraged me not only to stick to the task through the research and writing, but provided me with the opportunity. Others who have been directly involved in guiding the work as it unfolded were my supervisors, initially Rev. Dr. Frank Maloney SBD, then as principle supervisor Dr. Gideon Goosen, who was assisted at crucial times by Rev. Dr. Tony Kelly CSSR. Gideon's patience and persistence was the key to producing plausible argument from rambling thoughts and thousands of words. Many others assisted me in the onerous task of checking and again checking the text as it developed and then in its final form; John, Philip, Helen, John and Betty. Thus, the thesis involved many people and I will always be grateful for their generosity and support.

Finally, to those who read the thesis, especially those who seek to develop further its arguments I offer my encouragement to pursue the issues it raises. The hope for the Church is the continued examination and reflection on its life and ministry as in this it will be faithful to the renewal of the Council and Christ's mission in and for our world.

ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to investigate and to propose a solution to the pastoral dilemma that faced the Catholic Church in Australia the 1990's. The pastoral dilemma contrasted two opposing pastoral responses to the significant changes in Catholic life since the Second Vatican Council. One response reacted to the changes by interpreting them as "crises of faith". This response determined that the decline in mass attendance, the fewer vocations to the priesthood and religious life and the disregard of the teaching authority of the Church was the result of a loss of faith. Consequently, it prescribed a return to previous values and behaviour. The other response was more difficult to determine and has been the principle work of this thesis.

The second pastoral response was identified in the search for the sacred in the daily lives of the people. This search linked the changes in Catholic life to the ongoing journey of faith that has taken place. A pastoral response based on this understanding of the changes in Catholic life was seen to provide an opportunity for "all who invoked the name of Christ" to enter a deeper relationship with him and each other. This response embraced the spirit of renewal proposed by the Council.

A review of religious literature published in Australia since the Council was conducted to provide an overview of the journey of Catholic life. It identified four categories of literature that displayed the most interest in the changes. Whilst the review had a particular focus on Catholics, it included other traditions. Of the four categories initially sociology of religion which attracted most interest, followed later by theological reflections and interpretations, and ultimately an interest in spirituality, or the "spirituality revolution". The historical and biographical studies reviewed recounted the changes in Church life and remained at a lesser, but constant expression of interest.

An examination of the research of sociology of religion in Australia established that the changes in religious belief and practice were influenced by environmental factors and, for Catholics, the reforms of the Second Vatican Council. The methods of sociology identified the significant areas of change, but their limited explanations of the changes did little to assist church authorities to resolve the tensions and difficulties. The limitations of statistical information about religion contributed to the pastoral dilemma.

The findings of sociology increased interest in theological reflection about the influence of the changing context of society on Catholic life. These reflections endeavoured to explain the reforms of the Council, the relationship to the changes to the reforms and led to "contextual" theology which was embraced by the "Discovery of an Australian Theology". Spirituality by the 1990s had become a popular response that purported to take the place of "organised religion" in the community. The interest in spirituality also became the key factor in the Catholic search for deeper values, and inspired a renewed sense of the spiritual in ordinary everyday life.

The popular interest in spirituality was located in the tradition of Christian spirituality, and the thesis concluded that this tradition embraced the personal experience of God, as expressed in the lives of Catholics in Australia. Such personal experiences were identified and discerned to benefit of the individual and through dialogue transformed the community. The transformation, thus begun, continued in further dialogue, engaged the community, and inspired others beyond the community of the Church to believe. Therefore, the personal experience of the spiritual was authenticated by its place in the developing tradition of the Church.

The Council called for individuals and communities in the Church to identify the "signs of the times" as the opportunities for renewal, and personal renewal was closely linked to communal renewal. The "search for a soul" expressed an Australian "sign of the times". The search

provided the opportunity for many people to embark on a journey that led to personal and communal renewal or transformation.

Consequently, pastoral responses to renewal based on rule and regulation, or expectations of the past, lacked the personal spiritual dimension. Thus, the title of the thesis figuratively describes the spiritual journey of Catholics from a devotional religious experience to one that seeks to find the sacred in the core values and experiences of life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART TW0

Spirituality And Catholic Renewal

APPENDICIES

Appendix One: Tables

Appendix Two: Charts

Appendix Three:

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

Organisations

AASR	*The Australian Association for the Study of Religions*
ACBC	*The Australian Catholic Bishops Conference*
ACSJC	*The Australian Catholic Social Justice Commission*
ACU	*Australian Catholic University, St. Mary's Campus*
CRA	*Christian Research Association*
NCRC	*National Catholic Research Council*
CCLS	*Catholic Church Life Survey*
NCLS	*National Church Life Survey*
SHM	*Sacred Heart Monastery, Kensington*

Journals

AAS	*Acta Apostolica Sedes*
ACR	*Australasian Catholic Record*
Arena	*Arena*
CathInt	*Catholic International*
Concilium	*Concilium*
Compass	*Compass: A Review of Topical Theology*
ET	*Ecumenical Trends*
HJ	*Heythrop Journal*
LS	*Louvain Studies*
Mix	*The Mix: Journal of Catalyst for Renewal*
NO	*National Outlook*
NY	*Nelen Yubu*
Pacifica	*Pacifica*
Pope Speaks	*The Pope Speaks: The American Quarterly of Papal Documents*
Pointers	*Pointers: Bulletin of the Christian Research Association*
Quadrant	*Quadrant*
Tablet	*The Tablet*
Thst	*Theological Studies*
Way	*The Way Supplement*

Second Vatican Council Documents

AA	*Apostolicam Actuositatem: Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity.*
DV	*Dei Verbum: Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation..*
GS	*Gaudem et Spes: The Constitution of the Second Vatican Council on the Church in the Modern World.*
LG	*Lumen Gentium: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church.*
OT	*Optatam Totius: Decree on Priestly Training.*
PC	*Perfectae Caritatis: Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life.*
UR	*Unitatis Redintegratio: Decree on Ecumenism.*

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This research focuses on the spiritual journey of Catholics in Australia since the Second Vatican Council.[1] The research was initiated by a 1996 comparison of the Sunday mass count with the national census figures for the Catholic population from data gathered over the preceding forty years.[2] The diverging lines of the graph brought into question the effectiveness of the pastoral renewals that had been implemented by the reforms of the Council. The increased gap between the number of Catholics in the population and the mass attendance figures identified the pastoral challenge that faced the Church in Australia.[3] This challenge in the life of the Church was the same as the Council described:

> Hence this Second Vatican Council, having probed more profoundly into the mystery of the Church, now addresses itself without hesitation, not only to the sons of the Church and to all who invoke the name of Christ, but to the whole of humanity. For the Council yearns to explain to everyone how it conceives of the presence and activity of the Church in the world today. [4]

The Council called all members of the Church to participate in its the mission and ministry. All were charged to bring the mystery of God's presence to the modern world. The graph indicated that the "activity of the Church" had not been successful in involving "all who invoke the name of Christ". The decline in mass attendance alone presented a pastoral challenge to examine the "activity of the Church" over these years. To address this and other significant concerns in the life of the Church, all members were required to deepen their commitment to the "mystery of the Church". Numerous Roman documents have advised and directed the task of renewal and have brought significant changes to religious practices and attitudes. However, as the statistics clearly show, these attempts have done little to assist people to take the step of relating their daily experiences to "presence and activities of the Church in the world today". This research

[1] In each Chapter "Council" will refer to the Second Vatican Council after initially referring to it in full

[2] Appendix Two, Graph One: "A Comparison of Total Catholics/Mass Attendance".

[3] The Catholic Church is the Roman Catholic Church, and will be designated as the Church in this study, unless stated otherwise.

[4] *GS.* #2.

focuses on the pastoral consequences of this failure and, from a study of the principles that underlay the Council's understanding of renewal, proposes a resolution of the pastoral dilemma facing the Church today.

The thesis has two parts. PART ONE identifies and describes the changes that have taken place in Australian Catholic life since the Council. It begins with a literature review of books and articles that express an interest in the changing practice of religion in Australia. This review categorises the interest generated by identifying various disciplines and methodologies used to examine the changes that have taken place principally among Catholics. For example, immediately after the Council, in the 1960s and 1970s, the review reveals that the dominant interest in the changes was in the field of sociology of religion. Sociology used census data, opinion polls and specialised surveys to study the changing patterns of religious behaviour across the society. It placed these changes in a wide context that showed the denominational, multicultural and multi-faith influence on religious beliefs and practices. On a more specific level, the initial investigations in the 1960s revealed that the members of the Anglican and Protestant mainstream churches had changed their attitudes to religious belief and practice more radically than did their Catholic counterparts.

The work of the sociologists highlighted the changes in religious living and this attracted the interest of theologians and church organizations to address the reasons for the changes. Catholic writing in particular focused on the influence of the Australian context. These reflections developed into a 'search for an Australian spirituality' as individuals and groups sought to express the experience of God, or the sense of the sacred, or expression of mystery in everyday life. The 'search' was evident in the work of Tony Kelly and Peter Malone in the 1980s. They identified the importance of promoting a response to the confusion arising from the changes that engaged the everyday experiences of Catholics with the teachings and traditions of the Church. By the late 1990s the 'search' broadened to embrace the aspirations of many

Australians and was expressed as the "spirituality revolution".[5] This phrase particularly expressed the desires of young people as they searched for meaning and in the mystery and confusion of life. Their search led them to an understanding of the spiritual that better expressed their concerns than the explanations and traditions of 'organised religion'. They perceived that the Christian Churches were not relevant to their quest. 'Spirituality' became a common term that expressed the interest in the experience of mystery and engaged in activities that brought experiences considered beyond and different to those contained in traditional religious practices. At the same time, however, the Christian tradition of spirituality was being revived and its principles of discernment and dialogue became available to engage "all who invoke the name of Christ" with a renewed interest in spirituality.

PART TWO studies the revival of the Christian tradition of spirituality and then relates its findings to the emerging expressions of 'spirituality' in society today. The earliest Christian communities developed spiritual disciplines that would authenticate the relationship between personal experiences of God and social or communal expressions of belief and practice. These disciplines established the connection between personal experiences of mystery and the communal dimension gave expression to the Christian religious traditions. The principles of Christian spirituality turned personal and communal struggles or disagreements into ongoing experiences of God that celebrated and brought life to the community. The many traditions of Catholic life have originated in this way and have given expression to a journey of faith as circumstances and situations changed. This is also the starting point for understanding the challenge of the "Church in the modern world".[6] The challenge is to identify the spiritual experience on which to base a formal or pastoral response that will engage "all who invoke the name of Christ". The Council document *Dei Verbum* described the continuing revelation of God as the spiritual activity in the lives of the people. This spiritual activity was the source of God's

[5] David Tacey, *The Spirituality Revolution: The Emergence Of Contemporary Spirituality*, (Pymble: HaperCollins, 2003).

[6] *GS.* #3.

renewed presence in the life of the Church, as when identified the spiritual activity became the basis for pastoral renewals in the lives of the people.[7] Hence, the spirituality of the personal experience of God discerned in the Christian tradition enables the pastoral dilemma, encountered in the life of the Church today, to be resolved and the community to become more united.

The Christian tradition of spirituality applied to the situation in Australia examines the "search for a soul", which has expressed the general spiritual movement in society. This movement originates in the distinct and, at times, unique experiences of mystery that have been encountered in everyday life in Australia. These experiences of mystery are the impetus for Catholics to dialogue with the traditions and teaching of the Church. This dialogue would engage the difficulties that many Catholics encounter, both their own lives and in their response to the pastoral guidance and direction of the Church. The graph referred to above indicates the extent of the difficulties that face present efforts at dialogue.

The purpose of the research is to examine the reasons for the difficulties that have given rise to the pastoral dilemma of the Church in Australia. The study of spirituality in the Christian tradition provides the context in which to do this and also a way forward for pastoral renewal. However, there are limitations in this research that should be noted. In the first instance this is an investigation into the life and experiences of Catholics in Australia. Its focus is the Australian Church and therefore recognises, but does not consider in detail, the experiences of other churches or religions. Also, it involves brief comparisons with the universal Church, more to give emphasis to the Australian situation rather than to offer explanations.

In the second instance, the research involves the work of a number of disciplines in particular sociology of religion, contextual theology and Christian spirituality. Each discipline brings its

[7] *VD.* #2.

own methodology to bear on the changing pastoral situation and the comparative studies that emerges in this thesis assist an understanding of the overall situation of religion in Australia. However, the emphasis is on the pastoral dimension of the comparisons and often other studies are referred to that suggest further reflection and development of issues. The Council emphasis on the human dimension of religious experience has inspired a holistic appreciation of the changes in religious belief and practice and this again has engaged the differing disciplines, with reference to further reflections.[8] The broad approach required by the Christian spiritual tradition engages people at all levels of belief and practice through its disciplines of discernment and dialogue. This has limited this research to identifying the means of addressing the pastoral renewals of the Council that are required today. Initially the aim was to incorporate a review of the sacramental life of the Church as a means developing the dialogue between theology and spirituality in a pastoral setting, but this proved to be beyond the time and space available.

The third limitation on this research has been the growth of the spirituality phenomenon in the Australian context. The conclusion of the thesis that spirituality is vital for pastoral renewal reinforces the argument for more study into the present preoccupation, in the media particularly, with the personal experience of mystery, or the experience of the beyond, or the encounter with the unknown. Further studies are required to develop the relationships generated by the studies of sociology, psychology and theology in relation to the experience of the spirituality, and further how the expression of the spiritual is related to the teaching authority of the Church.

This thesis as has been stated, focuses on the Australian situation. The search for God in Australia involves a personal encounter with heartfelt experiences from survival to celebration. In particular these have established patterns of behaviour and attitudes that engage the mysteries of life, and display the features of the "signs of the times" referred to by the Council.[9] The

[8] *GS.* #14.

[9] Cf. 5.6.2 for a fuller explanation of "signs of the times" as "spirituality".

Council called for personal renewal as a response to the "signs of the times" and is authentically understood in terms of the discernment and dialogue in the tradition of Christian spirituality. The pastoral responses that set out to renew the life of the Church in Australia will involve all those "who invoke the name of Christ". To effectively achieve this the renewal will discern and dialogue with the desires of the heart and thus rebuild the connection between the beliefs and practices of all the members of the Church.

The title of the thesis expresses the mystery of God's presence in two different ways. Many expressions of the devotion to the "Sacred Heart of Jesus" endeavour to relate the presence of Christ to the everyday experiences and this has been the case for many generations of Catholics. In particular, these expressions linked the daily lives of the people with the mystery of God's love in Christ's suffering, death and resurrection. On the other hand, the "heart of the sacred" describes the experience that discovers the love of God in the mystery of creation. It expresses the evolving human experience that leads to a relationship enhanced and fulfilled in the mystery of Christ's divinity. His presence is revealed in the dialogue that takes place with his followers as they reflect on their own experiences in the light of Christ's life among them. Thus, the phrase "from the Sacred Heart to heart of the sacred" refers to a spiritual journey and the transition in religious experience and reflection from one period of the Church's life to another. As the thesis develops in much detail, the presence of the "sacred" is found in the everyday encounter with an environment in which people "live and move and have their being". The "sacred" understood in this way emphasises the central place of the incarnation of Jesus, and appreciates and understands the broadest experience of "God among us". The "heart of the sacred" reveals God's love for all people. In the daily experiences of joy and suffering individuals and communities experience mystery. These are expressions of spiritual movements. They have their origins in different times and in different places hence the spiritual journey unfolds and expresses the presence of God incarnate, who is with his people until the end of time. The "heart of the sacred" speaks of the presence of God to those who struggle with, or are ignorant of the Church's traditions and

practices in times of change. The "heart of the sacred" expresses the initial discovery and dialogue with the personal encounter with the "mystery of God" in the every day.

P A R T O N E

THE SEARCH FOR AUSTRALIAN SPIRITUALITY

Introduction

Major changes have taken place in the religious behaviour and attitudes of Australian Catholics in the second half of the twentieth century. They have produced a turning point for the Catholic Church in its exercise of pastoral care. This thesis identifies the significant changes to Catholic life and the challenge these changes present to church authorities in their role of "teaching, governing and sanctifying". PART ONE establishes the criteria with which to assess the effectiveness of pastoral care and proposes a new direction for the renewal sought by the Second Vatican Council. This direction is pursued in PART TWO of the thesis.

Chapter One uses a literature review of selected Australian bibliographies, library listings and the Australian Periodical Index to identify the areas of significant change. In the first instance it develops a methodology to allow the comparison of the changing interest of authors as they addressed the issues of Catholic life in Australia in the period under consideration, that is, from the Council until the present day.[10]

Chapter Two details the studies of the sociology of religion with the particular focus on Australia and their place in identifying the changes to the practices and beliefs of Catholic as they have occurred. Initially the identification and clarification of the data gathered about the changes in Catholic life had little influence on the pastoral response of the Church. Comparisons with the general population and other Christian churches show that the religious practice and attitude in the Catholic Church was not affected in the same way, but that this changed rapidly since the 1980s.

[10] The "present day" for the review was limited to the year 2000. PART TWO has incorporated publications as recent as 2004 in its research.

Chapter Three describes the theological responses to the changes in religious behaviour and values identified by the sociologists. Initially, there was a development from the dogmatic methodologies to theology in an Australian context in response to the spirit of the Council. Two studies outline the "Search for an Australian Spirituality" in the 1980s, and then its subsequent interest to the present day.

Chapter Four interprets the data of sociology and analyses the theological reflections as they arose within the Australian context. It concludes that the changes in Catholic life cannot be fully explained by either sociology or contextual theology. Rather the increasing interest in spirituality, both among Catholics and in the general population, offers the hope promised by the Council's call for renewal in the Church and a greater openness to its mission in the world. It is an opportunity for dialogue to develop between the traditions and teaching of the Church and in particular the experience of the presence of God in the lives of Australians today.

Chapter One: A Review of Religious Literature

Introduction

The fact that the lives of Catholics in Australia have changed is not in question, and whatever the Church's attitude to the changes, the media has taken pains to highlight the difficulties it has had in addressing the more sensational effects of the changes.[11] The purpose of this review is to objectify the areas of significant change. This will facilitate an examination and analysis of the depth and seriousness of the changes and to do so in relation to the Church's life and mission in the world. The review of religious literature is the first step in this study. It will categorise the significant areas of change in Catholic life in Australia then prioritises them across the decades of the period under review.

1.1 The Literary Review – Context and Methodology

The proposed review of literature is based on the principle of establishing the connection between the subject of the work and the context within which or about which it is written. From this a methodology is developed to assess the extent of the interest in particular subjects over a period of time, and to identify those that are of more interest.

1.1.2 Literary Context

The importance of the literature review is that it establishes the links between the authors of a particular period and the context or the influence of social change on their writing from the same period. Examples from an earlier period of Australian history illustrate this in relation to the "religious changes"[12]. They show the link between titles, authors and the concern they

[11] Issues for example include, Contraception, Clergy Abuse, Gay Rights, Financial Scandals, to name a few.

[12] The term "religious changes" reflects the nineteenth century desire to separate church and state in issues that were inherited from the social changes in Great Britain at the time. Cf.Walter Phillips, *Defending "A Christian Country": Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and After,* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981), 3.

express about the behaviour and attitudes of Catholics in that period. Mgr. Ullathorne and Bishop Polding wrote about Catholic life in the early 19th Century.[13] The titles that contain their published letters and their biographies indicated their status in the community and reflected the concern they showed for the early Catholics and others in the community. In the title *The Devil is a Jackass,* Ullathorne wrote of the harshness and isolation of the Sydney environment, the depravation of the early settlement, and the struggle to maintain personal and social values as human beings. He portrayed the pastoral challenge presented to the Church by the excesses of public immorality and decadence in the new settlement and compared this situation to the European standards he brought with him. He reported on the handicap of the clergy as civil authority directed them to be "moral policemen" with the responsibility to maintain civil order. Polding, on the other hand, in *The Eye of Faith,* wrote letters and reports that expressed his pastoral concern for those in the "bush". His biographers expressed his extraordinary commitment to bring solace to those who were struggling with isolation and physical hardships with the message that God had not forgotten them. In the settlement of Sydney, as the first Catholic Bishop, he confronted corruption and immorality, and brought hope and solace to the Irish Catholics who lived in desperate circumstances. His pastoral intent was to bring them back to God.[14] Writing later in the century, Cardinal Moran in his book *The History of the Catholic Church in Australasia* provided another example of literature reflecting the important issues of the day. For Moran, the struggle of the Catholic community to establish itself within the society was expressed as an achievement and success story.[15]

---

[13] William Bernard Ullathorne, *The Devil Is A Jackass: Being The Dying Words Of The Autobiographer William Bernard Ullathorne 1806-1889,* (London: Downside Abbey Publications, 1995); John Bede Polding, *The Eye Of Faith: The Pastoral Letters Of John Bede Polding,* (Kilmore: Lowden Publication, 1977); John Bede Polding, *The Letters Of John Bede Polding OSB*, (Glebe Point: Sisters of the Good Samaritan, 1994); K. Livingston, *Australian Catholic Church History The Polding Era*, (Polding Centenary Committee, 1978); Frances O'Donoghue, *The Bishop Of Botany Bay: The Life Of John Bede Polding, Australia's First Catholic Archbishop*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1982).

[14] Hans Mol, in *The Faith of Australians*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1985), 51, indicated that going-to-church was never a strong point in early Australian history. From 1793 three percent of the population going-to-church increased to ten percent in 1840 and he could find no practical reasons to explain why this was well below the percentage in England and Wales, which was forty seven percent in 1850. This was a concern for Ullathorne on his arrival in 1833 and later Polding and was reflected in their writing.

[15] Patrick Cardinal Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*, (Sydney: Oceanic Publishing Co., 1896).

These examples demonstrate that the authors of the works selected expressed concern and interest in the Catholic expression of religious belief and practice in its struggle to maintain the values and attitudes of the "old world" in the face of the harsh realities that arose out of their "new world" environment and experiences. They show that the concerns and the reputations of their authors identified the pressures and difficulties facing the Church and its people in a particular time and situation.

The sources for the review are books and articles written about Catholic religious practice and belief in Australia in the years since the Council. The works chosen are those that are either published in Australia or written by Australians. As a review of literature it sets out to identify and quantify the responses of researchers and commentators to the changing characteristics of Catholic life in Australia in this period. It therefore establishes the area or category and degree of interest in changes of belief and practice, and how they have fluctuated from decade to decade in the period under consideration.

Similar literature surveys have been undertaken in order to identify patterns and styles of expression, to relate them to a particular period or situation of human experience, and then to differentiate the publications according to content and/or theme. For example, a review of Australian literature reflected that it had been influenced by peak events such as early settlement, the gold rushes, the World Wars.[16] Such a review expressed historically, biographically, philosophically, sociologically, religiously and from other perspectives, the attitudes and actions of the people, in prose, poetry and drama. The works considered respond to the changes in the society and the lives of the authors. Therefore, the title and author of a particular book or essay expressed a relationship with a particular time and with events or situations that inspired and influenced its creation. Other expressions with a common theme had flowed from the same

[16] The inspiration for this approach to religious literature in Australia was taken from "Making Literary History: an Introduction" by Bruce Bennett and Jennifer Strauss in their edited work *The Oxford Literary History of Australia,* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), 1-5.

inspiration. Hence, a specific task of this review is to identify the changes in the degree of interest in the themes or categories that respond to the changes in Catholic religious belief and practice.

1.1.2 The Methodology of the Review

This review covers the period from the beginning of the Council in 1962, to the beginning of the new millennium in 2000. It is also subdivided into decades. Its sources are bibliographies and library listings that cover this period and provide a substantial selection of publications. Each title and author is examined to determine the religious and Australian content, to allocate a category, and then to record the date of publication. A separate database is established for each source according to category and date of publication. Once these databases are established they enable each category to be prioritised indicating the level of interest shown by the authors to it in that particular era. Combining the databases indicated the changing interests from decade to decade. Thus, the review reveals the areas of significant change and influence in Catholic life in Australian across the period under examination.

1.1.2.1 Selecting the Categories

A starting point for the review was Peter Bentley's *Australian Religious Studies, A Bibliography Of Post-Graduate Theses 1922-1986*.[17] Bentley produced this bibliography to assist others in their research into the religious life of Australians. The theses were selected by him for inclusion because they contained "an aspect of religion with an Australian component or orientation…religion broadly defined…".[18] He refers to the work of others, particularly Michael Mason and Geraldine Fitzpatrick who published *Religion in Australian life: a Bibliography of*

[17] Peter Bentley, *Australian Religious Studies, A Bibliography Of Post-Graduate Theses 1922-1986*, (Melbourne: National Catholic Research Council, 1988).

[18] Ibid. I-II.

Australian Social Research in 1982.[19] Bentley's bibliography provided an opportunity to test the methodology and the categories he used to catalogue each thesis. Table One is a database that quantifies the titles in each category and lists the dates of presentation.[20] It shows that the areas of major interest among researchers in the pre-1969 era focus on the history, politics and various aspects of education in relation to religion. The level of interest in each category was determined by the frequency in which they occurred, and the same level of interest was reflected in the Catholic titles, with a significant emphasis in the category of politics.[21] In the era from 1970 to 1986, the volume of research increased almost threefold with a concentration on sociology of religion, ministry, religious involvement in the community, and comparative studies of religious groups (church communities and others).

The analysis of Bentley's bibliography supports the adopted methodology of this review, and from this a modified version of his categories was compiled. The categories selected were Aboriginal Studies, Biography, Ethics, History, Migration, Ministry, Politics, Religious Education, Social Justice, Sociology of Religion, Spirituality and Theology.

1.1.2.2 Bibliographical Sources

In 1971 Hans Mol published *Religion In Australia: a Sociological Investigation* and pointed to the lack of research into the relationship between religious beliefs and practices to life in Australian society.[22] He claimed that his research began the sociological study of religion in Australia and that it was the first attempt to ask questions about the religious behaviour of Australians. He was concerned with their everyday life and their attitudes to the church and to the guidance and

[19] Geraldine Fitzpatrick and Michael Mason, (eds.), *Religion in Australian life: a Bibliography of Australian Social Research*, (Melbourne: National Catholic Research Council and the Australian Association for the Study of Religions, 1982).

[20] Cf. Appendix One, Table one: "P. Bentley, *A Bibliography, 1922-1986*".

[21] The titles indicate that this was because of the involvement of the Catholic Hierarchy in the "Labor Split" in the 1950s, for more detail c.f. Niall Brennan, *The Politics Of Catholics,* (Melbourne: Hill Publishing, 1972).

[22] J. J. (Hans) Mol, *Religion in Australia*, (Melbourne: Nelson, 1971), xi.

direction of church authorities. His research concluded that the religious literature published until that time focused on the efforts to establish and maintain particular churches or denominations in their own traditions, rather than addressing issues of change and the influence of outside forces. Here he reflected on his experience in Europe and the United States of America.[23] The categorising of his bibliography therefore provided an important starting point for the review. The literary sources he used in his research identified the changing context of religious life in Australia.[24] Mol's *Religion in Australia* was revisited in *The Faith of Australians,* published in 1985. Some additional references to his original bibliography were added, but his work in 1971 was foundational.

Two other bibliographies have been selected to span the years from 1970 till 2000. There were many available to choose from, but the two selected were substantial in size, located in a particular area of research and published during a time of significant change in Australian society.[25] The bibliography compiled by Douglas Hynd, entitled "Christianity in Australia: a Bibliography" [26] was published in *The Shape of Belief* in 1982.[27] The bibliography of Gideon Goosen in *Australian Theologies: Themes And Methodologies Into The Third Millennium* was published in 2000.[28]

The bibliographies of Mol, Hynd and Goosen do not exhaust the studies and publications on religious practice and beliefs of Australians. However, they do provide a cross section of titles broad enough to reveal the fluctuations in interest and concern in the categories and decades

[23] Ibid. 11.

[24] Cf. for a detailed analysis of Mol's Bibliography, Appendix One: Table Three.

[25] Other bibliographies considered were: Edmund Campion, *The Rockchoppers*, (Ringwood: Penguin, 1982); Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, (London: Collins Harvill, 1987); Chris Parnel in *Discovering an Australian Theology*, Peter Malone (ed.), (Homebush; St.Pauls Publications, 1988); Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History,* (Kensington: NSW University Press, 1992); Garry Bouma, (ed.), *Many Religions, All Australians: Religious Settlement, Identity And Cultural Diversity, (*Adelaide: Open Book, 1996).

[26] Douglas Hynd, et al., (eds.), *The Shape of Belief,* Lancer Books, Homebush, 1982.

[27] A detailed analysis of Harris' bibliography is found below in Appendix One, Table Four.

[28] Gideon Goosen, *Australian Theologies: Themes and Methodologies into the Third Millennium*, (Strathfield: St. Paul's Publication, 2000). A detailed analysis of Goosen's Bibliography is in Appendix One: Table Five.

selected. A detailed analysis of each of these bibliographies can be found in Appendix One. A combined analysis of the three bibliographies indicated that the four areas of most interest in religious literature in this period were: "History and Biography", "Sociology of Religion", "Theology" and "Spirituality".[29]

1.1.2.3 Library Listings Sources

To balance and broaden the databases derived from the three bibliographies, two Catholic Theology Libraries have been selected as additional sources of published material. The library at St. Mary's Campus of the Australian Catholic University was selected because it provided a wider range of publications than a theological library. The library at the Sacred Heart Monastery, Kensington, NSW, has a historical collection in that it embraced the whole of the twentieth century as a missionary college, a seminary, and a centre for adult faith development, media and communications.

The titles in the Library Listings at St. Mary's have been gathered through the search engine provided by the library computer. After a number of attempts using various search prompts, the identifier "*Australian Catholic - not education"* produced the most useful result.[30] The Library listings from the Sacred Heart Monastery were also searched through the library computer records using the same identifier "*Australian Catholic - not education"*.[31]

The analysis of each of these listings provided similar results and, when combined, the outcome complemented the earlier biographical review.[32] The categories of most interest remained as: "Sociology of Religion", "Theology in the Australian Context" and "Spirituality". The

[29] Cf. Appendix One, Table Seven.

[30] Cf. Appendix One, Table Eight for a detailed analysis of *ACU* Library Listings.

[31] Cf. Appendix One, Table Nine for a detailed analysis of *SHM* Library Listings.

[32] Cf. Appendix One, Table Ten.

dominance of the category of Aboriginal Studies at the Sacred Heart Monastery Library reflected the particular interests of the missionary work of the seminary.

1.2 Constructing the Literary Review

Once the categories of interest were established and the sources identified the review was constructed. The bibliographies and library listings were dealt with separately and then combined to give the overall picture. As an addendum the periodicals published in Australia were also categorised by identifying the source or purpose of their publication.

1.2.1 Combining Bibliographies and Library Listings

The review analysed approximately a thousand titles from the selected bibliographies and library listings. It placed them into categories and identified those that showed the most interest in the changes in the practice of religious faith and belief of Catholics in Australia. It compared the changing Catholic responses across the decades and how this differed from the general response of the population. The combination of the data from the bibliographies and the library listings supported the conclusions of the individual studies. The review identified the four categories of greatest interest in the changes to Catholic belief and practice in Australia in the period under review. They were history and biographical studies, the research of the sociology of religion, theological reflection and spirituality.

1.2.1.1 Category of History and Biography

The review showed that the published studies of religion in Australia prior to 1970 had been predominately historical and biographical works. An analysis of the authors indicated that they were mainly clergymen whose works explained and sustained the traditions and teachings of the

churches they served. The method and style of church history (and biography) changed after 1970, when both the use of sociology and other human sciences provided greater objectivity, and the sectarianism that pre-occupied individual churches had abated. Certainly, by the 1980s historical and biographical titles about the life of the church reflected a broader attitude to the events and the people involved. The religious and secular authors of this period questioned the relationship between belief and practice, and expressed the desire to search for new ways of expressing their beliefs in response to the spirit of the times. The titles reflected the challenge to church leaders in the changing relationships of the time. This was brought on by the tension between the social pressures of living in Australia and the traditional religious values inherited from counties of origin. Authors also endeavoured to re-read the historical descriptions of the past with the hindsight of the lessons learnt over the intervening periods. For example, the new discipline of 'Indigenous Studies' brought a critical understanding of the "land" to a present day reading of the comments of Governor Phillip at the time of his first encounter with the Aboriginal people.[33] Similarly, a new biography of Mary MacKillop has examined in detail the excommunication circumstances of her life, which previous biographies had passed over in silence because of the scandal it might have caused.[34] The category of 'History and Biography' across the period revealed a continued but changing interest in past historical circumstances. The consequences of this will be addressed below in Chapter Four.

1.2.1.1 The Category of the Sociology of Religion

The category 'Sociology of Religion' expressed the greatest interest for researchers, writers, publishers and presumably readers in the period under consideration. As will be shown in Chapter Two, in the 1960s Hans Mol introduced the tools of sociology to the study of the changes in religious belief and practice. This approach stimulated an increase in sociological

[33] Don Chapman, *1788: The People of the First Fleet,* (Sydney: Doubleday, 1981), 19.

[34] Paul Gardiner, *Mary MacKillop: An Extraordinary Australian,* (Alexandria: E.J.Dwyer, 1994), 97f.

research into religious belief and practice in Australia and saw the beginning of the Christian Research Association, the Australian Association for the Study of Religions and the National Catholic Research Council, all of which were established in the late 1970s and early 1980s. These research organizations have continued to publish sociological data and analyses up to the present day. The comparative nature of this research, expressed in tables and graphics, was of interest to church leaders in their planning for pastoral action.

The interest in identifying and quantifying the changes to religious belief and practice gave expression to the tensions in the community between the traditional standards and customs and the challenges of both internal and external influences. Sociology was the tool initially used to demonstrate these tensions and stimulated debate about underlying values and the relevance of past customs and traditions.

1.2.1.2 The Category of Theology in an Australian Context

The category of 'Theology in an Australian Context' grew in interest as more authors began to study the relationship between the Australian context and traditional religious beliefs and practices. It was a theology that began by reflecting on the changing patterns of religious practice and belief highlighted by the sociological studies. It was a field of theology explored by Catholics and Protestants and Anglicans, often working in conjunction with each other. This is examined in Chapter Three with particular emphasis on the relationship between the changes in the Catholic community's situation. The change in theological method came from the pressure in all churches to make sense of the tensions that began to appear in the exercise of the traditional practices that had been so successful in previous generations. Religious changes implemented in the wake of the Council were considered in relation to the social, cultural, environmental revolution and led to much "soul searching" in the general community and among Catholics.

1.2.1.4 The Category of Spirituality

'Spirituality' became the dominant category of religious writing in Australia in the last decade of the period under discussion. From the Catholic perspective spirituality arose from the reflections on 'Theology in an Australian Context'. It drew a practical distinction between interest in organised religion and the individual response to mystery and the search for meaning or identity. Questions raised from this spiritual perspective led to philosophical and theological reflections on a number of issues. These included, for example, the interrelationship of the ecology, the human environment, spirituality, and their connection to the individual's experience of God, as well as the authority of tradition and doctrine. For Catholics, such issues question the relevance of the Church's teaching on revelation, tradition, and personal religious experiences. In turn, this has led to profound changes in the way Catholics express their Catholicism. This general movement of Australians, from adherence to common religious expression to the personal discovery of spirituality, is developed in Chapter Four.

1.2.2 Periodicals in Australia – 1989 to 2000

A concluding remark is necessary to link the literature review to another major source of titles, namely the periodic journals published in Australia. In 1989, *the Australasian Religion Index*, *Annual Cumulation* compiled lists of articles from the leading religious periodicals published in Australia and New Zealand according to title and content. These lists present a significant number of periodicals published by religious organizations and also express their intention of presenting religious themes for discussion and reflection on the life of the Church in Australia. Journals have become the medium for presenting initial research ideas and comments and have been able to keep pace with the rapid changes to so many aspects of church life in these times.

The categories above have been used to examine the periodicals themselves, or at least their editorial policy and the types of articles published.[35]

1.3 Conclusion: The Literary Review as a Starting Point

This chapter set out to establish a review of religious literature in Australia which would identify areas of significant change in Catholic life, in the period between the Council and the close of the millennium. The method developed by the review categorised and prioritised those publications that expressed interest in the changes had taken place. Ultimately these were grouped into categories and the degree of interest in each was calculated numerically to determine their priority. From this process four major categories history, sociology, theology and spirituality were identified and these were also compared from decade to decade to determine the change in interest over this time.

The review of literature showed that prior to 1960 the changes in Church life were expressed in historical or biographical works. These forms of writing were characterised by words and stories of admonition and edification in an effort to encourage future generations as they faced circumstances that threatened their religious life. The review concluded that after the 1960s such writing was challenged by multi-disciplined scientific methods as was indicated in the review by the increased interest expressed in the other three categories. The review also identified the change that came to secular and religious historical writing from this time. A pertinent example that expressed this change involved the practice and understanding of the 'Devotion to the Sacred Heart'. The writing of E.J. Cuskelly moved from the hagiographies of saints that had

[35] Cf. Appendix One, Table Eleven, "Australasian Periodic Journals".

previously supported the practices of this devotion and expressed an analytical and adaptive expression of the mystery that underlay the devotional practices.[36]

The review acknowledged the growing interest of religious sociology and its focus on the changes in belief and practice from the 1960s. The numerous publications in this category highlighted the interest in social and religious change and its effect on Australian Catholic life. The review also identified that the reforms of the Council contributed to religious change.[37]

The review has shown that the interest in religious change moved over the years from historical recording, to sociological analysis, to theological reflection and then to spiritual questioning. The movement expressed the desire among Catholics, and Australians generally, to explore the personal experience of mystery in daily life. The conclusion reached was that the comparative process adopted by the review could detect the fluctuating interest in religious writing. As will be seen, this was supported by the sociological data, which identified the decreased adherence to the values and practices of religious traditions of long standing, and created a climate of change. Once this change was identified authors moved their interest to comparative studies that went beyond the historical and sociological commentary and analysis. In this context other authors explored the effect of change on personal relationships with God, and in particular that experienced in the life of Jesus Christ.[38] This change was expressed by the movement towards contextual theology and involved comparisons with the findings of the human sciences. It was

[36] E.J. (Jim) Cuskelly, "Revival of a Devotion or *Rebirth* of a Spirituality", in *With a Human Heart,* (Kensington: Chevalier Press, n.d.), 194. Cuskelly was an author of many books on this subject as he gave expression to the sacredness of the relationship between Jesus, the Father and the Spirit, and the human expression of this relationship in his life and ministry among the disciples and his followers.

[37] The Chapters below express the renewal of the Council more fully, both in terms of the attempts to introduce its reforms and the efficacy of these attempts. The meaning was the general understanding that the Council was a "Council of Renewal" as in Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak (eds.), *History of Vatican II Vol.I: Announcing and Preparing Vatican Council II, Toward a New Era in Catholicism,* (Leuven: Peters, 1995), 15.

[38] Mark Powell's *The Jesus Debate: Modern Historians Investigate the Life of Christ,* (Oxford: Lion Publishing, 1998) summarises contemporary movements to relate the life of Christ to the people of his time.

from this point that the interest in spirituality developed and focused on the personal experience of mystery in everyday life.[39]

Thus, this chapter has set the parameters for an analysis of the change that has taken place in the lives of Australian Catholics. The review of religious literature in Australia identified the interest by sociology of religion as it rose to prominence in the 1960s and 1970s. The following chapter details the findings of sociology in these and subsequent decades. It will identify the data that reveals the extent of the changes to the patterns of religious belief and behaviour in Catholic life. The data of sociology in turn builds expectations that will continue to demand interpretation and explanation.

[39] Pedro Arrupe, "The Heart of Christ, Centre of the Christian Mystery and Key to the Universe", in Brian Gallagher, (ed.), *With a Human Heart,* (Kensington: Chevalier Press, n.d.), 92.

Chapter Two: Sociology of Religious Belief and Practice in Australia

Introduction

The first section of this chapter describes the origin of the sociology of religion in Australia from 1960s based on the foundational work of Hans Mol. In doing so it establishes the role sociology has played in identifying the changes in religious practices and beliefs that have occurred and the changes manifested in the lives of Catholics. The focus on Mol is intentional. His was the first scientific work that endeavoured to understand and put into context a growing collection of data and to question the relevance of religious practice in a rapidly changing Australian society. His work continued to influence sociology of religion to the end of the millennium.

The second section of the chapter describes the sociology that came after Mol. Sociology of religion became the avenue for the agencies established by the churches to respond to the changing patterns of belief and practice within the society and the individual churches. This section examines the reports and commentaries, notes the influence of various sociological surveys and the national census data and presents the methods that were developed to assist in pastoral planning.

Of particular relevance in this chapter is the description of the methods used by religious sociology to address the changes in Catholic life in Australia. These methods lay the foundation for further discussion and debate about the interpretation of data and the conclusions that have been posited. Ultimately, the examination of the data collected provides the opportunity for the Church to identify the significant changes as the "signs of the times". Whilst this opportunity is provided by the data, the issue of the Church's ability to respond to the changes it presents opens other questions that will be considered in PART TWO of the thesis. The following is a description of the influence of sociology of religion in identifying change in religious belief and

practice. It prepares the way for an analysis of the roles of sociology and theology in the interpretation of these changes in Chapter Four. [40]

2.1 Sociology of Religion in Australia: Hans Mol

The literature review indicated that the largest contribution to the study of religious belief and practice came from the discipline of sociology. This section will describe the salient aspects of the main sociological research carried out by Hans Mol, church agencies (or church sponsored research) and other authors and researchers. The involvement of the modern human sciences, such as psychology, sociology, and anthropology in the study of religious behaviour began in Australia at a time when the traditional religious values and practices had begun to falter with the upsurge of cultural and social change in the 1960s. The Council expressed the challenge this presented to Catholics in its *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, published in 1965:

> Today's spiritual agitation and the changing conditions of life are part of a broader and deeper revolution. As a result of the latter, intellectual formation is ever increasingly based on the mathematical and natural sciences and on those dealing with man himself, while in the practical order the technology which stems from these sciences takes on mounting importance. [41]

Hans Mol's 1971 work was foundational in that it is the first comprehensive sociological study of the religious belief and practice of Australians.[42] He used the data from surveys and census statistics to analyse and draw conclusions about the changes that had occurred in religious behaviour. He identified the degree and importance of the changes by comparing his findings with previously gathered data including that of other sciences, for example, the findings of history and anthropology. The sociological data indicated that the changing nature of Catholic

[40] "The Church has always had the duty of scrutinising the *signs of the times* and of interpreting them in the light of the Gospel. Thus, in language intelligible to each generation, she can respond to the perennial questions, which men ask about this present life and the life to come, and about the relationship of the one to the other. We must therefore recognise and understand the world in which we live, its explanations, its longings, and its often dramatic characteristics." *GS*. #4 (italics mine).

[41] *GS*. #5.

[42] Mol, *Religion*, ix.

life was one aspect of religious expression in Australia. In this instance the influence of the Council was significant in its call for the Church to renew itself in the context of "the signs of the times".[43]

Sociology is described "as a distinctive way of thinking about the world and indicate(s) some of the ways this developing intellectual tradition connected with the process of modernising".[44] It is used to study the changing relationships between social behaviour and religious practice, and is hence described as sociology of religion. Its method was to gather data through the national censuses, opinion polls and religious surveys and to compare and analyse the sets of data in order to identify the changes in behaviour from one period to the next. Such analysis led to the interpretation of the significance of the changes and suggested methods of adapting to them. Initially, the changes were identified by generalisations based on data gathered by media opinion polls. Thus, interpretations concerning the decline in religious practice in the western world suggested the demise of religion itself, and were used as further proof that religious values and behaviour were not part of the modern world. These generalisations particularly, focused on media polls and argued that the values involved in achieving the materialistic prosperity of post World War Two industrial development would take the place of religious values.[45] They challenged traditional religious behaviour and values and claimed that the religious foundations of Australian society (and its institutions) could not effectively adjust to the changing times. The sociologists challenged these generalisations with their methods of analysis and interpretation.

The research of Hans Mol stood out in two ways. In the first place he established methods of data gathering and its interpretation based on the principles of sociology. Secondly, he understood sociology as a science that was able to embrace the human expression and values

[43] *GS*. #4; c. f., fn. 33.

[44] Judith Bessant. and Rob Watts, *Sociology Australia: Second Edition.* (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2002), 1.

[45] Donald Horne's *Lucky Country,* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1956) and similar works see the demise of the religious dimension of society based on the opinion polls published in the news media to give popular support to this stance. What was not appreciated was Mol's position that religion had a vital role in providing stability to the society.

found in religious behaviour, and he respected the link between religious traditions and the cultural elements that gave expression to them. His contribution was unique in the Australian situation because as late as 2002 university textbooks on sociology did not refer to religious belief and practice as playing a significant part in Australian life.[46] Mol used sociology to correct inaccurate interpretations of data and his background and focus ultimately presented the reasons underlying the changes in religious behaviour. Mol expressed this in his "Methodological Appendix":

> The object of "The Religion in Australia Survey" was to serve as a basic tool for more detailed specific research in the years to come, present an outline of the religious patterns and values of the Australian population, and to contribute to the current international research into the sociology of religion.[47]

This section of the chapter focuses on Mol's interpretation of this complex and highly sensitive area of human experience and expression. He concluded that further research was necessary to follow-up his work and develop it further as the changing pattern of Australian life unfolded.[48]

2.1.1 Mol's Research, 1965-1971

Mol's "Religion in Australia Survey" was conducted in 1965 and his findings were published in his foundational work *Religion in Australia* in 1971. He came to Australia from Holland in 1965 and was engaged by the Australian National University as a sociologist with the brief to examine the sociology of religion in Australia. He did this "through a comprehensive summary of available materials in census tracts and historical writings" and by developing a survey tool to further explore the depth and meaning of this data. He saw his research as original. For him "religion in Australia is virtually a virgin field for the sociologist" and "the aim … is to locate

---

[46] Cf. Bessant, *Sociology,* "Introduction", 2.

[47] Mol, *Religion,* 307.

[48] Bessant *Sociology,* 37 referred to "seven sociologies", made no mention of the influence of religion on social, political or moral life, not even to exclude it. Their work showed the complexity of investigation. However, even with these more precise developments in methodology and analysis, the doubts raised by Mol as to the effectiveness of sociology to determine the reasons for changes to religious belief and practice can be maintained.

crucial variables and propositions about religion in Australia" to help understand the changes that had occurred.[49]

Religion in Australia examined national census data, the results of Gallup polls and contained the results of Mol's own "Survey".[50] Mol's research included all the denominations and religions at that time in Australia and the data distinguished and identified their particular responses. He recognised the value in the great diversity and divergence among the churches. At the same time he pointed to the negative impact of this diversity, or the disharmony it had brought to Australian society and suggested that it was the reason for the absence of religious studies in academic circles. Whilst he acknowledged the limitations of his research, Mol presented a detailed view of religion in Australian up until the 1970s.

Following is a summary of the results of Mol's work, which builds a picture of the behaviour and attitudes of Catholics in Australia. It provides the basis for any future comparison of the changes to Catholic life from that time. Coincidently, it also is able to highlight the effectiveness of the changes brought about by the implementation of the decrees of the Council. Mol's "Survey" established the principal themes with which to examine the interaction of religious belief and practice on society, which, in turn, formed the structure of his book.[51] The themes he established were the general overview of religious practice, beliefs and morals, class and residence, ecumenical relations, education, family and politics.

---

[49] Mol, *Religion,* xii.

[50] Mol supplemented and compared his survey results with the data of collecting agencies such as Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics, church registers of baptisms, marriages, deaths and church attendance, commercial pollsters, for example the McNair-Anderson Surveys, and the Gallup Polls of the Australian Public Opinion Polls. It should be noted that Mol in the "Religion in Australia Survey" represented only 68% of the Australian population, namely from the states of New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania, and assumes that "there is no reason to think that the situation in the other states differs substantially". Mol, *Religion*, 215. More knowledge of the different circumstances of the beginnings of S.A, Qld, and W.A. would not assume this.

[51] Ibid. 365, Appendix I.

2.1.1.1 The General Overview of Religious Practice[52]

In 1966 Catholics made up about twenty five percent of the Australian population.[53] Their church-going was much higher than other denominations, as was their commitment to daily prayer and personal experience of God. Mol recognised that the strong Catholic influence on Australian society was due to the high percentage of church-going (seventy two percent in 1966), which contrasted markedly with the decline in Anglican and Protestant churches.[54] Another difference was that more Catholic women "participated in religious ritual". At this time, age was not a determining factor for Catholic attendance.[55]

2.1.1.2 Beliefs and Morals[56]

Mol began by pointing out that questions about belief in God have to be related to other data for them to be meaningful. Among Catholics and Protestants the differences in the expression of Christian beliefs at that time were more pronounced than the increase in atheism or agnosticism since eighty seven percent believed in God.[57] From the 1800s Australian Catholics had accepted a model of church leadership that was directive and punitive in controlling its membership and, at the same time, one that was influential in the general society. This was so because of the efforts of church leaders to redress the social disadvantages that Catholics experienced in social status, public life and employment. The teaching of the Church about the importance of personal salvation and the commitment of priests and religious to a life of service reinforced this style of leadership. The strong commitment and service provided by priests and

---

[52] Ibid. 1 – 33. The chapters were entitled: Composition, Church Attendance, Bible reading and Prayer, Sex and Age.

[53] Ibid. 5. The table was entitled "Religious Denominations in Australia from 1851-1966", and also on page 14, the table entitled "Church attendance for the major Australian denominations according to various Gallup polls." Note: Catholic church-going, 70% of 25% of the population, contrasted with Anglican 15% of 40%, and other denominations were similar to the latter.

[54] Mol combined the Anglican and other Protestant churches into the generic Protestant terminology, therefore hereafter, unless specified, Protestant refers to all Christian churches other than Roman Catholic or Orthodox.

[55] Mol, *Religion,* 35, "Age-pyramids of the two major Australian Denominations".

[56] Ibid. 41 - 76. The chapters were entitled: "Religious Beliefs", "Religion and Morality (History)", "Religion and Morality (Survey)", "Sexual Attitudes", "Prejudices", "Gambling" and "Patriotism".

[57] Ibid. 44.

religious had begun its decline in the 1960s with fewer young people entering seminaries and religious life. Church authorities demanded compliance on the social as well as the personal level in matters of moral or ethical questions.[58] Mol concluded that in Australia at the time "it is not true as is often implied that society at large, and younger people in particular, are rapidly changing to greater permissiveness or pre-marital sex relations".[59] This conclusion differed from the studies in the UK and the USA in matters of sexual morality among the young.

Mol recognised that the majority of Catholics had an Irish heritage and tradition. Their public and personal commitment to Catholic Church had been an enabled factor in assisting these Catholics to overcome prejudice and low socio-economic status. The Catholic Eduction system, based on local parishes spread Australia wide was a product of this commitment and sacrifice. Mol found that the expectations of Catholic life were no different from the cultural and social expectations of other Australians. The majority of Catholics saw themselves both as good Catholics and good Australians. However, post World War II migrants from Southern and Central Europe added to the number of Catholic but, the difference in religious practice led to prejudice on the part of "Irish" Catholics. They regarded the religious beliefs and practices of Italians, for example, as foreign and un-Australian.[60]

2.1.1.3 Class and Residence[61]

On the whole, Catholics made friendships through parish schools and other church contacts. This did not create a ghetto, but a distinctive moral and social order in the community. The Australian 'egalitarianism' enabled Catholics to be involved in a wide variety of other interests as

[58] Ibid. 55.

[59] Ibid. 66.

[60] Ibid. 68-69. The only figures given were the number of migrants. The major reference made was to the comparisons drawn from the *RAS* concerning the prejudice against Italians by other Australians.

[61] Ibid. 77 – 128. The chapters were entitled: "Denomination and Occupation", "Religiosity and Occupation", "Occupational and Mobility", "Denomination and Residence", "Religion and Class: A Comparison", "Country and City Differences" and "Melbourne and Sydney".

well as maintaining their church activities.[62] The prejudice and discrimination of the past was being replaced by a tentative acceptance.[63] However, this only applied to the Irish Catholics. As reported above, established Catholics expected the immigrants to conform to Australian standards, but education, language and social barriers made this difficult for many 'new Australian' Catholics.

2.1.1.4 Ecumenism[64]

Mol identified that cracks had begun to appear in the distinctive Catholic religiosity as mainstream Australian society became more accepting of Catholics. Those attending church regularly began to be more open to other denominations and more accepting of their differences. In particular Catholics became more open to discussing unity with other churches and participated in combined services.[65]

2.1.1.5 Education[66]

The significance of Catholic Schools was their effect on the change in status and acceptance of Catholics in the general society. By the end of the 1960s, Catholics had achieved a standard of education that enabled them to be accepted into all professions and into the senior levels of management in most occupations. A consequence of the higher standard of education was that younger people asked more questions about their religious beliefs and practices, and thus

[62] Ibid. 119. "The fact that not only religious practices, but many other attitudinal variables do not relate strongly with items of class may caution us to take the sociological reality behind the `myth' of egalitarianism and classlessness in Australia more seriously."

[63] Ibid. 174. Catholic education played an important role in establishing this acceptance.

[64] Ibid. 129 – 152. The chapters were entitled: "A Short History of Church Union", "Church Union: Grass Roots Opinions", "Sectarian Squabbles in Australian History", "Anti-Catholicism", and "Anti-Semitism".

[65] Ibid. 132, table 19.1.

[66] Ibid. 163 – 214. The chapters were entitled: "Literacy", "Denomination and Education", "Obedience and Thinking for Oneself", "Denominational Education: History and Extent", "The Effects of Catholic Schools", "Protestant Schools" and "Religious Practice and Education".

affected the attitude of the laity to the authority of the Church's teaching.[67] The increase in the Catholic population through immigration brought more pressure to increase the number and size of Catholic schools and forced a change in government policies on state-aid.[68] Consequently, limited government support was offered to Catholic schools from 1962.

2.1.1.6 Family[69]

The data from Mol's survey showed that ninety five percent of Catholics had been baptized, most had married in church ceremonies, and mixed marriages had been more frequent than in previous eras. The divorce rate among Catholics had increased at the same rate as in the general population. Catholics had more children than the general population, and there was a similar difference in birth rate between rural and suburban families with rural families being larger. There had been ambivalence about the use of artificial contraception.[70] Christian burial had also been expected in most Catholic families.

2.1.1.7 Politics

Mol referred to the significant role of the Catholic Church authorities in politics in the 1950s and 1960s. Traditionally Australian Catholics had been working class, with a leaning towards the Australian Labor Party. However, over this period church authorities condemned the influence of socialism and communism in the Labor Party. Additionally some Church authorities directly

[67] Mol, predicted another consequence of the success of Catholic Education: "The increasing influence on the educated laity in the Catholic Church will no doubt lead to a further democratisation and it may diminish the few value differences still existing between the Catholic and non-Catholic in Australia." Ibid. 175.

[68] Ibid. 178. The Second Vatican Council's statement on the freedom of choice in eduction was interpreted strictly by the Australian Bishops to refer to a political freedom within state legislation. Catholics themselves were obliged to support the Catholic system of schools, and was one area of unanimity between the cultural groups.

[69] Ibid. 215 – 278. The chapters were entitled "Baptism, Marriage, Burials and the Future of Religious Rites", "Mixed Marriages", "Anglican-Catholic Marriages", "Children of Mixed Marriages", "Fertility, Abortion and the Pill", "Divorce", "The Influence of One's Family" and "From Generation to Generation".

[70] Note: "The Religion in Australia Survey" was conducted before Paul VI's decision on oral contraceptives in *Humanae Vita*, in 1968.

supported the founding of the Democratic Labor Party, which split the Labor vote and kept the Labor Party in opposition throughout this period.[71]

2.1.2 *Religion in Australia:* Mol's Overall Assessment

Two factors stand out in Mol's research. The first was the distinctiveness of the Catholic presence in Australian society and its strength and influence at the time of his research. The particular indications of this distinctiveness were presented in summary form above and the areas in which change was beginning to take place were identified. The methodology that Mol employed also compared the changing patterns of Catholic life both within the Church and as part of the general community. This led him to have a more positive view of religious aspirations in contrast to the less encouraging predictions of the secular press and media of the time. In the categories he studied the influence of the Council on Catholic life in Australia was also noted.

The second factor was the recognition of the value of religion to a society. From his perspective he saw that its influence had been repressed or ignored in Australian public life. He concluded that the influence of religion in the past did not correspond to the data available in census records and other surveys. In other words, its influence was lessened by the perceptions of the time, and did not reflect the reality.[72] He found that the focus on survival had created division among the churches which in turn brought about disillusionment in the Australian society with regard to religious values and religion in general. He argued for an in-depth and objective assessment of beliefs and practices across the sectarian divide, so as to bring relevance to religion and challenge those who have denied its positive influence. His research determined that religion had more influence in most people's lives than politics.[73]

---

[71] Mol, *Religion, 285,* has a chapter entitled "How Catholic is the Australian Labor Party?"

[72] Ibid. ix.

[73] Ibid. 300.

Of particular note for Mol, was the indifference to religion in Australian academic research which he acknowledged was "fast disappearing" as universities began to establish faculties or departments of theology or religious studies. Once again he judged that sectarian bigotry and prejudice has been the cause of the division in society. [74] On the other hand, Mol declined, or was unable to suggest reasons for the changes in the Anglican and Protestant churches where the numbers of churchgoers, or those who expressed a commitment to these churches, had plummeted after 1945. Comparisons with his studies in the U.K., the U.S.A. and Canada found the situations to be different.[75]

This was the first academic study in this field of human behaviour in Australia, and Mol admitted to many generalisations. He saw these as a spur for further research or the beginning of a new approach to understanding the relationship between religious belief and practice in Australian Society.[76]

2.1.3 Mol's Research Re-visited: 1985

Fifteen years later Mol returned to Australia and published a revision of his original work which he entitled *The Faith of Australians.* For this revision he used the data provided by the Christian Research Association's *Australian Values Study (*1983), the intervening national censuses and other opinion polls to reflect on the changing relationship between religious belief and practice and the general community. He used the themes developed in his earlier *Religion in Australia* to draw comparisons between the two periods of research and identified the significant changes in the religious life of the community. The following sections summarise the changes that Mol identified in Australian Catholic life in the intervening years.

---

[74] Ibid. x.

[75] Ibid. 25, 79, 104 show these comparisons.

[76] Ibid. xii.

2.1.3.1 General Composition – Catholic Growth

By 1983 the number of Catholics had increased in the general population to a similar number to that of the Anglicans, previously the largest denomination.[77] The factors that influenced this were noted as the higher fertility rate of Catholics, the increase in "nominalism" in all denominations other than Catholic, and the "rise of the sects" that had taken people away from the other established denominations.[78] However, the strong commitment of Catholics to regular observance had begun to falter. Mol argued this was partly due to the openness of Catholics to the world and to other churches that had been encouraged by the Council. Its influence had broken the strong conformity of the past and "weakened the moral shelter it had provided for its flock".[79] He suggested that the Catholic charismatic movement with its emphasis on personal commitment to God would assist the Church to renew itself and reclaim the strength of the past.

2.1.3.2 Belief and Morals – the Secularisation Debate

Mol's findings in 1971 were that secular culture did not have the impact on the Catholic Church as it did on other churches in Australia. However, the situation had changed by 1985 and, after a lengthy analysis of the data that indicated the change, he concluded:

> The predicament of religious institutions and theologians may consist of the dislocation of what was a coherent belief system, rather than of modern societies being immune to religious or even 'supernatural' interpretations. Secularisation may consist of this dislocation rather than man's increasing espousal to the rational.[80]

He determined that the influence of secularism had led to the decline in church attendance. As he had done previously, Mol compared the different attitudes of Protestants and Catholics to

---

[77] Ibid. 6, Table 1.1.

[78] This was how Mol referred to the American evangelical and fundamental churches that came to Australia after World War II and are identified in the table referred to in fn. 24.

[79] Ibid. 61.

[80] Ibid. 132.

regular Sunday attendance where the influence of church services and the churches themselves were seen as necessary for social cohesion, even if the practice was irregular. For Catholics, as regular commitment declined, the uniting strengths of Sunday Mass and Church Teaching had personal and communal effects. He identified that some reacted with efforts to insist on the importance of traditional practices. Others began to espouse the "quest for something unique in the Australian culture" that would speak to the people. Mol disagreed with this latter approach and proposed the resolutions referred to below.[81] He was conscious of the influence of religion on his Catholic European background.[82]

2.1.2.3 Religion and Class

Mol again considered the 'egalitarian' trait in the Australian way of life this time as an expression of a "so-called classless society".[83] He concluded that the pressures of accommodating religious differences and the mutual challenge of environmental factors developed this trait in Australians, more than the status of class, or the level of education or a political aspiration, much less as an anti-religious sentiment.[84] He identified the Irish-Catholic struggle for recognition in the general society and the fact that they had achieved it by this time. A distinctive part of this achievement was that they had maintained a separate religious identity. These differences had been accepted by the general society because the religious ghettoes that had maintained class differentiation in other places had not been established in Australia. Occupations that determined immobility and a lower level of education had been more evenly balanced in Australia.[85]

---

[81] Cf. 2.1.4.

[82] Mol, *Faith*, 144.

[83] Ibid. 201.

[84] This was an important distinction in the light of the criticism of "egalitarianism" which was to come in the late 1990s in the Church documents, *Ratio et Fides* and *Statement of Conclusions*, c.f. 7.3.

[85] Mol, *Faith*, 183. Mol summarised the attitudinal differences in Australia as "equal opportunities (were more important) than the relativisation of ambition".

2.1.2.4 Ecumenism

As in 1971, Mol found that Catholics had become more involved in ecumenism, a trend influenced by the Council, although members of other churches remained cautious about their relationship with Catholics.[86] Sectarian divisions had begun to lessen as the focus of maintaining individual religious practices and attitudes turned towards cooperation and understanding between the churches.

2.1.4 Mol's Conclusions Concerning Religion in Australia

The Faith of Australians developed Mol's earlier work. However, his interest did not stop there. His conclusion stressed the importance of developing a "frame of reference" within which to place interpretations of the huge amount of data that had been collected.[87] His "frame of reference" was religion, which he defined as "the sacralisation of identity", or the element in a society that provided the unifying elements and enabled its members to overcome conflict, injustice and achieve reconciliation. Using this perspective and the data of sociology, Mol presented his conclusions about the situation of religion in Australia.[88] The following summarises the consequences for the Catholic Church from these conclusions as Mol saw them.

1. The Demise of Sectarianism

Much of Mol's work contrasted the Catholic and Protestant attitudes to religious practice and values. The sectarian division began to wane as the Anglo-Celtic church-going Catholics and Protestants had become united in their efforts to guard family values that were essential for a stable society. They recognised that their religious belief and practice encouraged 'self-denial' for the sake of others and opposed the assertiveness of those in society who pursued

[86] Ibid. 49.

[87] Ibid. 217.

[88] Ibid. 218-224.

materialistic ambitions. They overlooked or accepted their religious differences in the face of the perceived threat from secular and materialistic values. The consequences were a changed attitude of the churches towards each other and a common focus for social justice and other activities. However, other religious divisions emerged with the growth of other ethnic religious groups and religious sects. Mol concluded that the sectarianism that divided society was on the wane, but other religious differences threatened new divisions. However, he pointed out that the decline in church-going among Catholics and Protestants had lessened the influence of religion on society in general.

2. The Influence of the Second Vatican Council on Catholicism in Australia in 1985

Prior to the Council, Catholics were united in the double task of defending their Catholicity and gaining acceptance within the general society. For Mol, the change in the focus of the Church from maintaining its identity to reaching out to the world in mission which was initiated by the Council, caused church authorities to loosen their grip on its tightly controlled institutions.[89] The statistics showed for example, that from the sixty one percent attendance at mass the previous Sunday in 1966, there had been a decline to thirty seven percent attendance in 1981. Another indicator was the changed appreciation of priesthood and religious life as the value of commitment to service was replaced by an emphasis on individual achievement.[90]

3. 'Sacralisation' – The task of the Church

Mol's "message for the mainline denominations in Australia" was for them to adopt "a prophetic, critical and separatist stance" in the face of a "secular culture (that) might respect the churches…but is not likely to be persuaded by their call for self denial, self discipline and search for greater profundity".[91] The task for the Church, he believed, was one of

[89] Ibid. 218.

[90] Ibid. 219.

[91] Ibid. 220.

"sacralisation, and the positive way in which it reinforces the various units of social organization". This involved assisting people to identify God in everyday life, to recognise the "emotional enhancing" points in social and cultural life that are related to Christian values and to reconstruct the "rites of passage" in a way that reflects and ritualises these experiences.

4. Indigenous Australians: A Footnote

On the final page Mol introduced the Aboriginal Australian culture as an example to illustrate the importance of myth and legend into the rituals and dramatisations of the religious experience of Australians generally.[92] He suggested that the churches needed to look at the liturgical expressions of their beliefs so that their practices reflect the culture that comes from the historical circumstances and environment from the time of the first settlement.[93]

Mol challenged the Church to understand more fully the changes he discovered in the patterns of belief and practice among Catholics. In the first instance he contrasted the cohesive and focused role that the Church played in Catholic life prior to the 1960s with the common struggle that Catholic and Protestant churches had undertaken to maintain the influence of their religious authority in the face of social and cultural changes. Secondly, he recognised the challenge that the Council put to the institutions of the Church. The reform and renewal these structures faced in the modern world was emphasised by the decline in mass attendance and the loss of the commitment to serve the Church in religious life and the priesthood.

Mol's research convinced him of the value and necessity of interpreting the influence of religious beliefs on the behaviour of society and the stability that the expression of these beliefs gave to

[92] Ibid. 224.

[93] Cf. "The Spirituality of the Indigenous People", 6.2.

society. His methodology expressed his commitment to an active and involved sense of religion in any community or society. He gathered data about religious activity from various sources and further refined this data with surveys that sought specific responses to questions of interest at the time. It was from this that he compared his findings with other observations and interpreted the importance of the beliefs and practices of religion in the lives of Australians. He also compared his conclusions within an historical analysis of their origins and circumstances. This reflected his own personal journey which involved research in other parts of the world and the development of his own religious background and experience.

This detailed analysis of Mol's two research studies of 1965 and 1985 identified the changed appreciation and acceptance of religion in the Australian society. Catholic life in particular had undergone significant change, as indicated by the demise of sectarianism, the focus on renewal and mission from the Council, and the decline in mass attendance and vocations to the priesthood and religious life. These signified the change in the role of organised religion, its status and cohesive influence in public life and in the explorations of the new ways of achieving social order.

Mol's initial influence on the Catholic Church was not recognised until the decline in mass attendance became evident in the 1980s. In 1971 Mol predicted that the Catholics would follow the path of their Protestant brothers and sisters and begin to lose an appreciation of the religious values and attitudes that had made them successful. In 1985 he identified the decline in mass attendance and vocations to priesthood and religious life as evidence that the close-knit and inwardly focused Catholic Church had begun to change. The comparisons that he drew between the Catholic and Protestant responses to religious, social justice and life style issues demonstrated the success of Catholics' determination to overcome prejudice and injustice and at the same time maintain their own identity. However, their very success and acceptance into the main stream of society brought its own consequences. The next section describes the reactions

of the churches as they followed Mol and responded to what became described as the 'statistical slippage' or the decline in church attendance.

2.2 Sociological Research: Church Agencies

This section will describe the development of the Sociological Research from the late 1970s to the present day. Associations of sociologists established by the churches took up the work of Mol. They conducted their own surveys, published reports and inspired wider commentary on the results. Their research and its interpretation by other sociologists grew in complexity as it attempted to respond to the changing patterns of religious belief and practice in Australia. This will also show that the Catholic situation developed in parallel to that of the other church communities, but continued the significant differences that Mol had earlier identified.[94]

In the early 1980s the mainline churches established research organizations such as the *Australian Association for the Study of Religions (AASR)*, the *National Catholic Research Council (NCRC)*, and the *Zadoc Centre* (*ZC*) to examine sociological data in more detail based on the principals of religious sociology and to develop their own surveys in response to the changes in religious belief and practice. The data gathered by opinion polls and the national census identified the "statistical slippage" as the particular incentive for further research.[95] The *Christian Research Association* (CRA) was set up in 1986 as a combined project by the major churches. In general terms, the purpose of *CRA* and the earlier organizations had been to gather data and generate reports to assist church authorities to develop pastoral plans that responded to the perceived need. These pastoral plans attempted to reorganise church functions and structures to make the Church more inclusive, more user friendly, and more approachable. From the 1990s the churches worked

[94] Cf. 2.5.

[95] "Statistical slippage" described the decline in the number of people associating with a particular church.

together in the comprehensive sociological project, the *National Church Life Survey* (*NCLS*).[96] This was planned to coincide with the five-yearly national census. The literature review showed that the interest in sociology of religion increased dramatically in the 1980s. These organizations assisted in generating interest.[97]

2.2.1 Research Survey, Reports and Commentaries

After Mol's first publication in 1971, no additional research surveys were published until 1983 when a combined effort of the *NCRC* and the *ZC* undertook *The Australian Values Study Survey (AVSS).* This survey had as its general aim to consult those who attended church about what attracted them to, or what put them off, traditional religious practice. It sampled one thousand two hundred people, but this sample was later judged to be not large enough to reflect the values of the total Australian population.[98] Nevertheless, there was much comment on its findings in the early eighties and Mol has referred to them in *The Faith of Australians,* in 1985.[99] Mol's original work has continued to provide the data for most comparative comment.

2.2.2 *The Shape of Belief in Australia* - 1982

Douglas Hynd's "Christianity in Australia: a Bibliography" demonstrated the volume of historical works at this time which supported Mol's conclusion ten years earlier, that the study of religion in Australia was still historically based.[100] To provide a broad response to the changes in society, this bibliography selected authors from a variety of backgrounds and disciplines and

---

[96] This has continued through to the *NCLS* 2001 and other recent surveys.

[97] Cf. Appendix One, Table Six.

[98] Tricia Blombery and Philip Hughes summarise the *AVSS* in *Combined Churches Survey for Faith and Mission, Preliminary Report*, (Christian Research Association, 1987), 2-3.

[99] The following are publications that used the data of the *AVSS*: Hynd, *Shape*; Alan Black and Peter Glasner, (eds.), *Practice And Belief, Studies in the Sociology of Australian Religion*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1983); Douglas Hynd, et al., (eds.), *Australian Christianity In Outline; A Statistical Analysis and Directory*, (Homebush; West Lancer, 1984); Gary Bouma, and Beverly Dixon, *The Religious Factor In Australian Life*, (Australia: Marc, 1986); Peter Kaldor, *Who Goes Where? Going to Church in Australia*, (Homebush West: Lancer Books, 1987).

[100] Hynd, "Bibliography", 202.

brought together their responses to the research material that *AVSS* and other surveys had provided. It thus gave interpretations of the role and position of Christian churches in the society of the day. For example, in the preface, historian Patrick O'Farrell referred to "an Australian Christianity embattled, incompetent, irrelevant and in decline". He argued that the essays provided an honest and ecumenical commentary on the situation revealed by the data. O'Farrell noted that the secular world, which challenged Christianity, had not been asked to contribute its opinion, particularly when the data had shown a significant increase in the category of those who chose to be of "no religion".[101]

Of the twenty-one essays presented, three directly took up Mol's challenge to examine in detail the degree of affiliation and observance among Christian churches. They were Bruce Wilson's "The Church in a Secular Society", Cyril Hally's "Growth Patterns in the Catholic Church" and Dorothy Harris' "Counting Christians". A brief synopsis of what they presented will highlight the interaction of the data, the survey methodology, and the interpretation of the data at the time. These essays reflected the variety of responses to the changing patterns of belief and practice.

Wilson argued that the decline in church affiliation and attendance was not influenced by "secularism" and rejected the validity of such an interpretation of the data. He cited the situation in Britain where the decline turned many to the popular culture of astrology and the like. The answers, he argued, that were previously the domain of the churches, were now sought in these fringe religious experiences, rather than through reliance on secular pursuits.[102] Thus, whilst religion was in decline "we should be trying to discover the nature of the religion that most Australians adopt".[103] Wilson noted the importance of understanding the data in a

[101] This comment will be taken up later (7.3.1) as a critical element in the "dialogue" that defined the relationship that the Council challenged the Church to engage.

[102] Bruce Wilson, "The Church in a Secular Society", in Hynd, *Shape*, 4.

[103] Ibid. 10.

particular context and not assuming that the statistics revealed the whole story. Cyril Hally examined the Catholic situation compared to the overall picture. He used the data from Church sources to reveal the sharp decline in the number of religious and priests from 1970. This decline, he believed, had a flow-on effect in the leadership of the Church, religious education in Catholic schools and the parishes that supported the schools. He argued that another significant statistic was the post-war immigration boost to Catholic numbers, which created a significantly different context for the Church. His study focused on the different cultural responses to belief and practice, which provided Catholics with a variety of expressions that challenged the dominant "Irish model" of practice and belief. He concluded that there would be a change when other migrant groups were included in the life of the Church. He recognised that "adherence" and "churchgoing" reflected individual levels of faith development. He saw merit in the "eight degrees of distance from faith" of Andre Charron.[104]

Harris in "Counting Christians" followed Mol and compiled twenty-seven tables that identified the patterns of affiliation, practice and traditional themes.[105] She cautioned about interpreting data from different sources. She noted that the national census and church surveys asked the same question, but that they do so from differing points of view and that the churches also interpreted the same body of data very differently. Their interpretation ranged from seeing the comparisons shown by the data as 'signs from God' that call for immediate pastoral and personal response, to the extreme of judging the authenticity of a person's faith by counting "how many times" an action is performed. Harris asked: "is growth (numerical) required for witness, or is it a throw back to religious imperialism of the nineteenth century?" [106]

The other essays in *The Shape Of Belief In Australia* commented on aspects of the life of the church by reflecting on the concerns about the future direction of particular church

[104] Cyril Hally, "Growth Patterns in the Catholic Church", in Hynd, *Shape*, 86.

[105] Dorothy Harris, "Counting Christians", in Hynd, *Shape*, 229-290.

[106] Ibid. 231.

communities. The complexity of these responses was seen in Robin Pryor's "Population Changes and Religious Allegiance". She considered the decline in birth rate, the slowing of immigration, the decline in religious affiliation, the increase in Aboriginal population, and the post-industrial social changes. Considering the religious involvement of people generally, Pryor concluded that:

> Today's demographic trends pose a challenge to Christians. The church must be realistic about its statistical slippage. It has to become more sensitive to diverse cultural situations and forces of secularisation. It has to improve its ability to proclaim the gospel with persistence and clarity, and in many new languages - aboriginal, immigrant, technological and communal. Both the ordained ministry and committed lay leaders need to seek a deeper spirituality, a prophetic ministry and a mission to the unchurched and marginalised members.[107]

All these conclusions had the same general qualities of Mol in that they looked beyond the data to other areas of research and study to find solutions to resolve the dilemmas for the churches. The essays demonstrated the changed response to the decline in church practice, which moved from a position that judged non-adherence and practice as a personal failing or as an expression of moral laxity, to one that looked for communal reasons that competed successfully with traditional religious responses.

2.2.3 The Christian Research Association – 1988

The *CRA* was formed in 1985 from nine church study groups of the major denominations. It proposed to coordinate a better understanding of the life and faith of the Australian people, in order to support the pastoral initiatives of the churches themselves and for the betterment of society as a whole.[108] Its first major task was called *The Combined Churches Survey for Faith and Mission*. This survey involved twenty congregations of Anglicans, Baptist, Catholic, Pentecostal, and Uniting churches. Six thousand two hundred and fifty people completed a questionnaire

[107] Robin Pryor, "Population Changes and Religious Allegiance", Hynd, *Shape*, 76-79.

[108] Tricia Blombery and Philip Hughes, *The Church's Mission: Report from the Combined Churches Survey for Faith and Mission,* (Christian Research Association, 1988), Preface.

given to them at church on a Sunday between August and October, 1987. Of those surveyed two thousand one hundred and seven were Catholics.[109] The survey was supplemented by data from the *National Social Science Survey* which was conducted by the Australian National University at the same time. The *CRA* published reports based on these surveys in which the church's "Faith and Mission",[110] "Faith and Work",[111] and other aspects of the church life were interpreted from the data of the surveys.[112]

The *CCS* sought responses to the changed attitude to God in society and was a major effort by sociologists on behalf of the churches to identify and respond to the areas of concern and difficulty that Australians had with the role and function of religion in their lives. Its ultimate aim was to provide guidelines for pastoral action that would assist people to reflect on the presence of God in their lives. The critics, however, considered the questions to be too general and therefore were unable to provide direction for pastoral initiatives that would respond to the confusion and disinterest in society. Tricia Blombery was one who shared this view when she considered the results of the survey. In her essay entitled "God through Human Eyes", she concluded by two questions: "What does it all mean?" and "Where do we go from here?"[113] She applied these two questions to the responses gathered from the survey's questions about the "images of God". Her conclusion then was that the survey had been only a "start in the unravelling of patterns of personal faith".[114]

---

[109] Details of *Combined Churches Survey* are found in Tricia Blombery, *Combined Churches Survey for Faith and Mission*, (Christian Research Association, 1988), 10 f.

[110] Bloombery, *Combined.*

[111] Tricia Blombery and Philip Hughes, *The Church's Mission: Report from the Combined Churches Survey for Faith and Work*, (Christian Research Association, 1988).

[112] Philip Hughes, *The Australian Clergy*, (Christian Research Association, 1987); Tricia Blombery, *Tomorrows Church Today, Young People in the Australian Church*, (Christian Research Association, 1989); Tricia Blombery, *God through Human Eyes: Report from the Combined Churches Survey for Faith and Mission*, (Christian Research Association, 1989).

[113] Blombery, *God,* 81.

[114] Blombery's query was extended to other surveys and Gallup polls that asked questions about religious belief and values. It raised the question of the relationship between sociology and religion, and limitations of quantifiable data to accurately reflect the nuances when religious belief and practice is questioned. This response was similar to Mol's, twenty years previously, namely that the data did not provide enough information by itself, and that further investigation had to take place in other fields of research to put the data about religious beliefs and practices into a broader context for an analysis to be authentic. Cf. 4.3.

As the 1980s concluded, advances in computer technology encouraged sociologists to pursue larger projects that involved more detailed data gathering. Their aim was to gather more data by providing more refined questions. It was thought that this process would elicit a greater variety of choice which, in turn, would lead to more gradation in the interpretation of religious beliefs and values.

2.2.4 National Church Life Surveys – 1991, 1996, 2001

In the 1990s the churches took a more definitive approach not only to the decline in church attendance, but also to the diminishing number of those who declared themselves as Anglicans or Protestants in the mainline churches. This resulted in the *National Church Life Survey (NCLS)* of 1991 which was developed and resourced by the Uniting Church Board Mission (NSW) and the Anglican Diocese of Sydney. It involved nineteen major denominations but not the Catholic Church. It was timed to coincide with the Australian Census of 1991.

The *NCLS* of 1991 sought responses from those who were involved in the Anglican and Protestant churches and specifically targeted those who attended church on a designated Sunday in a selected number of parishes or congregations. The selection was designed to reflect a cross section of Australian society. Although the survey did not include Catholics, the report of the survey results used data from other sources and included them as a category in its tables of population and church attendance. The report of the survey edited by Peter Kaldor was entitled *The Winds Of Change: The Experience Of Church In A Changing Australia.* It was designed to assist "clergy and laity" to face the issues of declining numbers and changing patterns of religious values and beliefs.[115]

[115] Peter Kaldor et al., *Winds of Change; The Experience of Church in a Changing Australia,* (Homebush West; Lancer Books, 1994). The chapters addressed the wide-ranging agenda that the churches faced.

The prologue of the report, "The Sea of Uncertainty", began with the questions: "As the church moves through the last decade of this century, what is the context in which it finds itself? What can be said about life in these times?"[116] It concluded that the "search for meaning" which had gained momentum among Australians in the lead up to the bicentennial celebrations in 1988 became "the search for answers". This document suggested a positive direction to the churches because it revealed "many signs of hope and pointers towards a creative future".[117] The Anglican and Protestant churches interpreted this conclusion as an indication of the general community's interest in the religious dimension of their lives. Others concluded that this was not an accurate interpretation.[118] However, the report failed to differentiate the precise picture of the problems and challenges facing these particular churches. It was evident that the Catholic situation differed considerably from these churches, and the reasons for this were clouded by statistical comparison. Mol had identified the importance of distinguishing the differing values and attitudes expressed by Catholics and Protestants, a distinction that continued to be neglected.[119]

The *NCLSs* undertaken in 1996 and 2001 respected the different values and attitudes of Catholics and Protestants to Sunday church attendance. In both instances the Australian Catholic Bishop's Conference supported the *NCLS* with the *Catholic Church Life Survey* (CCLS). The *CCLS* was conducted in Catholic parishes paralleling the *NCLS* and was timed to coincide with the national census. A detailed analysis of the combined data was published in the periodical *Pointers: Bulletin of the Christian Research Association*.[120] An example of the analysis of the

---

[116] Ibid. xiii.

[117] Kaldor, *Winds,* xv.

[118] Cf. Kelly 3.3.2 and Horne's *Lucky Country.*

[119] Mol, *Religion,* 23, Table 3.1 "Denomination by Church Attendance by other Religious Practices, Experiences and Opinions". Commenting on the data, Mol pointed to the difference between Catholic and Protestant attitudes to "regular church-going" as another misleading factor. The former responded by way of obligation, and their commitment to religion tended to be compartmentalised in their lives. Protestants (including Anglicans) had an individual attitude to belief, with an understanding of "the doctrine of the 'priesthood of all believers' which gave him his freedom from the religious institution" which encouraged a more casual church-going.

[120] *Pointers: Bulletin of the Christian Research Association,* (Kew: Christian Research Association), from vol. 1, March 1991, to most recent in March 2005, has been published four times a year. Philip Hughes, *Religion In Australia; Facts and Figure,* (Christian Research Association, 1997); Peter Bentley and Philip Hughes, *Australia Life And The Christian Faith; Facts and Figures* (Christian Research Association, 1998); Robert Dixon, *The Catholics In Australia, Religious Community Profiles,* (Australian Government Publishing Service,

2001 surveys appeared in the September 2002 issue of *Pointers*. The article entitled "Trends in Religious Identification: Details from 2001 Census" concluded that the major growth areas in the population according to religious affiliation were Catholics, other Christians (Pentecostal), and those who specified "no Religion" or "other Religion". Those churches that continued to decline were Anglican, Uniting, Churches of Christ, and other mainstream Protestant denominations. A further article in the issue by Philip Hughes suggested ways for participating parishes to use this and other data from the census in conjunction with that of the NCLS.[121] He qualified and limited the use of survey data and concluded:

> Sociological data cannot drive the ministry of the church, but it can provide great insights into our changing society. The Census and the National Church Life Survey are useful tools in evaluating present directions, in examining possibilities for the future, in making plans and setting goals, that ministry might be most effective.[122]

2.2.5 *Catholic Beliefs and Practices*: Another Response to Change

Catholic Beliefs and Practices by Carmel Leavey and Margaret Hetherton was an attempt to use the methods of sociology in pastoral planning. It was a project sponsored by the *National Catholic Resource Centre*. In 1986, the *Pastoral Investigation of Contemporary Trends Series* (PICTS) set out one of the aims of the *NCRC*. It was to examine "contributions made by the churches, especially the Catholic Church, to the development of Australian society".[123] One of the six publications in this series was Leavey and Hetherton's report. Their work was to "examine the religious beliefs and practices of Australian Catholics in ways that are pastorally relevant and sociologically

---

1996); Peter Kaldor, et al., *Taking Stock, A Profile of Australian Church Attenders,* (Adelaide: Open Book, 1999); Peter Kaldor, et al., *Build My Church, Trends and Possibilities for Australian Churches,* (Adelaide: Open Book, 1999); Michael Mason, private paper given at St. Mary's Campus of the Australian Catholic University in 1999; Philip Hughes, (ed.), *Australia's Religious Communities: A Multimedia Exploration,* (Australia: Christian Research Association, 2000); John Bellamy, et al., *Why People Don't Go To Church,* (Adelaide: Open Books, 2002).

[121] Hughes, Philip "Using Data from the Census and *NCLS* in Religious Organizations", *Pointers,* 12(2002) 3, 4-7.

[122] Ibid. 7.

[123] Titles in the PICT Series commissioned by the *NCRC* and published by CollinsDove from 1988 - 1992: Mary Rose MacGinley and Tony Kelly, *The Church's Mission in Australia;* Rowan Ireland, *The Challenge of Secularisation;* Mary E. Britt, *In Search of New Wine-Skins: An Exploration of Models of Christian Community;* Brian English, Mary MacLelland and Mary Gregory, *Families in the Modern World;* Martin J. Wilson, *Ministry Among Aboriginal People: Missiological Overview of the Catholic Church in Australia.*

reputable".[124] The survey method they used was based on personal interviews that were conducted with individual Catholics across the social spectrum. As a trial they selected two parishes in inner Sydney. In their introduction the researchers explained that three pastoral questions would be the basis of their project which aimed "to concentrate on the research needs of pastoral workers, that is, on those whose responsibility was with the support and development of the religious faith in the Catholic community".[125] It was to be different from other surveys and projects that focused on "global statistics (are) useful for general trends in the population over time". As the project developed its guiding principles became clear:

- That those interviewed be empowered to be themselves, and not treated as "objects for research purposes".
- That it respect the "incredible complexity of religious faith" which was questioned in the methods of market research type projects.
- That it contribute to the dialogue between the theological and social sciences.
- That it "involve the pastoral decision makers in some sort of ownership" to avoid the research becoming isolated from those at whom it was directed.
- That the project itself is "part of ordinary Christian's responsibility to the church, and hence allow for the "rich insights of as many groups as possible".[126]

The important difference between this and other survey methods was that it sought to not only accumulate the data about religious beliefs and practices, but to differentiate its source and relate its interpretation to the person's life as a member of the church. This data was used to query personal interpretations of beliefs and practices. It compared the responses given to those of other people across a spectrum of attitude and commitment. This not only led to general conclusions that could assist pastoral practice, but also assisted the person interviewed to appreciate their own religious practice and belief.

Leavey and Hetherton responded to the difficulties that had come from the variety of responses generated and the problems of accurate interpretation in religious surveys.[127] Their method

[124] Leavey, *Catholic,* 1.

[125] Ibid. 3.

[126] Ibid. 4.

decided not to use the data of demographers or their projections into the future, since it was not subtle enough to use in pastoral planning for the church. Rather, they sought to engage people at the deeper level of values and faith experience. They also directed their investigations to all those who called themselves Catholic and not just to those who attend church on a particular Sunday.[128] In contrast to the process used by others, theirs respected the profound differences of religious attitudes and practices that existed in the society. They forecast a second phase for their research which was to focus on the pastoral concerns of both the Catholic and Protestant research into belief and practice.[129] However, this phase was not undertaken.

2.3 Conclusion: Identifying Change in Religious Practice

This chapter described the development of religious sociology in Australia from the 1960s to the present. Section one focused on the foundational work of Hans Mol and described his methodology and conclusions in detail. His studies led to an awareness of the irreversible nature of the changes to religious belief and practice in the community.[130]

Mol concluded that the role of religious sociology had an important influence on the future research of religious life in Australia. It identified that sociology was not able to understand the changing social situation by itself. A more reflective response was required, one that would understand and appreciate the importance of the relationships expressed in religious activities. The second section of this chapter demonstrated the difficulties of subsequent sociologists to establish methods of analysis that would take into account this important conclusion.

---

[127] Mol had previously been aware of these difficulties and the interpretation of data is discussed further in 4.3 c.f.

[128] Leavey, *Catholic*, 5.

[129] Ibid. 59.

[130] Mol challenged the churches to adapt their manner and style of pastoral practice in response to the changes that were happening in society. His previous work on the relationship of Western Civilisation and religion enabled him to put his Australian findings into a wider context. J.J. (Hans) Mol, *Christianity In Chains,* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1969), and J.J. (Hans)Mol, (ed.), *Western Religions,* (The Hague, Mouton, 1972).

Other conclusions from Mol's research identified changes in religious belief and practice across a broad spectrum of social interaction. For Catholics these changes were the continued numerical growth of the Catholic population, the decline in Sunday Mass, fewer entrants into seminaries and novitiates, the rise in the status of Catholics and the influence of the Second Vatican Council. An important conclusion drawn from his findings was the attitudinal change in religious practice, which identified the functional or tribal role of such practices in the community. The change in attitude contrasted with the search for a personal experience of God's presence that he also identified. In particular, Mol concluded that Western understanding of religion was based on the recognition of the personal relationship between God and humankind. Western Civilization owed its customs and laws to the dignity and equality of all people based on this relationship.[131] He also noted the differences between the Catholic and the Protestant responses to change in society, and in particular, that the Catholic involvement in sociological research was late in coming. Mole posed questions for the role of the churches in society based on his comparative analysis of the data gathered in 1965 and in his view they remained unanswered in 1985.

The second section described the role of the church agencies as they continued the work of Mol and interpreted in a variety of ways the situation the churches faced in a changing society. It concluded that the interpretations were as varied as the understanding of the task and the skill in the gathering and recording of data from surveys and census figures that had developed over thirty years. The agencies were established to provide pastoral strategies to the churches as they attempted to address the relevance of religion in Australian society. As a consequence the methodologies used in religious surveys were reviewed and more comprehensive formats were introduced, and it was concluded that this began to recognise the complex and individual nature of religious responses.

[131] Mol, *Religion,* 306.

In summary, this chapter concluded that the methods used by sociologists failed to adequately analyse the data and subsequently identify the underlying reasons for the changes that had occurred in religious belief and practice, in particular in Catholic life in Australia. These methods also failed to identify the link between the changes in traditional religious belief and practice and the personal experience of the presence of God, which was a deeper reality on which the former were based.

This leads to the theological response to the changes in Catholic life in Australia. Chapter Three examines the theological attempts to understand to the changes identified by sociology. Theology responded to the changes in society by developing a method that has been described as "doing Theology in an Australian context".

Chapter Three: The Theological Response

Introduction

This chapter examines the theological responses to the changing patterns of Catholic life from the 1970s to recent times. The literature review in Chapter One has shown the significant increase in theological titles during this time and, in particular, those that reflect the development of an 'Australian Theology'. In short, this trend indicated a move in theology from a dogmatic justification of change to a contextual consideration of the influence of the environment on religious expression and values. By the 1990s, a further development occurred with the call for "a more spiritual theology".[132] This call, expressed by Tony Kelly, indicated a direction in theology that became a search for an Australian expression of the spiritual in everyday life.

'Australian Theology' began by considering the impact of the human environment on the experience of the presence of God in daily life. The work of two Catholic theologians, Tony Kelly and Peter Malone, began with attempts to relate the desire of ordinary Australians to give expression to their personal experiences of God. Their aim was to enhance the traditional religious experiences of Catholics. The first section of this chapter describes the steps they took in their effort to engage the environment in the context of daily life, as the basis for expressing religious experience. A detailed examination of the writings of Kelly and Malone illustrates a movement from a theology that limited itself to the application of dogma, to one that responded to the influences of the environment, or the context, on the religious dimensions of peoples' lives. This change was seen as the opportunity to deepen the personal relationship with God, rather than the reverse. Theological reflection became engaged in a spiritual search for values and practices that were distinctly Australian, but ones that were also difficult to relate to the traditional religious sources.

[132] Tony Kelly, "Approaches to a Theology of the Holy Spirit", *Compass*, 17(1984)1, 31.

The approaches of Kelly and Malone though different were significant because of their starting points. Kelly responded to the call of the Second Vatican Council to relate theology to the difficulties and problems of the world today. Malone responded to the widespread dissatisfaction among Catholics with their traditional understanding of God and religion. He appealed to the spiritual dimension, which underpinned the sense of mystery that the Australian context brought to the lives of the first settlers and was then passed on to their descendents. His aim was to discover an Australian Spirituality.

In the 1990s the spirituality became an expression that was used by the general population. The ABC television series *Sea Change* reflected this phenomenon.[133] This title referred to a vague or mysterious relationship with the environment which in turn gave rise to a response that assisted people to face personal and social difficulties.[134] The very magnitude of the TV audience in this human-interest series encouraged further questioning of human values and attitudes both within and outside of the traditional religious parameters.

The second section of the chapter describes the transition from theologising about the presence of God in the world to discovering and reflecting on the presence of God in the everyday. This theological challenge was identified by Kelly as a "more spiritual theology"[135] and by Malone as "an Australian spirituality".[136] David Tacey ultimately described it in terms of *The Spirituality Revolution: The Emergence Of Contemporary Spirituality*. Thus, the relationship of theology to spirituality is established and is identified in the context in which people live. Sociology has

---

[133] ABC-TV, 1993-1997.

[134] Adam Shoemaker, "Introduction: The Power of Transformation" in *A Sea Change: Australian Writing and Photography,* Adam Shoemaker, (ed.), (Sydney: Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games, 1998), 9. He gave the origins of the phrase "Sea Change", from Shakespeare's *The Tempest,* "But doth suffer a sea-change, into something rich and strange", Ariel singing of the change in Prospero's father. He explained in relation to Australia, "A sea change: magical transformations; radical shifts, 'rich and strange' results. In Australia of the late 1990s, the nation is taking stock in many ways, in particular, how it recognises the new creation that it has become, and is even more on the verge of becoming?"

[135] Kelly, "Approaches", 31.

[136] Malone, *Discovering*, 2.

concluded that by the time Tacey published his book, the majority of Australians had moved away from traditional religious practice. Thus, this chapter examines the search for meaning as an experience of mystery, and the challenges that arose from the changes to context of people's lives. In many instances this took the place of religious practice. Other theologians also reflected this development and brief descriptions of their work conclude the chapter. An analysis of 'Australian Theology' and its relationship to spirituality follows in Chapter Four.

3.1 Kelly and Contextual Theology

In 1978 the discussion of 'Theology in an Australian Context' began in the Catholic tradition with the reflections of Tony Kelly.[137] In the Protestant tradition it began with those of Victor Hayes.[138] There were parallels between the two traditions. [139] However, the responses to the influences of context, culture and "spirituality" were significantly different in each tradition.[140]

The Anglican, Uniting and Lutheran religious traditions differed from each other and especially from the Catholic tradition. Examples of these differences are found in the pastoral responses that each made to the decline in church attendance. Each tradition depended on a different understanding of the significance of Sunday Worship. For the Catholics the emphasis was the celebration of the Eucharist. For the other traditions the emphasis was on the Word of God. The different understandings influenced the construction of the surveys put to the people as well as the interpretation of the responses returned. Earlier Mol had referred to this issue when he identified that sociology of religion needed to distinguish between the Catholic and Protestant (including Anglican) responses. The comparisons drawn between the churches that were based on numbers could not do justice to the different ways in which those who were surveyed were

---

[137] Tony Kelly, "Theology in an Australian Context", *Compass,* 12(1978)1, 1-7..

[138] Victor Hayes, (ed.), *Towards Theology in an Australian context, (*Bedford Park: AASR, 1979).

[139] Tony Kelly, "Theology in an Australian Context: Towards a framework of collaborative creativity*",* in Hayes *Towards*, 29-37.

[140] This was indicated by Mol's conclusions as early as 1971, cf. 2.1.4, and is further expressed in 4.2.

able to express their values.[141] Although the following focuses on the response of Catholics to the changes in religious practices and values, it is understood that the attitudes of the general community, and hence those of other churches have influenced them.

Kelly's reflections focused on the distinctly Australian cultural and environmental factors that influenced Catholic life and became the context of his theological reflection.[142] From an intellectual exercise which sought to broaden the debate on the value of particular theological processes, he moved theology to consider the desires of ordinary people as they responded to the presence of mystery, or the spirit of God in their every day lives.

3.1.1 From Contextual Theology to a New Imagining

Kelly's reflections began in 1978 with the article 'Theology in an Australian Context'. He noted the disinterest and hesitation on the part of Catholics to identify with any distinctive Australian influences on their religious beliefs and practices. The bitterness of religious sectarianism meant that religion was not discussed outside the formalities of ritual and those who held to values of a spiritual nature were regarded as oddities. The climate of distrust and suspicion of formal religion provided the context that led him to investigate ways of opening the conversation in this cultural setting. From this starting point his reflections are summarised under the following headings: "limit situations", "experiences of faith", "new imagining" and "the mystical element".

---

[141] Cf. 2.1.2.2.

[142] The following lists the publications of Tony Kelly: "Theology in an Australian Context", *Compass*, 12(1978)2, 1-7; "Theology in an Australian Context: Towards a framework of collaborative creativity", VC Hayes, (ed.), *Towards Theology in an Australian context,* (Bedford Park: Australian Association of the Study of Religion, 1979), 29-37; *Seasons of Hope*, (Blackburn: Dove, 1984); "Experience and Theology", *Compass*, 17(1984)4, 11-15; "Approaches to a Theology of the Holy Spirit", *Compass*, 17(1984)1, 29-41; "Functional Specialities in Theology", *Compass*, 20(1986)1, 39-41; "Lonergan's Dialectic: The study of Conflicts", *Compass*, 20(1986)1, 11-16; *The Range of Faith: Basic Questions for a Living Theology,* (Homebush: St Pauls Publications, 1986); "The Distribution of Wealth in Australia", *Compass*, 23(1989)2/3, 6-9; *A New Imagining: Towards an Australian Spirituality,* (Blackburn: CollinsDove, 1990); "Wholeness: Ecological and Catholic", *Pacifica*, 3(1990)2, 201-210.

3.1.1.1 "Limit Situations" in the Australian Context

Kelly looked for "features of Australian culture that are natively resistant to any creative contextual theology".[143] He began with a "contextual analysis" and chose a social issue of the time namely aboriginal land rights, to do so. Aboriginal sacred sites expressed a spiritual relationship between their religious beliefs and the land and this relationship was at the basis of the misunderstanding, misjudgement and ultimately confrontation between them and the European newcomers. Kelly described this type of reflection as a response to the "ultimate questions".[144] In other words, they were questions that challenged people to see the deeper issues that are encountered by living in Australia. It led to reflections that allowed the land to be seen in a different context from that of the European experience. This challenged preconceived attitudes and produced what he termed "limit situations". For Kelly these were moments that opened people to the presence of grace, or allowed the spirit to change attitudes. Prophetically, he concluded that failure to respond to these "ultimate questions" would mean that Australia as a nation would "continue to drift towards an antipodean Hell!"

Further reflections on the Australian character unmasked a cynical or "take it or leave it" diffidence that was often described as the "cultural cringe". Kelly explained the narrowness that this brought to religious discussion as "our very embarrassment about things spiritual: all tend to strand us on a very isolated sand hill, unaware of oceans of reality lapping around".[145] This contrasted with other areas where Australians accepted their distinctive achievements - particularly in sport. Donald Horne's *The Lucky Country* ambivalently expressed this in the 1960s. Strangely, Kelly was concerned that theology might belittle itself if it considered engaging this "bombastic context" to reflect on the presence of God.

---

[143] Kelly, "Theology", *Compass,* 1.

[144] Ibid. 2.

[145] Ibid. 6.

Thus "limit situations" described for Kelly a tentative call for Australians to "see deeper issues" behind the context in which they live. He added seven examples of "limit situations" that touched the core experiences of Australians, even if they were not aware of them. *Isolation* was a common experience of all Australians since all had come from other cultures and lands, often as rejects - convicts, migrants, or refugees. Ignorance, paternalism and even brutal greed continued to express *prejudice* towards Aboriginal Australians. The level of *affluence* among Australians expressed itself in the spending pattern on pets, which was more than many Asians were capable of earning in a year. *Migrants* presented the challenge of associating the histories of much suffering with much hope in a new land. The *leisure* time provided by the economic and physical environment was taken for granted. The value of *sexuality* was questioned by a masculine tradition that exploited the feminine. Finally, *The Land* presented its own challenge, as newcomers were exposed to the vastness of the inland.

Kelly concluded with a caution about the danger of *national* or *cultural* dogmatism. He cited the example of what had happened when Nazism or Apartheid were developed from a limited perception of the total human situation. In both situations, the aims and objectives of a particular group or people determined the theological reflection. Therefore, the "limit situations" he presented required balance, since the experiences themselves or the circumstances they brought forth needed the further context of faith in "a universal mystery of redemption". [146]

3.1.1.2 "Experiences of Faith"

Through the 1980s many people repeated Kelly's questions about the Australian situation. A change in attitude to the cynicism and brashness of Australian life was expressed in a graphic image, not by a theologian or church figure, but by a former Governor General:

[146] Kelly, "Approaches", 36.

> The first question is: Does Australia have a soul? I would suggest that if it does not have a soul Australia is not a nation but nothing more than an arid continent with a multitude of ants and flies and a small number of human beings crawling all over the place. I believe we have a soul.[147]

Others began to use similar examples of "limit situations". The experiences in history and literature recall the contradictions and paradoxes encountered by life in Australia and encouraged a deeper reflection on the Australian way of life.[148]

At this time Kelly's reflections moved beyond "contextual analysis" to another dimension as he questioned the practice of doing "theology more as a discipline (rather) than as a charism".[149] The latter opened the theological method to the influence of the spirit which was regarded with suspicion as it could degenerate into "a pseudo-mystical silliness, which refuses to think". He attempted to recognise that the "Spirit guides (the person) into a deeper knowledge of the mysteries of God". He used the Incarnation of Christ as an example of the significant divine intervention into human history, but in a manner that revealed in Christ the expression of his human relationship with the Father. The *Seasons of Hope* developed this further. In this book the blandness of systematic theology gave way to expressions that were less clearly defined, and reflected the importance of a personal experience of God. Later, he determined that the personal experience of faith became a criterion for the relevance of theology.[150] Thus, Kelly began to focus on the "experience of faith" as the point that led to further theologising.

The impetus for theological reflection was the distinctive context that gave rise to particular Australian experiences described above as the "limit situations". Kelly turned to the systematic theologian Bernard Lonergan to determine the significant experiences worthy of study.[151] The

---

[147] From a talk given by Sir Paul Hasluck, former Governor General of Australia, reprinted in *Quadrant*, XXXIV(1990)5, 14-15.

[148] Examples of this can be seen below in the workshop seminars and methods of Peter Malone.

[149] Kelly, "Approaches", 31.

[150] Kelly, "Experience and Theology", 11.

[151] Kelly, "Lonergan's Dialectic", 11-16.

value of "limit situations" were that they led to the discovery of "ultimate meanings and values" contained in or derived from these experiences. His concern was that reflection became lost in the semantics of defending theological positions, thus it lost touch with the "humble experience" itself. Ultimately, Kelly turned elsewhere for inspiration to pursue the examination of the Australian religious experience and what it reveals about a "soul".

3.1.1.3 "A New Imagining"

There was a marked change in direction and attitude by 1990. Inspiration came from life itself rather than from the genius of theological method.[152] In the preface to his book *A New Imagining: Towards an Australian Spirituality,* Kelly understood that the "search" itself elicited a freedom to look beyond prescribe parameters. He stepped out from behind a "block" that kept the "search" within fixed limits that were theological and doctrinal. His "call for a new imagining" was put forward with the realisation that the background from where it came controlled its expression. The promise of something new put aside the strictures of learnt disciplines and finally presented the call itself and the desire to be free to pursue it.

Kelly expressed his exasperation both with theological method and with the traditional spiritualities of Australian Catholicism. He expressed his desire to "think about what is most meaningful in our lives" as Australians. He attempted to "try to suggest the moral, intellectual, political and historical forms of imagining the world 'otherwise' ... imagination in a broader sense".[153] The task he presented raised issues, stretched imagination and rediscovered "God" with "the new language of Australia's future". This revealed a "soul in silence" and, in the pursuit of the reasons for the silence, he suggested eight "talking points" that allude to it. On

[152] The Australian Catholic Theological Association pursued an investigation of the methods of addressing the "Search for an Australian Theology" and published their findings in the *ACR:* "Notes on Annual Conference of the Australian Catholic Theological Association", 62(1985)4, 431-438; "Notes", 63(1986)3, 420-423; "Notes", 64(1987)4, 441-444. Also other papers were considered, such as, Gideon Goosen, "Boomerang Theology: Reflection", *ACR,* 64(1987)3, 385-392; and Frank Fletcher, "Gospel and Australian Culture", *Compass*, 21(1987)1, 2-6.

[153] Kelly, *Imagining,* ix-xiv.

reflection these produced a "soul searching" which could be analysed philosophically. He concluded that the historico-critical method when applied "Our Story" should articulate the 'whole past'. Kelly's appreciation of this was expressed in "The Land Held Holy" which was a reflection on the experiences derived from the Aboriginal people and their respect for the spiritual nature of the Land. This suggested an "Australian mysticism" that would emerge and reverse the image and experience of God, who had been experienced and seen as foreign and oppressive. Kelly acknowledged the practical *Workshops* of Peter Malone,[154] the heritage and discipline of Bernard Lonergan, and inspiration of the religious poetry in Les Murray's anthology.[155]

3.1.1.4 The "Mystical Experience" – Spirituality

Kelly interpreted the Australian characteristic reserve, or the hesitation to give expression to the feelings about their place in the world, as the "soul in silence". For him this touched the mystical element in human experience and became an area of reflection that inquired into the deeper realms of experience. The counter to this reflective silence was a self-conscious, defensive and bombastic behaviour that produced the appearance of a brash exterior. Even the consciousness of the unique qualities and the pride of achievement were tempered by the trait of ignoring the rest of the world if it suited. The Australian expression of religious experience developed along the same lines. As Kelly noted secular authors played a part in articulating the impasse when conversation stopped. In these circumstances, the preference was to "communicate in silence rather than in words". He referred to Patrick White's reflection:

> I believe that most people hunger after spirituality, even if their hunger remains in many cases unconscious. If those who dragoon us ignore that longing of the human psyche, they are running a great risk ... that society could - quite simply - die.[156]

---

[154] Cf. 3.1.2

[155] Les Murray, (ed.), *Anthology of Australian Religious Poetry*, (Melbourne: CollinsDove), 1986.

[156] Patrick White, "A Sense of Integrity", *Arena* 84(1988)103, quoted in Kelly's *Imagining,* 7.

This helped Kelly express the "longing" referred to by White as what had to be listened to in silence. For him this silence became the key to unlocking the soul. The spirituality that described this movement of the "soul" could not be expressed in traditional terms and, as White inferred, it was discovered in the Australian experience of life. This was one of the key points of Kelly's "imagining". The multicultural reality of Australia was an example of the "concern for a common future (which) carries within it a way of imagining the world otherwise".[157] Immigration was one of the "talking points" or "embarrassed silences" that left Australians speechless in the company of others.

In light of this reflection Kelly added to his "limit experiences". They now included the experiences encountered by events that focused on *The Commonwealth*, *migrants* and *the bi-centenary*). These brought to life issues, problems, or concerns of Australians and were the source of much "soul searching". They reflected changes in society that broke down traditional practices and attitudes and influenced all areas of life. Kelly pointed to the double standard of public morality and a "political spirituality" which used words of personal concern and allowed situations of injustice to persist. The desire for genuineness in the face of this duplicity expressed itself in the sub-culture that supported the "under-dog". This sub-culture had its origins in early settlement in the penal colonies, as well as the struggle to survive in the harsh physical environment. Kelly also found this in the everyday response of people to each other which was not expressed publicly. The "suspicion of religion" brought to Australia with the 19th century enlightenment, together the use of the clergy as moral policemen, had a part to play in this dichotomy.[158] Kelly saw that this called for a "new enlightenment" where religious experience lost the moral and legalistic emphasis that controlled the social life of the people. For him this would opened the way to re-discover "spirituality". People could find it in the silence of the awkward moment, the

[157] Kelly, *Imagining,* 12.

[158] This latter category applied less to the Catholic clergy as they came from the Irish tradition of sharing their lives of their people in an environment of persecution. Cf. Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community,* (Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1992), 10-14.

embarrassed silence of not knowing and the sacredness of personal space. This further described the "limit experiences" as those that opened up the opportunity for further deeper reflection on the meaning of life, so as to be in touch with the mystery within these experiences.

The concern Kelly had was to express this engagement with mystery in theological terms. He had earlier suggested the need to find another language with which to relate the experiences of the gospel to the experiences of life in Australia. He explained that "the Australian story occurs as a parable, upsetting what was grandly set-up ... here the despised ... possess the land". As a parable there was an "untold story" that came into being from the time of the first settlement in Australia; a story that focused on the pain and suffering, but was often covered over by the achievements of material prosperity. As a consequence, this challenged the present generations to be aware of the barbarity of the first years,[159] or the struggles of the late 1890s,[160] or the displacement of the Aboriginal people.[161] It would reveal the pain of those involved. Such a story could evoke the message of the gospel and encourage a greater acceptance of the difficulties and differences of the present day. He returned to his example of the 'Land'. The manner of its possession and its use contrasted to the "meek" of the gospel inheriting the 'Land', or the stewardship of the 'Land' as gift to be shared.[162] He recalled the untold story of the Aboriginal people who were dispossessed of their land and culture and their very existence threatened.

For Kelly therefore, the "telling of the story" revealed "limit situations" in the Australian experience. These "limit situations" challenged the respondents to a more thoughtful and deep reflection concerning Australian values and attitudes. An engagement with what arose in the minds and hearts of these created the space that would allow the silence to speak and a "new

[159] Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore,* (London: Collins Harvill, 1987).

[160] Albert B. Facey, *Fortunate Life*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1988).

[161] Sally Morgan, *My Place*, (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1987).

[162] Kelly,"Wholeness", *Pacifica*, 3(1990)2, 201-210.

imagining" would be possible.[163] In this context the gospel itself could touch the heart more profoundly.

3.1.1.5 Kelly's Initial Contribution

Kelly questioned the usefulness of the traditional approach of theology to explain the changes that had taken place in the lives of Catholics in Australia. He developed a response that identified the context within which the reality of God's presence was either lost, or discovered more deeply, based on a deeper understanding of the distinct and sometimes unique experiences of life in Australia. An Australian theology based on such experiences issued a challenge to produce "a more spiritual theology" that was able to speak to ordinary people. The dilemma for Kelly was the use of theological terms and analyses which could not be readily understood by ordinary people. Hence he called for a "new imagining" that would encourage the development of an understanding of God that came from the everyday interplay between life and reflection on scripture.

The dogmatic and systematic tradition of Catholic Theology was cautious, historically oriented and subject to the scrutiny of the Church.[164] This tradition was expressed in the *Catechism* and made available to assist Catholics to know by rote the answers to questions of faith and morals. A recent example is *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* published in 1992.[165] The style and purpose of this method limited its response to the changes that have occurred in society and in the Church.[166] Kelly understood that the Council saw the task of the theologian as assisting the

---

[163] Kelly, *Imagining,* 99.

[164] *Catechism,* #11. "This catechism aims at presenting an organic synthesis of the essential and fundamental contents of Catholic doctrine, as regards both faith and morals, in the light of the Second Vatican Council and the whole of the Church's Tradition. Its principal sources are the Sacred Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church, the liturgy, and the Church's Magisterium. It is intended to serve as a point of reference for the catechisms or compendia that are composed in the various countries".

[165] *The Catechism of the Catholic Church,* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1992).

[166] Cf. Neil Brown, *The Catechism of the Catholic Church,* (Homebush: St. Paul's Publications, 1990); Michael Putney, "The Catechism of the Catholic Church in the Australian Context", *ACR* 71(1994)2, 387-399; and Brian Grenier, "'Catholicism' Re-visited", *Compass* 29(1995)1, 45-47.

Church to be open to the pressures of modern life and therefore to be more effective in its teaching and its task of evangelisation.[167] Kelly had done this for the Church in Australia by identifying the distinct and different context within which Australians could experience mystery and therefore enter into a relationship with God.

3.2 Malone: From an Australian Theology to Australian Spirituality.

The research and writing of Peter Malone approached the changes in the Australian experience of God from a different perspective. He addressed the questions that arose in the Australian context by conducting a series of seminars that guided reflection on the personal and shared experience of the presence of God in the ordinary and everyday. As editor of the *Compass Theological Review,* in 1982, he devoted an issue to a collection of essays dedicated to the theme of the personal experience of God.[168] The selected contributors wrote brief accounts of their experience of God. In most instances they expressed concern that the traditional support of the Church, through its teaching and pastoral care, had failed to relieve the pain or confusion that they experienced in their lives. For many, the challenge to write about their experiences produced a deeper dissatisfaction. Malone commented in an "afterword" that, although the change had stimulated personal growth in their search for God, it continued to be a painful experience for them.[169] For some, their response took the form of an inner search that looked for new directions to discover meaning in their difficult and painful situations.[170]

---

[167] *GS.* #34, "The Church is guardian of the heritage of the divine Word and draws religious and moral principles from it, but she does not always have a ready answer to every question. Still, she is eager to associate the light of revelation with the experience of mankind in trying to clarify the course on which mankind has just entered."

[168] *Compass* 16(1982)1; Peter Toohey, "A Business Man and God", 1-4; Miriam-Rose Ungermerr, "Teaching (and being Taught)",7-10; Jan Chaplin, "With God's Help", 5-7; Irene Matta, "Coming to Australia", 17-21; Bruce Dawe, "My Experience of God", 16; Michele O'Neil, "God Always Loves, No Matter What," 22-25; Allan Powell, "A Perception and Experience of God", 25-29.

[169] Malone, "Afterword", *Compass* 16(1982)1, 39.

[170] The following examples taken from the above articles contain emotive words that clearly express the disillusionment they experienced. "My relationship with God ... He was very authoritarian and His Church (expressed this) in a similar vein". "Right under my nose; people who were not just starved in body but in spirit". "Bitter experiences of life (revealed that survival meant) to get in first before disaster comes". "Where, God, are you?" "For years now I have sat around waiting for just such a religious experience as you propose". (In migrant families) "money had become the priority" and replaced custom, tradition, religious belief. "My experiences and belief in God were often indescribably confused and frequently contrary to ... the Catholic Church". (This revealed) "my difficulties about coming to terms with a Personal God". "The result (is) a people who have failed to experience God

Therefore, Malone's point of departure addressed the pain and confusion expressed by those who responded to his invitation. He proposed a series of seminars entitled "Discovering Australian Spirituality" as a study of the responses of Catholics to the changing situation in their religious experience. He identified the changes in articles published in *Compass* at the time.[171] The seminars were conducted at Heart of Life Institute in Kew, Melbourne and took place over five years. He summarised the seminars in *Compass* on five occasions and concluded his reflections in *Discovering An Australian Theology.*[172] The following six sections describe the reflective method used by Malone to conduct the seminars and the distinctive characteristics identified in an examination of the Australian experiences of God, particularly those that differed from traditional religious expressions.

3.2.1 1983 Seminar I: A Catholic Spirituality? [173]

This seminar set out to be a "process of exploration with no pre-determined result". It began with the "lived experience of faith in our Australian context". It set out to "discover our own spiritual identity" as Catholics, and so enter into dialogue with fellow-Christians and fellow-Australians, thus pursuing a "Spirituality" that was seen being derived from Australian experiences. An early conclusion was that this required a language that would assist people to share their experiences of God.

---

in the prevailing religious attitudes". "The alternative life-style movements ... (that) clear away the cultural and religious debris that hinder us".

[171] Malone "*Discovering*", 16, gave an account of the significance of this step and its effect on various other groups and organisations in the years up until 1988. The workshops were conducted at the Heart of Life Spirituality Institute, Melbourne, Australia, and the people involved came from many and varied social and religious backgrounds. The following articles summarised the workshops. "Discovering an Australian Spirituality", *Compass,* 17(1983)4, 27-38; "Discovering an Australian Spirituality - an ongoing seminar II", *Compass*, 18(1984)2, 41-45; "Discovering an Australian Spirituality - III: The Desert", 1984 *Compass*, 18(1984)4, 2-7; "Discovering an Australian Spirituality - IV", 1985 *Compass*,19(1985)2, 37; "Discovering an Australian Spirituality - V: Australian Sinfulness", 1986 *Compass*, 20(1986)2, 21-24; "*Discovering*", 16.

[172] Peter Malone, (ed.), Discovering *An Australian Theology,* (Homebush: St. Paul's Publications, 1981).

[173] Malone, "Discovering", *Compass* 17(1984)1, 27-35.

Malone defined the *"Spirituality"* sought after as "the life which God has given us… and the personal assimilation and living out of this gift". This defined a framework to examine the *perspectives* and *motives* for the religious behaviour. For those in the seminar this involved adopting "a Gospel way of life, (or) a Gospel interpretation of life". Their religious behaviour expressed a spiritual ideal that inspired *"Devotion",* or a specific stance before God. The ideal was expressed in particular *devotions,* or patterns of behaviour that changed from time to time as they sought to give clearer expression to the underlying *Devotion*. This clarification provided the room to move from "enshrined traditional Church practices", or *devotions*, to the spiritual ideal or theology behind them.

To further identify the "*Spirituality"* in Australian experiences a method of reflection was adopted that was an exercise based on personal experience. It studied Catholic experiences of the time of early settlement, and thus identified various influences on the religious behaviour of the time. This led to a reflection on whether these influences could be the basis for what was described as "Catholic Spirituality". In order to deal with the large number of experiences, they were divided into those that occurred before the Second World War and those after. The case studies or examples taken from the literature of the earlier period reflected the character and behaviour of white settlers towards the indigenous peoples. An example from the post war period studied was the "lessening of faith" that had become evident to the participants in the general attitude to religion. The seminar established four questions with which it summarised its findings:

> "What was the deepest longing in the Australian heart today?
> "How do the majority of Catholics perceive God?
> "How do the majority of Catholics perceive Jesus?
> "What do you think was the most important focus for Australian spirituality today?"

The participants had been encouraged to look within themselves and their experiences for answers to questions previously answered by doctrine and dogma. Their reflections were linked to scripture texts that paralleled the aspects of *"Australian Spirituality"* that they had identified.

They shared these texts with each other and uncovered further experiences of Australian life that paralleled the texts they selected. The results were tabulated as follows:

> Larrikins, Underdogs, Ockers—*the poor of the* gospel;
> The experience of a hard God—*the love of Our Divine Lord*;
> Australian Symbols—*biblical images*;
> The vitality, competition, celebration of sport—*the "race" of Paul*;
> The "land"—*the "desert" of the scriptures*;
> Literature and Art—*non-material values*;
> Aboriginal presence—*another experience of God*;
> Migrants/refugees—*a spirituality of unity*;
> The experiences of God in Australia—*revelation continued*.

These conclusions foreshadowed the themes that were to be taken up in the 1984 seminar to continue the study into the Australian context of spirituality.

3.2.2 1984 – Australian Symbolism and Liturgy[174]

The second seminar chose three themes from the previous seminar to continue the seminar process. They were "Ockers, Larrikins, and Underdogs", "A Hard God and Our Divine Saviour", and "Australian Symbols". The participants were asked to collect their initial responses to the shared reflections on each topic, discuss them in small groups, and then record the group reactions. The hope was expressed that this exercise would influence Catholic liturgy so that it would be "a creative situation for experiencing Australian symbols". This was prompted by the conclusion that "There is still a greater use of signs (e.g. banners) than symbols". The experience of the seminar reflected the loss of relevance in the traditional religious symbols in the Australian context:

> While we consider Australia a secular society, because of the openness of so many symbols to the transcendent, it might be more correct to call ourselves an agnostic society. God is not denied—he is unknown or unknowable. There is a dichotomy between the symbol and the reality. There may be a rejection of religion and the

[174] Cf. Malone, "An ongoing seminar, II", fn. 169.

> religious, but not the desire for spirituality and the spiritual. Community symbols expressed as presence and participation in sports events show a sense of solidarity and spontaneity.

Such comments reflected the conclusions of sociology of the time.[175] However, the symbols used as the subject of reflection were from religious experiences predominantly taken from the literature of the nineteenth century. The struggle to incorporate the present day experiences into the reflection on an Australian Spirituality was a present day phenomenon.

3.2.3 1984 - Desert Spirituality. [176]

The third seminar, summarised in *Compass,* made no direct reference to the content or conclusions of the previous ones. However, it focused on the desert and semi-arid regions that make up seventy percent of the Australian continent, and the symbolic impact of this environment on the lives of all Australians, even those living in temperate regions. This threatening, inner centre of Australia was the subject of myth and legend. The seminar engaged this theme in various ways: as an Australian experience, its influence on Australian cultural expression, and as the basis for a comparative reflection of the desert in Scripture. The seminar this time was "data-gathering for further reflection". Thus for example was the Australian desert a parallel symbol of the religious experience in the lives of the people of Israel? The experiences of tragedy and heroism in the Australian desert reflected values contained in the scriptures.

3.2.4 1985 - Jesus for Australians.[177]

The report on the fourth seminar reviewed the "process used so far for (the) discovery" (of an *Australian Spirituality*). As well as the seminars being an exercise of data gathering, exploration and interpretation of themes, their principal function was to reflect on "the experience of those

[175] Cf. Mol, 2.1.2.2 and 2.1.4: also the theological discussion developed in 5.5.2 "Spirituality and Revelation"

[176] Cf. Malone, "Seminar III - The Desert", fn. 169.

[177] Cf. Malone, "Australian Spirituality: IV", fn. 169.

participating". The enthusiasm for the various projects of exploration and interpretation expressed a confidence that something had been achieved in a deeper understanding of the experience of God in Australia. Thus, the object of this seminar was to "attempt a Gospel portrait of Jesus for Australians" through a focus on "Australian themes (from the land to justice, from humour to journey)" across five areas of experience. These were:

> Our Heritage—the explicitly religious language of scripture used in the Church.
> Our History—the developing social contexts for a Gospel story.
> Our Experience—the lived history that still influences us.
> Our Environment—the contexts that make us distinctive.
> Our Culture—the Australian spirit, culture as the 'incarnation of values'.

Thus, the data from the past seminars introduced into the religious experience derived from the gospels. This was to open the way for a hermeneutic study of the use of religious language in the Australian context in order to better express the mysteries contained in the texts of scripture and the liturgy that gave expression to the religious tradition.

3.2.5 1986 - Australian Sinfulness[178]

This seminar selected a particular Catholic tradition and endeavoured to relate it to the Australian context. It aimed at assisting the participants to "examine their conscience" in the context of their social and cultural behaviour. The participants were asked to reflect on God's goodness as it was revealed in the history of Australia and then to use the Ten Commandments as "focal statements" to identify "sufficiently distinctive characteristics of Australian sinfulness". Reflections on "sinfulness, repentance and hope" emerged. In particular the reflection brought about an awareness of the difficulty faced by "upside-down people" to maintain a sense of equilibrium, and a sense of self worth in a strange environment, or in a context that produced distinctive responses not easily identified and appreciated.

[178] Cf. Malone, "V: Australian Sinfulness", fn. 169.

This reflection led to the question "Can there be a new heart for an Australian new world?" At the same time expressed pathos and a presumption of guilt that many people found difficult to accept. It was seen that the underlying question, "What has gone wrong in Australia?" prejudiced any examination of conscience. There was a cultural unease and insecurity that posed the converse question, "What was right in Australia?" This cultural conditioning ensured that guilt remained at the feeling level, and that the injustice was not addressed. Reflection on the circumstances and conditions of the first white settlement created problems that left scars on the Australian "soul".

3.2.6 1988 – The Church's Agenda

In *Discovering An Australian Theology* Peter Malone reported on the final seminar which occurred in 1987.[179] As the Bicentennial Celebrations were to take place in the following year the seminar focused on "What issues are essential for the Church's agenda in 1988?" In response each group of participants took a "model of the Church and explored how their particular model would deal with this agenda". The focus of the seminar returned to theology in the effort to situate the Church and its mission in the context of the Australian experience after two hundred years. The other articles in *Discovering An Australian Theology* took up this theme.[180]

[179] Peter Malone, "Discovering an Australian Spirituality", in *Discovering*, 11.

[180] The essays in Peter Malone's *Discovering* were: Peter Malone, "Discovering an Australian Spirituality"; Raymond Canning, "Sharpening the Questions"; Tony Kelly, "Theology in an Australian Context"; Frank Fletcher, "Drink from the Wells of Oz" and "Gospel and Australian Culture"; Patrick Dodson, "The Land Our Mother"; Denis Edwards, "Sin and Salvation in the Land of the Holy Spirit"; Lawrence Cross, "The Precipice: An Image for Contemporary Australian Theology?"; Michael Casey, "Adding depth to our response to local culture"; Francis J Moloney, "A Theology of Multiculturalism"; Maryanne Confoy, "Women's Impact on Theological Education;" Christine Burke, "Ministry as a Barometer of Change"; Patricia Hearity, "Evangelism and Culture"; Patrick Kirkwood, "Two Australian Poets as Theologians, Les Murray and Bruce Dawe"; Gideon C Goosen, "Boomerang Theology on Materialism".

3.3 The Beginnings of An Australian Theology: Conclusions

Kelly and Malone explored the response of everyday Catholics to the changes in Australian society with different methodologies. They covered the period from 1980 to 1990 and challenged the traditional theological response of the Church as they sought to understand the change and decline in Catholic religious behaviour. Their answer was to seek new ways of expressing the encounter of the mystery of God in people's lives. Their work was extensive and was the benchmark for further investigation. They established the practice of beginning the reflection of God in daily life as lived in Australia, and emphasised the distinctiveness of the experiences. Others contributed and continued their work. But efforts to engage in doing theology in an Australian context and to relate the cultural and environmental influences of the Australian context to the spiritual dimension of everyday life stand out. The initial works of Kelly and Malone explored a range of behaviour and attitudes of people to the sense of mystery, or the presence of God, in their lives. Their more recent works introduced two other influences on the relationship between Theology and Spirituality and identified the contribution that Australians and Australia have made to the ongoing task of understanding the human experience of God.

The Catholic experience continued to respond to situations and circumstances that were as diverse as the bicentennial events of 1988. These events were the High Court Marbo decision on Indigenous Land Rights in 1992, the Republican Debate in 1996, the celebration of New Millennium and the Olympic Games in Sydney in 2000. Other moral issues, such as the clergy and child abuse, the "lost generations" and the "children overboard" continued to challenge traditional religious responses. These realities challenged one's personal experience of God and often demanded a different response from the individual than from the Church perspective. The Australian context stretched the margins, and provided "limit situations" as opportunities for "soul searching" on an individual and national level.

Later contributors to this reflection were Eugene Stockton, Frank Fletcher, Gideon Goosen, and David Tacey. All of these strengthened the movement from theology to spirituality. Contributions began with articles in periodic journals such as *Compass Theology Review, Australasian Catholic Record*, and *Pacifica* and led to an increase in the publications that focused on the transitions that occurred in Australian Catholic behaviour and belief.

3.4 "A More Spiritual Theology"

This section concludes the description of the work of Kelly and Malone and introduces others who reflected on the change in religious attitude and practice among Catholics and other Australians. What began as a study of the personal experiences of God developed into a theology that set out to create links between the traditional teachings and practices of the Church and the social and environmental context of Australia. After two centuries of settlement and prosperity as a people, Australians had distanced themselves from their European heritage. This led to the rise in "soul searching" in the 1980s and then developed into a search for identity and a "sea-change" in attitude to all aspects of cultural and religious life. This was the case in the general society and among Catholics and theologians. From 1990s it became clear that this response was a reaction to the Western European cultural hegemony on which past social and religious practices and values had been established and maintained.

This chapter began with the quest for a theology in the context of the Australian experience and traced the movement from contextual theology to the search for spirituality. This described the work of Kelly and Malone as the principal contributors. Into the 1990s this development became clearer, as Kelly struggled with the challenge of theology to give more expression to the

"soul searching" of the people. Malone, as editor of *Compass,* continued to publish essays on this topic and summarised them in a sequel to his earlier book in *Developing an Australian Spirituality.*[181]

The literature review identified the increased interest in "spirituality" in the 1990s.[182] David Tacey published a number of books in this period, and his latest highlighted the extent of the interest by 2003 as it posed the question "What is the spirituality revolution?"[183] He identified "spirituality" as a response by society generally to the economic, political, and environmental pressures placed on Australians and its associated religious disillusionment and frustration. Titles that showed interest in all aspects of the paranormal, the mysterious, and the puzzling after-death experiences, proliferated. The generic category of these experiences was "Spirituality", and embraced reflections and descriptions of the "new age", "eastern" and "neo-paganism" religious experiences, to interests that went beyond the explanations of the religious traditions and had their origins in secular humanism. The following descriptions however, focus on the changes in the Catholic religious practice and values in the context of the "Spirituality Revolution".

3.4.1 An Australian Theology: Honest, Appreciative and Spiritual

Kelly continued to be significant both in the constancy of his desire to give expression to the religious experience in the Australian context, and also in the production of timely articles in a variety of periodicals, publications and lectures.[184] He based his reflection on spiritual motivation underneath the "limit situations" in the Australian experience of life. "The 'Down

---

[181] Peter Malone (ed.), *Developing an Australian Theology,* (Strathfield: St. Paul's, 1999).

[182] Cf., Appendix One, Tables Seven and Ten for details.

[183] Tacey, *Spirituality*, 1.

[184] Tony Kelly, *Touching on the Infinite: Explorations in Christian Hope*, (Melbourne, CollinsDove, 1991); "Spirituality: An Australian Accent", *The Way Supplement* 73(1992)1, 87; *An Expanding Theology: Faith in a World of Connections*, (Newtown: E.J. Dwyer, 1993); "Praxis and Pragmatism in an Australian Theology", *ACR* 17(1994)3, 261; *Consuming Passions: Christianity and the Consumer Society*, (North Sydney: Australian Catholic Social Justice Council, 1995); "Whither 'Australian Theology'?: A response to Geoffrey Lilburne", *Pacifica* 12(1999), 192-208; "From Cultural Images to Historical Reality", in Peter Malone (ed.), *Developing,* 65; "Reflection on Spirituality and the Church", *ACR* 78(2001)3, 309; "Poetry and the Language of Faith in Australia", *Compass* 35(2001)2, 3; *The Bread of God: Nurturing a Eucharistic Imagination*, (Sydney: HarperCollins, 2001), "The Consumer Does Pay", *Compass* 36(2002)4, 17.

Under' experience has its own point of view. Our rather singular little history is going forward into a new stage, perhaps to fizzle as an experiment that failed, perhaps to die into something more wonderful and more healing than what we have known".[185] Malone used his media experience to describe the elements of Australian experience that became the subject of poems, novels, tales, and legends and continued to give expression to Australian response to each other, to the world and to the divine. For both, the use of language in the conversation that spoke of the transcendent or immanent experience beyond the persons themselves became important.[186]

3.4.1.1 Kelly: Developing a Language of Faith

The pathos in Kelly's reflections gave expression to a distinctive appreciation of the spiritual:

> In this context, spirituality is based in a fundamental principle: the transcendent is most meaningfully explored as the fulfilment and the affirmation of 'the true self', in all its individual, social, global, and cosmic dimension. The neglect of such a principle has caused 'God in Australia' to be so often presented as a foreign and abstract reality, and the 'Australian self' to be mutilated or disowned.[187]

Kelly describes that for authenticity, the Australian human experience has to be taken seriously in its pain and hardship as well as in its beauty and wonder. This contrast, so explicit in events beyond the control of the individual, would lead a person into silence. It was a silence that asked more questions than the traditional supports, doctrines and religious practices. It was the point at which the Church struggled to be relevant in the lives of many. Thus, for him, the theological debate about context sought to authenticate the Australian reality, to appreciate the gift of faith to Catholics and Christians that grew out of their experiences. Kelly's influence moved the reflection beyond the modernist heritage of linguistic semantics that was caught between immanence and transcendence, and opened up new possibilities for appreciating the presence of

---

[185] Tony Kelly, "Spirituality", 87.

[186] This point was further developed in "From the Divine Comedy to the X-Files: A Conversation with the Beyond" a paper by Paul Cashen delivered at the LEST Conference, at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2001. Subsequently published in an abridge version in *The Mix,* 8(2003)6, 4.

[187] Kelly, "Spirituality", 88.

God. Words themselves could not fully explain or describe the experience of mystery or the presence of God. For this reason Kelly preferred to use poetic language as well as theological argument.

Recently, in "Poetry and the Language of Faith in Australia",[188] and "The Consumer *Does* Pay",[189] Kelly called for a balance in choosing words that gave expression to the spiritual. He saw the necessity for a person of "faith" to use carefully words or images or ideals of a spiritual nature. This description of his reflections concludes by returning to the original question of 1978 with Kelly's response expressed over twenty years later:

> A fully developed theology in an Australian context must be a reflective form of ecclesial faith seeking its best cultural expression at this crucial stage of Australian history. The point might be better made by suggesting that if our developing theology is not accompanied, albeit dialectically, by a developing ecclesiology, it will be socially disembodied and de-historicised.[190]

3.4.1.2 Malone: Culture, Religion and Spirituality

Ten years after *Discovering An Australian Theology* and its focus on seminar experiences, Peter Malone published *Developing An Australian Theology.* This work examined the development that had taken place in Australian theology. We have seen Kelly's reflections on how contextual theology gave expression to questions of faith influenced by the circumstances of the time, and that saw this was the next step in the task of theology. He referred to the experiences of Malone's seminars as the positive data that could be used to relate the message of scripture and tradition to the lives of people in Australian today. The essays in *Developing An Australian Theology* reflected the increased interest in the spiritual over that time. Malone divided the essays into "perspectives", "issues" and "directions". The "perspectives" identified the significant influence of ecumenism on the life of the Church and society, and the increase in the number of women

[188] Kelly, "Poetry", 2001.

[189] Kelly, "Consumer", 2002.

[190] Kelly, "From Cultural Images", 75.

theologians. These influences broadened the scope of theological reflection. The "issues" arose from a variety of Australian religious experiences and provided more data with which to identify, establish and contribute to reflection. Finally, "Directions" gave two examples of a *developing theology* in progress. Eugene Stockton used his priestly, pastoral, anthropological and rural experiences to illustrate the work of a "bush theologian".[191] Frank Fletcher used a more refined theological process to link the human experience of Australians to their origins, or "what came with them from where they came". Fletcher reflected on the images, idols, or stories that have given life and substance to people of faith.[192] They both provided a context for theology and placed each person with God, thus helping each to make sense of their world.

Malone, and his successor as editor of *Compass,* Barry Brundell, provided much of the stimulus to broaden the discussion of contextual theology. In the years between *Discovering Australian Theology* and *Developing Australian Theology* together published approximately seventy articles in *Compass* that explored the relationship between culture and religion. In particular they described the search for an Australian response to the changes occurring in the Catholic Church. A similar number of articles were published in the *Australian Catholic Record* over the same period. Religion in Australia, as the sociologists indicated, was an important issue for most Australians. The problems facing the established churches derived from their inability to express religious values and beliefs in a relevant manner. The articles responded to similar concerns: the "crisis" that the changes have brought to the Catholic Church, the growing interest in "spirituality", and the search for a deeper understanding and appreciation of Australian cultural history. Each related the many experiences of Australians as they searched for the "support to preserve their own selfhood in the face of—ultimately global—dehumanising pressures".[193] In an editorial in 2002, Brundell concluded that "the articles (in this issue) … mainly concentrated on the contemplative dimensions: spirituality and prayer and the challenge to live a more human life … (and) that we

[191] Eugene Stockton, "Their Blackened Stump" *Compass* 22(1988)1/2, 19-25.

[192] Frank Fletcher, "Drink from the Wells of Oz" in Malone, *Discovering,* 59-73.

[193] Barry Brundell, "Religion in Australia", *Compass* 36(2002)4, 2.

will best serve our neighbourhood by being more authentically who we are".[194] The context in which human beings experienced the presence of God continued to be the challenge for Australian theology.

Kelly and Malone began thirty years of reflections on "Theology in the Australian context". Their work has been selected because it covered the period in which Australian Catholic life had changed so much. They started their reflection by focusing on the changes as they occurred, and the changing pattern of Catholic religious behaviour and attitudes raised further questions for them. This led to the desire to express more clearly the spiritual response that was distinctive to the Australian context and environment. Their desires were seen to be expressed as "soul searching", "limit situations", "search for identity", "sea change", and other ways that had their origin in the desires at the heart of Australian life. The contribution of Kelly and Malone was their commitment to interpret the spiritual message of the Christian tradition and so offer to many a more authentic experience of the presence of God.

3.5 Other Authors: From Context to Spirituality

During the period considered by Kelly and Malone, others responded to the challenge presented to theology in Australia. The focus of these writings moved from the defence of traditions and practices, to the active engagement of the personal experiences of God in the lives of the people themselves.[195] For Kelly and Malone, the role of theology was to relate these experiences to the mysteries of Christian teaching, in words that were relevant for the time.

---

[194] Barry Brundell, "Religion in Australia", *Compass* 36(2002)4, 2.

[195] In particular Denis Edwards, Neil Brown, and Frank Fletcher produced many books and articles whose title reflect their response of developing a theology that was based on the Catholic and human experiences of living in Australia. The following lists are not exhaustive, but indicative: Denis Edwards, *The Human Experience of God, (*New York: Paulist Press, 1983); *What are They Saying About Salvation?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1986); *Called to be Church in Australia,* (Homebush, St.Pauls, 1989); *Jesus and the Cosmos,* (Homebush: St Pauls Publications, 1991); *Made from Stardust: Exploring the place of human beings within creation,* (Blackburn: CollinsDove, 1992); *Jesus the Wisdom of God: An Ecological Theology,* (Homebush: St Pauls Publications, 1995); The *God of Evolution: A Trinitarian Theology,* (New York: Paulist Press, 1999); (ed.), *Earth Revealing, Earth Healing: Ecology and Christian Theology,* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2001). Neil Brown (ed.), *Faith and Culture, Faith and Culture Series, vol. 1.* Catholic Institute of Sydney, Manly, 1978 and subsequent issues of this series up until 1990. Frank Fletcher "Drink from the Well of *Oz", Compass* 20(1986)1, 16-22; "Gospel and Australian Culture", *Compass*

Gideon Goosen in 2000 traced the development of theological reflection and writing in Australia since the Council in *Australian Theologies*.[196] He added the universal aspects of the context from within which "theology is done" to the emphasis on the local that had previously been stressed. At the same time he noted the shift from the analytical that sought to correct human behaviour and reasoning by comparison, to one that investigated and then created new expressions of the reality of God's presence in the world.[197]

John Thornhill focused on the response of the Church to the changing patterns of religious life. He wrote about the disjunction between what the Church professed and held dear, and the ability to express these values and truths in ways that people could appreciate.[198] The difficulties faced by the Fathers of the Council, which he applied to the life of the Church in 1999:

> There can be no doubt that the Church's present difficulties are associated with the institutional transformation called for by the Council's program of renewal…. However, few churchmen and theologians had a clear recognition of the immense practical implications – sociological, cultural, anthropological – of the transition called for… Today's Church finds itself forced to come to terms with these implications.[199]

On the one hand, the Church had difficulty in facing its own limitations and, in particular, the challenge to give an adequate expression of the message Christ. On the other, an increasing number of its members expressed dissatisfaction because the Church failed to inspire and assist

---

21(1987)1, 2-6; "Culture and Social Theology Within the Australian Context", *Compass* 22(1988)3, 28-37; "An Alternative Approach to the Wealth Inquiry", *Compass* 23(1989)2&3, 10-12; "Experiencing Aboriginal Theology", *NO* 12(1990)6, 23-5; "Aboriginals and White Structures", *NO* 12(1990)10, 30-1; "Striking the Rock", *Compass* 25(1991)4, 10-12; "The Church, the Council and the Politics of Reconciliation", *NO* 13(1991)9, 26-8 "The Struggle of Aboriginal People Within Australian Society", *Compass* 26(1992)2, 46-8; "Australian Spirituality and Mary MacKillop", *Compass* 29(1995)1, 1-5.

[196] Goosen, *Australian Theologies*.

[197] Ibid. 21.

[198] John Thornhill, *Sign And Promise: A Theology Of Church For A Changing World*, (London: Collins Liturgical, 1988); *Christian Mystery In The Secular Age: The Foundation And Task Of Theology,* (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1991); *Making Australia: Exploring Our National Conversation*, (Newtown: Millennium, 1992); "The Australasian Scene: A Parable of the Officers on the Crowed Ship", ACR 74(1997)1, 99-109; "Understanding the Church's present Difficulties and the Reactions they are Producing", ACR 76(1999)1, 3-10; "Effective Pastoral Leadership: Forming the Disciples of the Lord?" ACR 76(1999)2 , 144-153. "Creative Fidelity in a time of Transition", ACR 79(2002)1, 3-10.

[199] Thornhill, "Understanding", 3.

them in their life with God. Other authors explored the consequences of the growing disjunction between traditional religious expression and values and the search for a new spirituality that engaged the everyday longing in lives of Australians.[200] The introduction to *God Down Under* expressed it this reality:

> The 'secularist' nature of the Australian experience can however, be overstated. The judgement also discounts the profound impact of Christian missionaries, churches and Christian laypeople in shaping Australian institutions and values. Nevertheless, there is in Australian life a greater marginality of Christianity, reflecting in particular the utilitarian cast of colonial origins and the formative development of Australian culture. At the same time, despite this secularity (or perhaps because of it) there has been a growing undercurrent of spiritual questioning in Australia.[201]

Tacey's *The Spirituality Revolution* in 2003 explored and documented his experiences with undergraduates and other young people who had lost touch with the Church. He observed that they had turned to, or were interested in, an expression of the 'spirit' in their lives outside the traditional religions. He was critical of what he saw as the Catholic Church's disinclination to engage this phenomenon in the lives of young people today. He was equally critical of those older traditions and customs that looked askance at people dabbling in 'spiritual things'. Tacey's extensive work was characterised by its endeavour to understand and appreciate the movement of the 'spirit' in the lives of young Australians.[202] His findings reacted to the traditions of the Church and he challenged it to look more closely at its expressions of the sacred and of mystery. Further, he urged it to develop new expressions of these gifts that would be able to be communicated to the people of today.

---

[200] Winifred Wing Han Lamb, and Ian Barns, (eds.), *God Down Under: Theology in the Antipodes.* (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2003), Rachael Kohn, *The New Believers: Re-Imagining God, (* Sydney: HarperCollins, 2003).

[201] Lamb, *God*, ix.

[202] Other works of David Tacey include: *Edge of the Sacred*, (Melbourne: HarperCollins, 1995); *Jung and the New Age*, (London: Routledge, 2001); *Re-Enchantment: The New Australian Spirituality*, (Melbourne: HarperCollins, 2000).

3.6 Conclusion: From Contextual Theology to Spirituality

This chapter has traced the movement in theological method from the dogmatic, to the contextual and to the spiritual. This movement was a consequence of the response by individuals to the changes in religious expression and experience among Catholics. In other words, theologians began with a problem-solving exercise, which became a response to the search for meaning in the context of Australian life and finally a reflection on the personal experience of God. The work of Kelly and Malone was examined in detail because of the central place they had in the initial period. They began by relating the experience of God in everyday Australian life to the gospel values within the customs and practices of the time. However, their appreciation of the changed attitude of Catholics inspired them to turn their attention to the pastoral situation that was beginning to emerge. As has been described the pastoral situation was characterised by a decline in church attendance, fewer priests and religious, and a loss of confidence in church authorities.

The initial reflections on 'Theology in an Australian Context' developed into the search for a "more spiritual theology" and "Australian Spirituality". This was identified as the search for meaning and purpose in the wider Australian community, albeit in the vague and generalised spiritual experiences that came from a wide variety of sources. The starting point was the Australian context, or the appreciation of the environment, both local and global. Ultimately, reflection moved the recognition of the influence of the spiritual in the everyday the lives of the people and their response to the presence of God in this context. From there the religious experiences of ordinary Australians were linked to the traditions and teachings of the Church taking into account the particular circumstances of the time.

By the year 2000 questions arose that focused on the future of pastoral ministry in the Catholic Church in Australia, at least for "churchmen and theologians" (Thornhill's phrase). These

questions related specifically to the ability of church leaders to appreciate and respond to the gift of faith that the people experienced. For most people the experience of God was outside traditional patterns. It was recalled that earlier in 1971, Mol maintained that sociological analysis could not explain changes in religious behaviour. In fact, the influence of social and environmental pressures on religious belief and practice revealed the complex nature of the human response to any surveys. This was the task of theologians.

This chapter concluded further, that the changes in Catholic life expressed themselves as the search for meaning, or the "search for a soul", or for a "sea change". In other words, there was a search for a spirituality that would underpin the mystery experienced in the ordinary and everyday events and situations of Australian life. The task of theologians was to relate these experiences to the mystery of God's presence. In Australia Kelly, Malone and others identified these experiences as pivotal to the renewal of the life of the Church in Australia. Chapter Four will analyse in detail this development.

Chapter Four: Analysing the Changes to Australian Catholic Life

Introduction

This chapter analyses the studies of sociology and of theology as they responded to the changed patterns of belief and practice in Australian Catholic life. As described in Chapters Two and Three these changes were extensive and illustrated a complex relationship between the ordinary Catholics and Church authorities. The pastoral efforts of the latter found it difficult to address the changed circumstances as they occurred in the lives of the people. This analysis will conclude that the pastoral renewals of the Church failed to understand the underlying reasons for the changes and therefore could not relate the changed circumstances of the people to the traditions of the Church.

The analysis studies the influence of the findings of sociology of religion on the development of contextual theology. In short, the analysis will identify that the changes in religious behaviour and attitude led to a 'more spiritual' theological response. Kelly and Malone's positive response to these changes developed strategies, over a period of ten years, to better appreciate their significance and influence in the lives of Catholics. The chapter sets out to link the changing religious patterns to the theological responses that focus on everyday life. It shows that the opposite response, one that questions the motives and faithfulness of the people involved, led to further alienation from the Church. The purpose of this analysis is to identify that the changes that occurred led to a 'more spiritual' theological response. Kelly and Malone adopted a positive response to change and developed strategies over a period of ten years to better appreciate its significance and depth in the lives of Catholics.

The chapter then compares the growth of the "spirituality revolution" to the decline in the traditional "religious" response to change. In this comparison the Church's efforts in pastoral renewal contrast with both the "more spiritual" approaches of Kelly and Malone, and the general

response found in the "spirituality revolution". The failure of the Church's response to change was identified by the sociologists as they continued to identify the significant behavioural change, dysfunction and the dissatisfaction within the Church.

This analysis will conclude that the "more spiritual" approach or the "spirituality revolution" provide an opportunity for Church authorities to engage the members of the Church in their everyday encounters with God. These two approaches are open to the desires of the heart for Catholics as they seek the presence of God in their daily lives. They also recognise a pattern of spiritual life that differs from the one previously held, and yet as an authentic expression of the life of the Church.

4.1 Interpreting the Data of Sociology

Chapter Two concluded that the studies of sociology of religion in Australia were limited by the inaccurate interpretation of the data they gathered.[203] The inaccuracies originated in three areas: from the methods used to gather the data, from the lack of recognition of the context within which it was gathered and interpreted and from the defensive response of the Church to the data itself. Each of these areas are analysed to gain an accurate understanding of the significance of the data. The following considerations also illustrate the difficulty the Church faced in its interpretation of the changed pattern of religious belief and practice.

4.1.1 Gathering the Data

Initially the surveys and opinion polls suggested that a simple quantitive comparison of the data collected from one historical era to the next would indicate significant change. This interpretation of data was misleading when it was taken without reference to the reasons for the

[203] Cf. 2.3.

change or the context from which or for which it was gathered. Mol, for example, acknowledged and respected the hidden data underlying the work of sociology in religious experience. For him this meant the reality of the experience of God, or lack of it, expressed in people's lives. He recognised that this context may not have been necessary in other areas of sociological research. Furthermore he argued that in studies of human experience and behaviour, and especially in matters of religious belief and practice, it was difficult to achieve the objectiveness required without acknowledging the deeper realities.[204] Mol stated that without this consideration the conclusions were too general and required further research. Certainly his message to the churches underlined the importance of interpreting the changes in behaviour and the danger of accepting the conclusions of raw data at face value. He believed that sociology assisted society to appreciate its structures and its ability to analyse their development and to benefit from the traditions of past generations.

Using this principle it can be concluded that the data collected in a particular era is able to reveal common structures that support a society from one era to the next, and beyond. This data could identify differences, and particularly, those practices that had lost relevance, or those that were introduced to respond to a new set of circumstances. However, interpretations that were limited to mere quantitive measurements could not gauge the depth of the religious attitudes of the people involved. Nor could they objectively identify the responses used by the churches to address the changes in religious practice and belief.

Those who addressed the changes in religious practice often misunderstood the meaning of the data. For example, data that indicated a statistical increase in non-attendance at religious services, or in the rejection of the directives of church authority, was often interpreted as a measure of personal failings or of moral laxity within the community. A challenge to this interpretation was presented in the 1980s in two issues of *Concilium.* These articles summarised

[204] Mol, *Faith,* 217; also Mol's Conclusions summarised in 2.2.4.

the responses of many Catholics to the decline in mass attendance and fewer vocations to the priesthood and religious life and passed judgement on those involved.[205] The words commonly used to address the growing phenomena referred to those who had "lapsed" in their faith as 'apathetic', 'disinterested' or 'disaffected' with Church authorities. This labelling over-simplified the situation that people faced both in Australia and America. It reflected an interpretation based on the numerical response of the people rather than on the effort to exercise pastoral care. With this in mind, Peter Kaldor interpreted the data and the situation in different terms. He argued that mutual responsibility should be taken for the situation:

> For churches to grow they must be *connected* to the local community and the various cultural groups represented in it. This will depend both on the *receptivity* of the community and the openness of the churches. Factors both external and internal to church life will work together to create each of these.[206]

4.1.2 The Data in Context

Mol and others concluded that the best use of sociology in religious matters was to assist the newer generation to appreciate what had been passed onto them from previous ones. Mol encouraged a forward thinking church – one that would incorporate its traditions and teaching into developing and changing the lives of its people. He pointed to the Church's ignorance of the cultural heritage of the Indigenous people and its inability to challenge the Church and all Australians.[207]

Wilson stressed the importance of understanding the data in a particular context, and of not assuming that the statistics revealed the whole story.[208] Harris, in "Counting Christians", pointed out that individual churches interpret a common body of data very differently. Census figures

---

[205] Kossua and Geffré, "Indifference to Religion"; L. Provost and M. Wlaf, (eds.), *Concilium*, "Power in the Church", (Edinburgh: Clarke, 1988), were too articles that discuss the response of Church authority to change.

[206] Kaldor, *Who Goes Where?* , 8.

[207] Cf. 2.1.4. A year later JohnPaul II on a visit to Australia, addressed a national gathering of indigenous people in Alice Springs and directly challenged the Church in Australia to acknowledge the presence of God in their lives and rituals that had existed in Australia for over fifty millennia. JohnPaul II, *The Pope in Australia: Collected Homilies and Talks, (*Homebush: St. Pauls Publications, 1986), 171.

[208] Wilson, "The Church", 10; cf. 2.3.3.

were seen by some as 'signs from God', one that called for immediate pastoral and personal response and others judged the authenticity of a person's faith by "how many times" an action was performed. Harris asked, "is growth (numerical) required for witness, or is it a throw back to religious imperialism of the nineteenth century?" [209] This "forward looking" use of data required a wider vision of the church and its mission, and Harris was neither content with, nor was rushed to judgement by a simple comparison of quantitive data.

Thus the context of the research provides vital additional information that further affects the accuracy of an analysis of data. This was bourn out by Leavey and Hetherton in their research project with its "findings and implications" and "its practical suggestions".[210] They employed the methods of sociology in direct conjunction with the skills of pastoral practice and their ability to interpret personal and communal responses to religious attitudes and practices. The context of their research was defined and identified before the data was collected. Their methods were adopted and adapted by the *Catholic Church Life Survey* of 1996. This was a complex and focused survey with the task of assisting pastoral planning in response to changes in Catholic life.

4.1.3 The Defensive Response to Change

Mol recognised the importance of studying the influence of religion in Australian society, and focused on the positive appreciation of religious values.[211] A decade later the *Christian Research Association* was concerned with the decline in affiliation and practice in the Protestant and Anglican Churches.[212] Its assumption that the churches were under pressure to respond to the decline resulted in a defensive response. This negative approach proved unable to provide solutions that were pastorally effective, and therefore was unable to alter the decline. Many

[209] Harris, "Counting", 231; cf. 2.3.3.

[210] Cf. 2.2.5

[211] Cf. 2.2.3.

[212] Cf. 2.2.3.

researchers had difficulty moving from the presentation of data to providing an understanding of why the changes had occurred.[213]

In the surveys that responded to the decline Wilson identified the predisposition of defensiveness. He argued that the decline in church affiliation and attendance was not the result of "secularism". He reasoned that there was a need to look beyond the churches themselves for the reasons for change. He used the example of the situation in Britain where the decline in attendance was paralleled by the rise in the pop cultures of astrology and the like. People looked to these experiences for answers that had previously been provided by the church.[214]

Whilst some used the data to conclude that either religion was dead or under threat, others embraced the concept of Karl Rahner's "anonymous Christian". This latter response identified that in spite of the public decline in commitment and religious practice, "People still long for God, even when they don't know what it is they are longing for." [215] Cyril Hally further developed this positive response by recognising that adherence and churchgoing required individuals to understand their own level of faith. He saw too that their ability to respond required encouragement from the Church. His reference to Andre Charron's "eight degrees of distance from faith" matched the developments of Fowler and others that pursue the task of explaining in more detail the depth that such a response required.[216]

---

[213] Ian Breward, *Australia: "The Most Godless Place Under Heaven"*, (Melbourne: Beacon Books, 1988) expressed the negative attitude towards religion by early Australians arrivals, recalling their rebellious nature in matters of religious belief and practice.

[214] Wilson, "The Church", 4.

[215] Carmel Leavey and Margaret Hetherton, *Catholic Beliefs And Practices*, (CollinsDove, Melbourne, 1988), 113. The quotation was from Rosemary Houghton, *There Is Hope For A Tree: A Study Paper On The Emerging Church*, (Sydney: Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace,1984).

[216] Cyril Hally, "Growth Patterns in the Catholic Church", in Hynd, *Shape*, 86. Also James Fowler, et al. (eds.), *Stages of Faith and Religious Development: Implications for Church, Education, and Society*. (London: SCM Press, 1992), and his earlier work *Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning*, (San Francisco: Haper & Row, 1981).

4.2 Analysing the Interpretations of the Data

The surveys and opinion polls conducted by sociologists identified the significant changes that had come to Catholic life in Australia since the 1960s. Church authorities interpreted the data and responded to the changes it identified in ways that varied from "crisis management", to radical efforts in pastoral ministry. The interpretation of the seriousness and depth of the changes determined the response. The understanding of the relationship between the practice of religion and social life, and whether or not the changes could be accepted positively or with suspicion also affected this response. The deeper appreciation of the values involved was at stake.

4.2.1 The Extent of the Change

Chart One (in Appendix Six) compared the decline in the practice of regular mass attendance among Catholics with the growth in the Catholic population taken from various sources between 1960 and 2001.[217] The comparison revealed the growth of the change in behaviour and attitude, and ultimately, in the extent of the dilemma that it presented. This comparison challenged the Church to interpret the attitudes and motives reflected by the increasing gap. The continual growth of this gap indicated that the Church was not able to do so successfully. The decline in traditional religious practice was commented on. It raised questions in the media and, as the number of scandals and "cover-ups" were discovered and highlighted, the Church and "organised religion" was judged as being in decline, corrupt and irrelevant.[218] The early response to the decline in the 1980s saw the rise of articles and studies concerned with the impact of "secular" culture, of Christian "nominalism", the increase in "no-religion" in the national census,

[217] Cf. Appendix, 12.

[218] The media focused on the paedophilia scandals with unrelenting and often misleading generalisations. However, the Church was slow to respond to the seriousness of the crimes that had been committed. This was highlighted by the media on many occasions, for example in "The Vatican's Big Secret", *The Australian,* 23rd July, 2004, 11.

and even the return of "paganism" and witchcraft.[219] As the data reveals, the current situation consists of a church in a dilemma with an aging and declining church-going population, with an increasing Catholic population and with fewer and aging priests and religious to provide the traditional leadership.

4.2.2 "Organised Religion" and Society

From the beginning the conclusions of sociology challenged the Church to change its approach and to be more open to society. As Mol described, this understanding of the role of the Church was "sacralisation". Its principal task was to relate the presence of God to the everyday life the people.[220] Later Halley expressed this from another perspective using the example of the "Irish model" embraced by the Church in Australia.[221] This "model" had dominated and determined the Church's expression of its beliefs in everyday practice. However, this would change once the migrant groups that came to Australia in great numbers after World War Two were incorporated into parish life. The significant number of migrants presented a challenge to the "Irish Catholic" by demanding respect in response to the different expressions of faith and liturgical practice.[222] The manifest failure of the Church in Australia to reflect this change indicated that the attempt to reform and respond to the everyday changes had failed.[223]

The initial comparisons of Mol through to the later ones of Kaldor, detailed the expectations of society in respect to the role of the churches. They concluded that "organised religion", initially

---

[219] "One Enchanted Evening", *Weekend Australian Magazine,* 1-2nd May, 2002, 31. A group of pagans gathered to celebrate ancient rituals in a suburban Australian backyard. Wilson referred to this occurring twenty years earlier in England.

[220] Mol, *Faith,* 217; cf. 2.2.4.

[221] Halley, "Growth", 86; cf. 2.3.3.

[222] The influence of migrant populations on what Australians eat, what sports they played, the importance of family life, the style of domestic and commercial buildings, grew with each group that come to Australia.

[223] Adrian Pittarello, *"Soup Without Salt": The Australian Catholic Church And The Italian Migrant, A Comparative Study In The Sociology Of Religion*, (Sydney: Centre for Migration Studies, 1980), Francis Mecham, *The Church And Migrants: 1946-1987,* (Haberfield: St Joan of Arc Press, 1991), Anthony Pagonini, *Valiant Struggles and Benign Neglect: Italians, Church and Religious Societies in Diaspora; The Australian Experience from 1950 to 2000*, (New York: Centre for Migrant Studies, 2003).

seen as enhancing the social life of the people,[224] moved to the situation of one that had little influence and contact with the majority of the people.[225] The social standing of the Catholic Church in Australian society moved from toleration prior to 1945, to acceptance in the 1960s, then to suspicion and even irrelevance in the 1990s.

Until 1996 the major concerns that confronted the Anglican and Protestant mainline churches were religious identification and church going. The Catholic Church had faced different ones. The Catholic population was on the increase and the pastoral care was threatened by the shortage of priests and religious. The data from the first *Catholic Church Life Survey* responded to general and specific Catholic questions enabling the interpretations to be compared to the *National Church Life Survey* used by the other churches.[226] It was meant to determine the extent of the changes that had occurred in Catholic life and lead to pastorally effective decisions. In a paper delivered at the St. Mary's Campus of the Australian Catholic University in December 1998, Michael Mason discussed the fruits of the *CCLS* of 1996. By way of example, he used the data about the change in Catholic attendance at Sunday mass, to delve further into the reason why the changes had come about. He noted that "Catholic piety (that) sort of died in the 1960s" and that there was no structural replacement for it.[227] This comment reflected Mol's insistence that religion had a cohesive role in society. Mol's experience of religion, with its lengthy and structured traditions and customs was something that most Australians had never had. For Mol religion was the important binding element within a society. In Australia as the structures of society and the Church began to break down many people turned away from organised (or traditional) religion in search for something deeper.

---

[224] Mol's "Religion in Australia Survey" and National Census figures showed that religion had strong support as important social values. The sectarian bitterness was on the wane and this led to greater acceptance. Mol, *Religion,* 47-51.

[225] Kaldor, *Why People,* 8.

[226] However, comparisons that acknowledged this distinction were difficult to find in the comments published, and this influenced the failure of any general interpretation drawn from the two sources of data. Compare Robert Dixon, *The Catholics In Australia, Religious Community Profiles,* (Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996) and Philip Hughes, *Religion: a View from the Australian Census,* (Christian Research Association, 1993).

[227] Michael Mason, private notes of a "Discussion Paper on the Fruits of the CCLS 1996", delivered at the ACU, December 1998.

Since the 1980s there has been a growing amount of research material dealing with particular aspects of the changes in Australian religious behaviour and belief. For the most part the bulk of this research documented the response to the decline in the mainstream Protestant and Anglican Churches. The data compiled by Mol in 1985, Kaldor in 1987 and Black in 1991, indicated this, as did the extensive reports of the *Christian Research Association*.[228] During this period the pastoral interest generated by this research was greater in the Protestant and Anglican churches than it was in the Catholic Church. From the 1990s sociological research into the lives of Catholics ran parallel with similar studies in the other churches. Robert Dixon published the key research at this time[229]. This was followed by a co-operative effort with the *CRA* in the *National Church Life Survey* and *CCLS* of 1996[230] and 2001[231]. In 1998 Kaldor and the team of the *NCLS* produced a report on church attendance that considered the standing of the churches as social institutions, and was based on the *Australian Community Survey (ACS).*[232] However, the question posed by the title of the report "Why don't people go to church?" failed to heed the comments Kaldor made some years earlier:

> The last few years have seen a range of 'grand theories' regarding church attendance in Australia. We have been asked to ponder our sunburnt souls and to consider whether God can survive in Australia. Whilst these grand theories have much to teach us, this study suggests that an understanding of the church life is best started at a local level, considering the interaction of the local church with its surrounding community. For churches to grow they much be *connected* to the local community and the various cultural groups represented in it. This will depend both on the *receptivity* of the community and the openness of the churches. Factors both external and internal to church life will work together to create each of these.[233]

---

[228] Cf. the publications of Blombery and Hughes, fn. 102.

[229] Robert Dixon, *The Catholics In Australia: Religious Community Profiles,* (Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996).

[230] Peter Kaldor, et al., (eds.), *Taking Stock: A Profile of Australian Church Attenders*, (Adelaide: Open Books, 1999) and the companion book, Kaldor, *Build.*

[231] *Pointers,* CRA Bulletin, 12 (2002) 1-4.

[232] *ACS* was conducted by the *NCLS* Research in conjunction with the Edith Cowen University in 1998. *NCLS* research is jointly sponsored by Anglicare (NSW), the Uniting Church Board of Mission (NSW) and the *ACBC.*

[233] Kaldor, *Who Goes Where,* 8.

The researcher's task therefore, was to recognise the differing contexts within each church and each community. Kaldor suggested that local communities needed to face the issues underlying each context and put the focus of data gathering and its interpretation into the local situation. To do this they had to move beyond "their present safe but diminishing parameters" and face what was hidden by the adoption of the moral stance of previous eras. This had become a reality for the mainline Protestant and Anglican Churches in their struggle to maintain affiliates and congregations. The confusion once again surfaced with comparisons made between Protestant and Anglican attendance figures and Catholic statistics. Years previously Mol had pointed out the widely different motivations between mass attendance for Catholics and church attendance for Protestants. Yet the *ACS* in 1998 did not differentiate the responses, for although the results of this survey were compared across the churches, it used data from other sources for the Catholic figures.[234]

The sociologists highlighted the relationship between the Church and society, and in particular, the impact on society of sectarianism among the churches. Sectarianism divided the general population along the lines of religious worship and the divisions were maintained in other avenues of civic life. The tension this caused eventually made the people more susceptible to other influences that had a general appeal. Sociologists identified the divisions and the impact they had on religious tolerance in the society. Furthermore they noted that the appeal to religious worship as a regular exercise of social commitment was difficult to maintain. Catholics too, as the data has shown, were no less susceptible to this influence.

4.2.3 A Positive Response to Change

Rosemary Haughton identified the social phenomenon that had turned its back on the traditional experience of God from within the Catholic context:

[234] Kaldor, *Why People*, 101.

> People still long for God, even when they don't know what it is they are longing for. This longing desire makes itself felt most strongly as always in those *weak spots* – the people in whom circumstances and temperament combined have jolted out of the safe routine, which protects them from too much awareness. [235]

The bottom line was that the institution of church that seemed indestructible to past generations was seen by eighty percent of the people (at this time) to be of little importance except for the special moments of births, deaths and marriages. However, surveys revealed that this reality did not infer that people had turned away from wanting to experience the presence of God in other ways. The development of prayer and reflection groups has assisted Catholics to deepen their appreciation of the presence of God.[236] These groups that focused their reflections on Christ's life and mission as a guide to their lives and relationships displayed characteristics of the early church in stark contrast to the structures that had become meaningless for them.

The Church was challenged to adapt to the changing circumstances and situations of the people, as dioceses across Australia endeavoured to address the decline and dissatisfaction in Catholic life. Renewal programs and pastoral planning seminars were conducted as a response to both the call for the renewal of the Church by the Council and to the growing awareness of the difficulties that Catholics had in relating to the Church. The task was to recognise the mission to evangelise or to reach out to all people, and, in so far as this was unsuccessful, to change its structures and means of teaching to engage all.[237] A particular expression of this realisation was the establishment of the *Basic Ecclesial Communities Program* in the Archdiocese of Adelaide in 1992.[238]

---

[235] Houghton, *There Is Hope,* 2.

[236] Of particular note was the growth of lay movements as Teams of Our Lady, Marriage Encounter, Antioch, Passionist Family Groups, and more recently Spirituality in the Pub.

[237] Paul VI, *Evangelii Nuntiandi: Announcing the Gospel,* (Homebush: St. Pauls Publication, 6th printing, 1982), #3, opened the challenge of the Church in its mission to bring the gospel message to all people; however, he began with the reminder that the message had to be put in a way that could be understood by "modern man".

[238] In 1988, following the Adelaide Diocesan Pastoral Renewal, the Archbishop issued a statement to the priests of the archdiocese:

> "Our local church is called to be a witness and an agent for the saving love of God in the southern part of South Australia', he began, going on to emphasise that Christian leadership starts 'in the here and now of our own lives. The fundamental place where we exercise our leadership is right where we find ourselves, whether at home, on the factory floor, in the parliament, or from a hospital bed. He named small Christian communities as a 'central part of the strategy of leadership formation', in which parishioners would be able to

The efforts of religious sociology identified significant change among Australian Catholics. However, the methods of sociology have been unable to identify the underlying reasons for the decline that would guide the Church through the dilemma that the changes have brought to its life and ministry. Sociology clearly identified that the majority of the Catholic population had changed its attitude to the traditional values and practices of the Church. Surveys have shown that the Church has not been successful re-establishing the decline. They have also revealed that other influences at work in the society brought coherence and meaning to the lives of the people, in place of the traditional influence of the churches.

4.2.4 The Conclusions and the Dilemmas

From the 1960s, studies in the sociology of religion challenged the Church to recognise and accept the changing situations and attitudes of the people. In other words, the Church was challenged to appreciate the spiritual reality hidden in peoples' desires and hopes, or colloquially, in their "sea change" experiences. The challenge was to determine the facts and then to ascertain the reasons that either precipitated or resulted in change. This was the first step in developing a strategy to resolve the dilemma the Church was facing. Mol's comparative analysis of situations in other parts of the world assisted him to predict the pattern that emerged within the Catholic Church in Australia in subsequent years. He saw that the growth in education among the Catholic community would develop a more independent laity. The laity in turn, would change attitudes to religious worship by demanding a greater integration of the everyday values of the people.[239] Wilson also responded positively to the data that suggested that religion was in decline. His book *Can God Survive in Australia* left no doubt that at the beginning of the 1980s the Protestant churches were facing a crisis of identity in response to the Australian way of

---

reflect on their lives in the light of the gospel and support each other in taking action on the issues confronting them in their lives. He saw the diocese becoming a 'community of communities' in mission in our world." Leonard Faulkner, *The Vision of Leadership for the People of Our Local Church:* available from http://www.adelaide.catholic.org.au/service/bec/. Internet accessed 24/08/02.

[239] Cf. 2.2.3.

life. Wilson's move was from the defensiveness this initially generated, to an understanding or an interpretation of the situation that challenged the way the churches relate to the context or life of the people. His response echoed what theologians had begun to reflect on: "We should be trying to discover the nature of the religion that most Australians could adopt".[240] The theologians moved from a focus on academic studies to "doing theology" in an Australian context.[241] Twenty years later census data indicated that the churches that had moved away from the mainstream liturgical practices and adopted a style that appealed to the younger people had increased their attendance.[242] However, these churches embraced only a small percentage of the population.

By the end of the 1990s the sociologists identified a new religious phenomenon characterised by the increased interest in "the spiritual, but not religion".[243] The interpretation of the data gathered in the 2001 national census signified a shift in the understanding of religious belief and practice which focused on the people themselves, rather than on the traditional sources, namely the churches. The statistics indicated that the churches, including the Catholic Church, were not able to touch the hearts of the people they had been called to serve.

The conclusion to this analysis of interpreting the data concerns the way in which the data was able to challenge the churches, including the Catholic Church. If the Church was to respond to the people it serves, it would deduce from the data that its first step was to listen to the desires and longings of peoples' hearts. Then it would be in a position to adapt its traditions and teachings in a manner that would affirm the presence of God in their everyday experiences. What occurred was a deepening dysfunction in its structures, practices and attitudes. This fact was reflected in the data that showed reluctance on the part of the majority of Catholics to

[240] Wilson, "The Church", 10.

[241] Cf. 3.1.

[242] Hughes, "Trends", 3.

[243] Philip Hughes, "No Religion" in Australia", *Pointers* 13(2003)3, 3.

become involved except at a minimal level. The data also indicated the gravity of the task for the life of the Church. However, the data also alerted the Church to the opportunity presented by the phenomenon of "the spiritual revolution".

4.3 Analysing Particular Theological Responses To Change

This part of the analysis considers the different methods of Kelly and Malone as they addressed the personal dilemma Catholics faced in expressing their beliefs. Chapter Three described in detail the systematic development of Kelly's response and Malone's experiential investigation of the personal experience of God as people faced the changes that had come to Catholic life in Australia. Kelly began by relating the principles of systematic theology in order to understand the impact of the Australian context on the expression of Catholic beliefs and practices. Malone was more pragmatic and established a process of theological reflection that invited people to find deeper and more relevant expressions of their relationship with God. Other theologians followed their reflections and by the late 1990s reflected on the influence of "spirituality" in the lives of the people.

The methods of Kelly and Malone reflected the influences of change on the Catholic Church and the Australian Society. Their inspiration came from the reforms and renewal of the Council, as well as the response and interest of the people and how their lives had been affected. Most dioceses responded to the Council and engaged the renewal process in their own way, but as sociology has shown, their efforts did not bring the renewal hoped for. At the same time, "the search for identity or meaning" became a way of life for many people in Australia, and, as sociologists also identified, by the late 1990s this search had been described as "spirituality". The desire to discover the mystery of life and achieve personal fulfilment had been expressed by Karl Rahner as the search for the "anonymous God", a description of a spiritual rather than a religious relationship. The "search" was a positive element that, in a sense, belied the dominant

presence of sectarianism and it expressed the desire for a personal sense of mystery, of the beyond, or of the divine.[244]

This analysis of the influences of the theological reflections of Kelly and Malone will show that they began with the ordinary experiences of people. The patterns of their reflections examine the effect of daily life on the personal experience of God. Consequently, by understanding this personal relationship with God, an opportunity was presented to the Church to respond and respect the changed reality that people experienced. Chapter Three described in detail how both approaches ultimately led to the question "what is spirituality today?" This analysis concludes that both men identify the importance of appreciating and understanding the personal experiences of mystery in the lives of people. An added step in this response recognises that the shift they describe towards spirituality is fundamental to the reform and renewal movements implemented in the Church.

4.3.1 Kelly: From Contextual Theology to Spirituality

The starting point for Kelly was the context of a person's life.[245] He based this conclusion on the recognition of the giftedness of each and every human person and consequently, on the ongoing creative influence of the environment that surrounded them. These elements expressed a human relationship with the transcendent in social, physical, emotional, mental and religious encounters. Kelly's approach reflected the challenge presented to the Church by the Council.[246] The Council endeavoured to recognize the "signs of the times" in everyday life and to reflect on the traditions of the Church in the context they expressed.[247] As a process this engaged the

[244] The sectarian divide in Australia raised suspicion of unorthodox expressions of religious experience outside the particular practices and beliefs of individual sects or denominations. As a consequence, in its effort to survive, each church demanded strict control over the members' activities.

[245] Cf. Chapter Three

[246] *GS*. Chapter One: "The Dignity of the Human Person"

[247] "The Church has always had the duty of scrutinising the *signs of the times* and of interpreting them in the light of the Gospel. Thus, in language intelligible to each generation, she can respond to the perennial questions, which men ask about this present life and the

many situations in which people live, and it saw them as opportunities to inspire and renew the Church's life and mission to the world. Kelly responded to the "signs of the times" and used them to inspire the development of "A Theology in the Australian Context".

Kelly arrived at this challenge by recognising through a "contextual analysis" the distinctiveness of the Australian situation. He coined the term "limit situations" and used to express the notable features of Australian life, and the experiences and events that impacted on most people. In turn these "limit situations" provided the starting point for presenting and then reflecting on, the "ultimate questions". Kelly's examples were similar to the themes that Mol had used to analyse the results of his survey of religion in Australia.[248]

Kelly identified the "Irish model" of the Catholic Church in Australia as a particular example of a "limit situation". The sociologists and historians described the distinctiveness of the close-knit community of Catholics prior to the 1960s.[249] This sense of community expressed and maintained its identity by adherence to the Church's beliefs and practices.[250] This distinctiveness withstood the growing number of Catholic migrants after the Second World War,[251] as well as the influence of the Council's decree on Ecumenism.[252] Kelly referred to this as a "limit situation", one that challenged the "Irish" manner through which the Church exercised its ministry and the religious celebrations of its people. In other countries local theologies had influenced pastoral approaches which responded to the needs and desires of the people. For example, there was "Liberation Theology" in South America, the "Lumko" small community

---

life to come, and about the relationship of the one to the other. We must therefore recognise and understand the world in which we live, its explanations, its longings, and its often dramatic characteristics." *GS*. #4, (italics mine).

[248] Cf. 2.2.1.

[249] This recalls the example of Hally (cf. 4.1.3.2), and is further developed as part of the Australian Identity that Catholics are called to acknowledge in Chapter Six.

[250] Mol highlighted the distinctiveness of Catholic life in many places from the data of his "Religion in Australia Survey" and used it as a standard to compare the data of other denominations. John Molony, *The Roman Mould Of The Australian Catholic Church*, (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1969) traced in detail the 'Irish influence' on the Australian Hierarchy.

[251] Adrian Pittarello, "Migrants and the Catholic Church in Australia", *ACR* 65(1988) 2, 147-158.

[252] "Such division openly contradicts the will of Christ, scandalizes the world and damages the holy cause of preaching the Gospel to every creature." *UR*. #1.

movement in Southern Africa, the publication of the "Dutch Catechism in the Netherlands, and in France the development of the "Rite of the Christian Initiation of Adults". All these were local theological responses to the pastoral needs of the people.

In Australia Kelly faced the crucial problem of defining the "religious experience" in a way that reflected the broad social and cultural experiences of the people. Australian "limit situations" and "ultimate questions" attempted to identify an objective measurement or type of experience that brought reflection and the challenge of mystery. The surveys of sociologists had identified the complexity of religious experience and recognised that it was beyond their ability to interpret and categorise the diversity of the responses involved.[253] Kelly began by examining the relationship between the human person and the divine mystery. From this was built a context in which to place experiences that ultimately were indefinable.[254] Identifying the importance of the context of this relationship raised questions engaged by linguistic philosophy. When it came to analyse the spoken or written expression of "religious experiences", the work of Heidegger and Wittgenstein recalled the European struggle with context. This struggle was to give verbal expression to the experience of the relationship with God. For Kelly this was tautology and distracted the reflection away from understanding the "limit situations" themselves.[255] It was a difficulty based on semantics, or a confusion of language when applied to expressions of the faith dimension of experience. Hence, to speak about "that which could not be spoken about" demanded the practical resolution of a theological conundrum.[256] Kelly's "limit situations" and "ultimate questions" endeavoured to break the deadlock by returning to experience and the mysteries they often contained.

---

[253] Cf. 2.7, and the conclusions of Leavey and Hetherton.

[254] Examples of these studies were the "Psychological Interiority" of Lonergan, or "The Social Structure of Religious Experience" of Clifford Geertz, or David Tracy's "Aesthetic Paradigm".

[255] An example from Richard Rorty's debate in his essay "Is Derrida a Transcendental Philosopher?" in Gary Madison (ed.), *Working Through Derrida,* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993), 137.

[256] "Faith is philosophy's existential enemy, but it must consort with the enemy if it wants to assume conceptual theological form". John D. Caputo, "Heidegger and Theology", in Charles Guignon (ed.), *The Cambridge Guide to Heidegger,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 276.

The "new imagining", described in the previous chapter, looked for a different starting point to reflect on religious experience. This ultimately became the link between "a theology" and "a spirituality". Kelly's call for a "new imagining" in 1990 pushed the theological reflection on the Australian situation in a direction that focused on the context in which its distinctiveness was respected. In his terms it became a search for a spirituality that reflected on the "ordinariness" of Australians and involved a search for a new religious language. He identified two factors that influenced Catholics in this development; their growing dissatisfaction with traditional religious expression, and consciousness of Australians in general of their unique environment. This latter influence was expressed in the awareness of living on the "margins" of continental Australia, as well as on the edges of the global society. As such these influences became starting points or "limit situations" from which to begin a spiritual journey. The awareness and the challenge that this promised offered the hope of freedom, an escape from the oppressiveness of the trappings of modern civilization including the religious demands of a "foreign and oppressive God". Kelly presented the radical demand of a new religious experience that was free from irrelevant religious practices. To achieve this he departed from the reliance on previously held starting points based on imported values and practices, and began by recognising the dignity of each person and further identified them in their own context. This allowed for the local experiences of God to be appreciated and not be engulfed by the global experiences that came from traditions and practices that had been inherited.

Kelly's reflections paralleled the expression and experience to be found in the social and work life of suburban Australian society.[257] The *Sea Change* experience, for example, expressed a vague and even mysterious desire or a personal reflection that sought to be enhanced and complimented by embracing an environment that removed them from the pressures of suburban life. With a similar sense of connectedness, Kelly applied "new imagining" to the Eucharist, but

[257] Shoemaker, *Sea Change,* 4.

struggled with the distinction between the theological concept and the context in which it was located.[258] He expressed the practical dilemma of the Eucharist with its fundamental expression of community and the reality of the disunity often experienced in the parish or Sunday mass. His response to this was his desire for a "new religious language" in order to express the ordinary experience of Catholic Australians to the mysteries of life and of faith. The continuing decline in Sunday mass attendance attested to the need for this in church life. Kelly in his writing attempted to relate the changing patterns of Catholic belief and practice to the traditions and teaching of the Church. His insights linked the reticence (even inability) of the ordinary person to give expression to these inner movements, with those experiences of everyday life that were difficult to appreciate let alone explain. He identified the "poverty" of religious language in Australia with the fact that it had its origins in other cultures and other lands, and especially among Catholics where the Irish model dominated religious language and expression.

Thus, Kelly's principal contribution was to establish the connection between religious experience and the distinctive context in which it took place. His research developed an understanding of the relevance and authenticity of local religious experience. The latter was found in relationship with the context of the distinctive experiences, customs and history, and with the ability to express these as experiences of God. In the inter play between "faith and reason", or the experience of a personal awareness of God and the expression of this awareness, there was a responsibility to listen to and understand the context of this experience. Religious teaching and guidance to enhance this experience or context demanded a new "religious language", so that the traditions and the values of the past would be effective in the lives of the people living within a particular context. As such the Australian experience of God took place in a distinctive context which itself was appreciated as an experience of the Divine presence. This movement in the lives of Australians has been described as "spirituality", and became synonymous with mystery, the beyond, otherworldly, and the search for identity and personal integrity.

[258] Tony Kelly, *The Bread.*

A further conclusion to be drawn from Kelly's reflections concerned those issues that brought his "limit situations" to the fore in the ordinary and the extraordinary life experiences of Australians. These situations are not necessarily unique in themselves, but they were important and distinctive as the context in which people discovered the presence of God. Kelly presented the challenge to further refine this as the context of the spiritual journey of Australians in relation to the mission of the Church.

4.3.2 Malone: Refocusing Religious Experience

Chapter Three also considered the contribution of Peter Malone in exploring religious experience in Australia. It described how he opened the way for Catholics to look more closely at their relationship with God by reflecting on the context of their everyday lives. He saw this as a positive response to the changes that were occurring in their religious belief and practice. Unease and concern existed for many in Australia in the 1970s and many popular publications endeavoured to explain the teaching and practices of the Church in difficult pastoral situations.[259] One program developed by the National Catholic Enquiry Centre, *A Program for Inactive Catholics*, focused on the marginalised Catholics, or those who felt alienated by Church teachings and the actions of priests and others towards them or those close to them.[260] By comparison the seminars developed by Malone recognised that personal religious experiences were at the heart of Catholic life and were beginning points from which to develop a deeper understanding and appreciation of God's presence. The seminars began with the traditional response to the experience God. They moved to shared reflections on various critical examples of life in Australia, and then to the effort required for openness to the movement of the "spirit" in these reflections. This latter step focused on difficult and challenging experiences which were

[259] *How to Survive Being Married to a Catholic*, (Brighton: Majellan Publications, 1986); Paul Stenhouse, *Why do Catholics? (*Kensington: Chevalier Press, 1986); Paul Stenhouse, *Catholic Answers to "Bible" Christians*, (Kensington: Chevalier Press, 1988).

[260] *Program for Inactive Catholics*, (Sydney: Catholic Enquiry Centre Publication, 1985).

encountered either personally or through reflection on the experiences of others, described as the spirit at work in their lives. This was similar to Kelly's reflections on "limit situations".

The following analysis examines the process that Malone used in his seminars and the contribution he has made in response to the dilemma that Catholics faced in their religious practice. The issues that arise from the seminars were the importance of religious language in a particular context of life, the relationship of symbols to religious experience, the consequences for religious experience when reflection turns inward and the search for an Australian spirituality.[261]

4.3.2.1 Religious Language

The process of the seminars began with the shared reflection that came from studying essays that gave expression to the personal experience of the presence of God. The common response in these reflections was to acknowledge the pain and confusion in these personal experiences, and the difficulty of the authors to give adequate expression to their desired relationship with God. These responses were seen as challenges for the Church in its pastoral response. They also reflected Kelly's exasperation with the theological debates about language as well as the shortcomings of the Church's ability to assist ordinary people to understand the presence of God. In fact, the participants of the seminar chose to explore with each other their own experiences of the presence of God in order to respond to the concerns they identified. The methodology moved away from a reflection initiated by doctrinal statements to reflect on religious experiences in the context of the person's life and the influence of living in Australia. The seminar endeavoured to develop a common language with which to share their own

[261] Of less significance for this analysis were other issues concerning the selection criteria for the examples chosen from history or literature or scripture, and also the experimental nature of the seminars and its consequences for those involved. However, these issues were important considerations in the area of spirituality and the discernment process in order to authenticate the experiences themselves. Cf. 5.5.

experiences and applied their conclusions to the experiences of God expressed in Australian films and literature.

The limitations of the process become evident in the transfer or communication of these experiences to the wider community. Although the experiences had been shared with others in the group it was difficult to pass on to others the fruits of their reflections. In other words, the participants valued their shared religious language, but the wider transmission of their experiences called for another process. The experimental nature of the exercises provided inspiration and incentive for those involved, but did not provide the means of communicating the personal values and achievements of the experiences themselves. This occurred, for example, when particular reflections on Australian experiences were parallelled to selected gospel passages in order to add a Christian dimension to the experiences themselves. This attempt to provide a common religious language by selecting "parallel" gospel passages required a deeper interpretation, further reflection and wider analysis of the experiences used. The adoption of similar words or scenes from passages of scripture was not sufficient.[262] . This attempt to provide a common language through the gospels with which to share an Australian experience of mystery or of God was not pursued. Similarly, the selection of experiences from history or hearsay in Australian life was not a sufficient basis for reflection on the experience of God as they required some degree of personal involvement to give it substance. For example, the fourth seminar entitled the "Desert Experience" used the reported experiences of people in the Australian desert to compare them with the desert in the scriptures. These experiences in the Australian desert were from the media "stories" that reported the tragedy and drama of isolated incidents as they occurred in central Australia. This level of encounter with the desert gave an appreciation of someone else's experience, but no matter how detailed it had the danger of limiting the scriptural reference to an imaginary rather than a personal experience. The much

[262] The reports of the seminars made no mention of exegesis, redaction, comparative anthropology, or other biblical methodologies to that had been developed to guide the selection and interpretation of the passages from scripture.

deeper reality expressed in scripture involved pain and suffering and transformation not encountered in the imagination. To the extent that it was not a personal experience of the desert it was limited in its ability to discover the "inner sense", or the "soul", or the sense of mystery in the Australian "desert" experiences, although that was its aim. This raised the questions of the use of symbols in religious language.

4.3.2.2 The Use of Symbols

The seminars explored those symbols which gave expression to religious art and architecture influenced by the liturgical changes of the Council. The exercise was practical in that it examined how these changes had been influenced by both the Catholic liturgy and the Australian context. The aim was to reflect on the symbol and myth contained in the human experience of mystery, or God, in the present day. However, the work of George Worgul added caution to this process. He stressed the importance of relevant symbols and that their lack "diminished a cultural or religious tradition".[263] The seminars reflected on the examples of symbols and myth that had been identified in the Australian environment (Uluru, bush-fires, and the desert), or in Australian literary images (the drover's wife, the convict, and others). However, the arbitrary selection of these examples created confusion between "signs", or interesting indicators, and relevant "symbols" that spoke silently of mystery. The "signs" gave direction and pointed to things of interest, and whilst the "symbols" gave rise to a relationship between encounters, expressed in idyllic form, and personal experiences that were difficult to explain. The "symbolic experience" required a process to distinguish it from illusion and make-believe and to establish limits to the interaction between actual personal experience and dreams, intuitions, or mere hearsay. The experience to be described as "symbolic" had to be individual, often momentary and difficult to share with others, and it was this element of mystery that opened the person to the spiritual. In Christian and Catholic experience the spiritual dimension of life was expressed

[263] George Worgul, *From Magic to Metaphor*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 70f.

in common language of symbol and word, or sacrament, and this linked the personal experiences of the spiritual to the divine mysteries. The Catholic tradition of spirituality developed a process called discernment. This process was practiced by the artist, the monk and any one reflecting on the sense of awe in the contemplation of beauty in human life, or the environment, or "beyond experiences" of mystery. By following the process they would be true to themselves and to the community to which they belong. The relationship between the sense of mystery and the symbols of Australian life will be discerned in Chapter Six in the context of the principles of Catholic Spirituality that will be developed in Chapter Five.

4.3.2.3 The Inward Focus In Australian Life

The seminars changed direction in 1986. They acknowledged the need for healing and reconciliation of the injustices as a consequence of white settlement in Australia. The search for spirituality turned inward by reflecting on the plight of the marginalised and minority groups in the Australian community. This change took place in the context of the Bi-Centennial celebration of the English possession of Australian and the first settlement in 1788, the subsequent growth and prosperity of the nation and by way of contrast the plight of the Indigenous people and the call for reconciliation. Thus, the Catholic reflection turned from the personal issues that search for a deeper relationship with God, to a pre-occupation with the shortcomings of the Australian society and the change in religious practice and attitudes. The previous seminars reflected the movement among Catholics beyond the regret and pain of change in Church life, to look for God in a new way which became the "search for an Australian Spirituality".

The inward reflection and focus was evident in the articles in Malone's *Discovering an Australian Theology* published in 1989.[264] Apart from Malone's "Discovering an Australian Spirituality" most

[264] For a list of the essays in Peter Malone's *Discovering,* cf. fn.178.

articles dealt with concerns in Australian society and became an examination of the Australian search for identity. Kelly, for example, re-assessed the way in which Australians looked at their life and history.[265]

Christine Bourke's article "Ministry as a Barometer of Change" continued the search to discover the presence of God in daily life.[266] Bourke focused on the development of lay ministries and saw them as offering a new awareness to spirituality that was not based on the clerical model. Her argument moved from an inward concern with the personal experience of God in daily life, to the changed relationship of ministry and ministers to the Church in its mission and service to the world. She proposed that the way ahead for the Church involved its leaders in a process that would listen to the experiences of all the baptised. In particular, she focused on the experiences of God's presence in the exercise of ministry. Later this latter was supported by the understanding of "lay spirituality" in *Christifideles Laici,* a document that recalled the statement of the Council that the call to ministry was found in baptism, thus all Christians were called to serve the mission of the Church in a way that refected the circumstances and experiences of their lives.[267]

4.3.2.4 The Seminars and "Australian Spirituality"

The scope and method of the seminars inspired a wider "search for a soul", a move beyond the traditional religious responses to mystery, to the exploration of the personal experiences of God. It encouraged a genuine desire to discover and portray the uniqueness of the Australian experience of mystery and often looked to the past to discover its source. The sharing of memories was the link between selected cultural and historical experiences and religious

[265] This was developed further by Kelly in *Imagining*, 99: "Once our history becomes the amnesia of a bland grand success story, leaving out the memory of the despised, and the forgotten, it is a defence against the past".

[266] Bourke, "Ministry", 165-184.

[267] John Paul II, *Christifideles,* #2.

experiences. This generated much data and interest. However, as with the selection of relevant symbols and scriptural passages without a filter to relate the particular experiences to their context and circumstances this methodology led to conjecture rather than clarity about what is an Australian Spirituality. Peter Malone considered that the important consequence of the seminar method was the process itself. The experiences generated opened questions concerning the relationship between spirituality and theology, culture and environment, history and the "story of a people". The reflective sharing of religious experiences was a method not considered before and was attempted by people other than professional theologians or historians. Peter Malone, as seminar facilitator and reporter, played a significant part in pursuing 'Theology in an Australian Context' in this way. He moved the focus of examining and expressing religious experience, by beginning with the personal experience of God which was then shared with others in a process that reflected on the context of the community. For him this experience of the spiritual was the grounds to engage in the search for "An Australian Spirituality".

4.3.3 From Theology to Spirituality

Kelly and Malone moved their reflections to a broader and more easily understood expression of the relationship of God in the daily lives of ordinary people. Veronica Brady critiqued Peter Malone's *Discovering An Australian Theology* and expressed concern about the validity of the reflections made on experiences of God expressed by ordinary people.[268] She felt that these reflections were endangered by the demands and exactness of the theological methodology employed in the articles. In a sense this reflected the inwardness described above, as Brady's concern was for the everyday experience of Catholics which had become more discordant. However, this also expressed Kelly's dilemma, which moved him to his "new imagining" and the desire he had to find a language that would dialogue with the traditional teachings of the Church and give expression to the personal experience of God. Thus, theology was challenged to

[268] Veronica Brady, "Discovering an Australian Theology - A Review", *Pacifica* 3(1990)1, 87-92.

identify religious experiences and to describe them without putting them into the categories of the religiosity or piety of the immediate past. The "danger" with theological categories was that when applied, they reduced or removed the "newness" of these experiences. Categories could limit the context of peoples' lives to inspire and change them.

Malone used the pain and hurt many Catholics felt in their understanding of the presence of God to engage the context of peoples' lives. In a similar way to the sociologist he set out to compare experiences but used shared reflection rather than the data of surveys. This reflection led to a deeper understanding and expression of the current day hopes and desires in the presence of God among those involved. It moved the focus from a theological examination of the relationship encountered in the human experience of God, to one that he described as "discovering an Australian spirituality". He aimed to share this experience with others and bring further reflection and understanding to the mysteries of the Christian tradition.

The pastoral situation and the language of the Church, which expressed and celebrated the peoples' experience of the presence of God, created the link between context, spirituality and theology. As Kelly pointed out, the theological reflection on context without a personal respect and acceptance of the differences of others produced an ideology or a system of belief that has totalitarian overtones. Malone insisted on the reflective and critical interplay between context, the inspiration of scripture and the personal human experience. This latter included the shared reflection and conscientious decision-making in the face of changing attitudes and practices. The process changed the meaning of spirituality for the people involved. The movement that changed people from their reliance on devotional practices and liturgical rituals, to their involvement with the personal encounter with the presence of the God, was a spiritual movement.

This analysis stresses the importance of the work of Kelly and Malone as theology responded to the changes in Catholic life from the 1980s. Others followed their lead and identified the special and unique opportunity that the Australian context offered for a deeper appreciation of the relationship between the human and the divine. This became a search for a spirituality that evolved from the personal experience of God and was open to all. In the 1990s the pre-occupation with an Australian sense of identity and its consequences for the general society and for the Church, turned attention away from the "search for a soul". It also confused the further development of an Australian Spirituality as issues of structure and internal reform challenged the Church.

The importance of the work of Kelly and Malone is that they provided the basis for developing a spirituality that was grounded in the lives of the Australian people. Their work offered hope in the face of the personal dilemma faced by Catholics in Australia and they endeavoured to relate the mysteries of the Church's tradition to the experiences of its people and to the wider society. Kelly and Malone "discovered" that spirituality spoke to the heart and allowed the heart to speak of God. It was this desire in the hearts of all from which the "spirituality revolution" would arise. In this sense, the movement towards a spirituality that reached out to all was one of the "signs the times" which the Council challenged the contemporary Church to embrace.

4.4 The "Spirituality Revolution" and Religious Practice

The "spiritual revolution" evolved from the changed circumstances and attitudes in Australian society. Its strength was that it summed up the renewed openness expressed towards the spiritual experience or sense of mystery that had been the traditional domain of the churches. The growing interest in the spiritual dimension of people's lives rejected the religious teaching

and practice of the past.[269] Chapter Three described the development of the response by theologians to these changes in society and the distinction made between religion and spirituality.[270]

The Catholic response to change directly addressed the relevance of religion in the society, and as the literature review has shown, the method of approach also changed.[271] Thus, the theological approaches from the 1990s set out to relate the traditional teaching of the Church to the new détente established with the world of science and pluralism. Denis Edwards' studies on evolution and the environment and Michael Fallon's biblical reflections,[272] brought interest and involvement to those who were committed to their religious heritage. Other efforts in theology that challenged pastoral practice in the Church ran into difficulties, were subject to correction, and considered dangerous.[273] The response by various dioceses in Australia to the decline in traditional practice was to engage in programs of renewal that focused on liturgy and pastoral ministry. One diocese commissioned a summary of the various projects and programs that had been developed in response to the call for renewal in the Church. The summary outlined the many attempts at renewal and reform, but when compared to the data that had also to be gathered over the same period the difficulties of mass attendance, vocations and disaffection, reflected the ineffectiveness of these activities. It identified that the reforms had not succeeded in engaging the people with the spirit and vision of a Church of the future.[274]

---

[269] Cf. Paul Cashen in "From the Divine Comedy to the X-Files: A Conversation with the Beyond", a paper given at the LEST III Conference, Katholic Universite Leuven, 2001. This explored the relationship between the imaginary aspects that are expressed in film and literature in modern life, and the sense of mystery or the spiritual that accompanies these experiences.

[270] Cf. 3.2.1.2.

[271] In Appendix One, Table Seven notes a) and d) show the growth in Theology and Spirituality publications from 1980.

[272] Cf. the bibliography for the books and articles of Denis Edwards and Michael Fallon.

[273] Two priests at the centre of this concern in the 1990's were Michael Morwood and Paul Collins. In both instances their popular appeal and endeavour to adapt the understanding of religion to the modern world was censured by church authorities. Both subsequently continued their work outside the priesthood. Morwood's *Tomorrow's Catholic,* (Melbourne: HarperCollins, 1993), and Collins' *Between the Rock and A Hard Place: Being Catholic Today, (*Melbourne: ABC Books, 2004) expressed both the challenge and the confusion that their work encountered.

[274] A private paper prepared by Phillip Marshall and James McAvoy *A Summary of Major Documents in the Archdiocese of Adelaide, 1970-2000*.

The "spirituality revolution" continued the search for meaning and value that had engaged the broader dimensions of human experience at the expense of the traditional sources of wisdom. This was reflected in the participation of so many Australians in public events and celebrations. For example, the bicentennial celebrations, the republic debate and referendum, the beatification of Mary MacKillop, the economic recovery, the Olympic Games and the East Timor assistance, are some of the major highpoints of this period. They provided the opportunity for two levels of personal involvement. One responded to the values that touched the heart and minds of the people (spirituality) and the other gave expression to a public display of interest and concern that expressed religious values. The latter led to a confused understanding of the religious involvement of people, for whom the events were moments of celebration. Yet there was a bittersweet after-taste for the Church, as the experiences did not translate into the traditional religious practices and experiences.

Behind the work of Kelly and Malone and others was the Council's reminder of the principle that "grace builds on nature". This expressed a relationship between the expression of the spiritual and the experiences that move people beyond the ordinary. This relationship between the spiritual experience and everyday life led to the developmental work of Gabriel Moran and James Fowler. Moran studied adolescent faith experiences in relationship to religious experience,[275] and in *Stages of Faith* Fowler parallelled the stages of human growth and personality development to that of the developing adult.[276] They related spirituality and religious experience to the personal interaction with changing social expressions and thus challenged the static nature of spirituality based on the correct response to ritual and law. From this perspective religious practice that was fundamentally prescriptive, took the heart out of the relationship between the human and the divine.

[275] Gabriel Moran, *Religious Education Development: Images for the Future*, (Minneapolis: Winston, 1983), 1-27.

[276] Fowler, *Stages*: *Implications,* "Introduction", 4.

For many Catholics the renewal of religious practice consisted of adopting the changes introduced into the liturgy. This was a limited form of renewal. Adopting these changes was not a response required by the reforms proposed by the Council. Neither were they able to relate this form of religious experience to the practical matters of everyday life. Therefore many began to search elsewhere for guidance and direction and to search for deeper values in their lives. Malone in his seminars showed the depth of their search as it was expressed in Australian literature. People sought to express the human values and activities that reflected a deeper reality in ways that were "not religious". Thus, the movement begun by Kelly and Malone – for a theology that was more spiritual" or "an Australian Spirituality" - coincided with the "search for soul", or a "sea change" in the general Australian society. The "spirituality revolution", as David Tacey characterized this latter development, became the response of young people to the spiritual and at the same time reflected their parents' dissatisfaction with the experience of the spiritual offered by the Church.[277]

4.5 Conclusion: A Spirituality for the People

This chapter has analysed the data of the sociology of religion and the reflections of theology on the changes in religious belief and practice. Sociology identified the changes among Australian Catholics and the difficulties this has caused the Church. For the Church the changes in attitude and behaviour, although significant, took time to be recognised and to appreciate and interpret their significance. Sociology also revealed that the pastoral renewal called for by the Council had failed to halt the drift away from traditional religious belief and practice, nor engage those who had became dissatisfied and confused by the Church's actions. The failure of the renewal efforts inspired the search for a "theology that was more spiritual". This also expressed itself as the search for spirituality based on the appreciation of the mystery of God in the everyday in the

[277] Tacey, *Spirituality,* 2. Young people "increasingly realise, often with some desperation, that society is in need of renewal, and that an awareness of spirit holds the key to our personal, social, and ecological survival".

Australian context. The "spirituality revolution" of the late 1990s continued to explore the mystery in people's lives and became a watershed for many people. It reflected both the mood and attitude of those who explored their relationship with experience of mystery and parallelled Catholic responses of a decade earlier.

The analysis also concluded that the many studies and documents of the Church that sought to correct the behaviour and attitude towards traditional religion, emphasised a presumed lack of clarity, or acceptance, or commitment by those involved. This level of response by the Church did little to stem the decline in religious practice or in vocations nor did it redress the disaffection among Catholics. The chapter has highlighted the importance of contextual theology as well as a spirituality that reflects the religious context of ordinary people. As the analysis has concluded, in responding to the changes in Catholic life the Church has the opportunity to use the circumstances that brought "spirituality" to life in the Australian community. As will be seen further on, the task before the Church was to acknowledge "spirituality" as a "sign of the times", one that gives expression to the life and inner values of the people.

PART ONE of this thesis has identified and analysed the situation that faces the Church and its people face today. It has concluded that the decline in the traditional religious practices and beliefs has also led to an awareness of the importance of "spirituality" in people's lives. Catholics expressed dissatisfaction and disillusionment in three areas of their lives, Sunday Mass, vocations to the priesthood and religious life and in the exercise of Church authority. The chapters have compared this situation with the desire among many to engage the sense of mystery and belonging that exists in everyday life, and in particular the experience of living in Australia. Thus, "spirituality" became the experience that expressed and respected the desire for mystery and as such was recognised by Kelly, Malone and other writers. By the turn of the

millennium this became the "spirituality revolution" and shared some of the characteristics of the Catholic "search for an Australian Spirituality".

Thus, this part of the thesis has presented the efforts to re-interpret the mission and purpose of the Church in a manner that touches the spiritual dimension present in each person and in all peoples. This would develop the Council's recognition that everyone, all members of the Church were called to give expression to the mystery of God's presence in a way that supported and sustained them in their everyday lives. It was in this context that the spiritual journey from *the Sacred Heart to the heart of the sacred* has taken place. The journey involved a challenge for all to renew their lives and celebrate the mystery of God's presence in the human condition of a particular time and place. The Church's task was therefore to acknowledge both the context in which this journey has taken place and the effect this has had on the interpretation of the tradition. The interpretation of tradition was authentic if it expressed in new and different ways the mystery of God's presence, and to acknowledge in the process the changing times and the spiritual character of the place in which it resided.

PART TWO of this thesis takes up the challenge and the questions that arise from the search for spirituality within the Church and in the wider society. The key step is to locate the popular expression and use of "spirituality" in the tradition of Catholic Spirituality. The following chapters begin with a detailed examination of the various traditions of "spirituality", and this becomes the context in which to understand the popular use of "spirituality" today.

P A R T T W 0

SPIRITUALITY AND CATHOLIC RENEWAL

Introduction

The following three chapters develop the argument that the renewal of the Church in Australia requires a spirituality that is in touch with the lives of the people it serves. This is consequent on the analyses of the data of sociology of religion and theological responses developed in PART ONE. The analyses established that the pastoral responses to the changes in religious and social life produced dissatisfaction among the majority of Catholics. This dissatisfaction was expressed by the continued decline in Sunday Mass attendance and vocations to the priesthood and religious life and the confusion arising from and often the rejection of the Church's teaching and attempts at renewal. The renewals proposed by the Second Vatican Council looked to a Church that would take these challenges not as a threat, but as "the signs of the times". Added to this situation the past expressions of religious beliefs and practices were challenged by the desire for a spirituality that was personal, and thus in keeping with the search for meaning in the distinctive Australian context. This required a spirituality that was based on recognising the presence of God in the everyday. PART TWO develops the principles to guide the desire for this spirituality. It is a spirituality that influences both the members of the Church and Church authorities in the task of interpreting "the signs of the times". The renewal that is based on this spirituality engages all of Christ's faithful and reach out to all of good will.

Chapter Five clarifies the various meanings and uses of spirituality today. It begins by examining the "spirituality revolution" in its various manifestations. However, the major part of the chapter is an analysis of the tradition of "Catholic spirituality". The forms and methods of Catholic spirituality have determined the authenticity of the many expressions of the spiritual experiences down through the history of the western societies and cultures. Further, the chapter

identifies for Catholics, the "spiritual experience" as it relates to the mission and life of the Church and thus as it expresses aspects of the "revelation" of God's presence in the world. "Personal spirituality" is seen as an expression the experiences of God and "revelation" as the relationship between these experiences and their interpretation. The relationship between "spirituality" and "revelation" for Catholics enhances both the personal experience of God and the ability to express this experience in the life of the Church. Furthermore, the reflections and desires of these encounters with God are discerned as "signs of the times" and create the opportunity for dialogue that respects both the sacredness of the individual and the origins of the traditions. This places the Church leaders in a position to address the pastoral situations that give rise to the confusion and dissatisfaction among its members.

Chapter Six localises the search for mystery and meaning in the lives of people. It focuses on the uniqueness of the Australian environment and the distinctive characteristics that have developed in its inhabitants. A further step reflects on the impact of these characteristics on the traditions of the past, and how they have been modified and adapted to suit the circumstances and situations encountered. The challenge for the Church is its ability to grasp the significance of the distinctive Australian character and to express it in the Church's teaching and its liturgy.

Chapter Seven develops a dialogue between Australian Spirituality and the principle of renewal for the Council which has been described as the ability to respond to the "sign of the times". It proposes that this dialogue is the basis for renewal in the Catholic Church in Australia. The chapter identifies the dilemma in Catholic life as one that expresses the alienation and dissatisfaction of the people on the one hand and the ineffectiveness of the attempts of religious structures and attitudes to initiate renewal on the other. The resolution of the dilemma relates the depth of the personal search for meaning in Australia to pastoral responses that incorporate these experiences into the life of the Church. It recalls that the origins of the Council were founded in the desires of the human heart to initiate a positive response to the "signs of the

times". The renewals of the Council set out to motivate the members of the Church, and all people of goodwill, to engage in reflection and dialogue. These renewals were based on the respect and the acceptance of the experiences of others and pastoral responses that recognised the "sign of the times". Often the opposite has been the case as the "signs of the times" have been judged as signs of a crisis in the Church to be corrected.

Effective renewal in the Church begins by encouraging people to express the desires of their hearts. The experiences that arise from these desires become the basis for a spirituality that will respect and acceptance the persons involved and then discern and authenticate their experiences of God in the light of the traditions of Christian spirituality. The first step for the Church in initiating renewal is therefore to listen and acknowledge the spiritual experiences of its people, and then assist them to interpret these experiences in the light of Scripture and tradition in a manner that acknowledges the role of authority as the "servant of the servants of God".

In conclusion, the life of the Church has been often expressed as a spiritual journey. In the context of this thesis the spiritual journey of Australian Catholics is one that has expressed itself as "the search for a soul" or an Australian spirituality. The journey for many Catholics has moved their search outside the religious traditions and practices, and the desires of their hearts have led them to search for an experience of God that is able to touch their lives. In other words, the thesis concludes that the spiritual journey of Australian Catholics has been one that moved from the devotional expressions and practices of the Sacred Heart of Jesus to the desire to discover the person of Jesus in the life of the community and in the circumstances of the times. This journey expresses a desire for personal and communal renewal that is based on the experiences of God in people's lives and is guided and assisted by the processes of discernment and in dialogue with sacred scripture and the traditions of the Church. The current dilemma in the lives of Catholics will be resolved if the Church in its renewal programs begins by acknowledging the presence of God in the experiences of the everyday.

Chapter Five: Spirituality and Revelation

Introduction

The enthusiasm generated by the "Spirituality Revolution" would seem to ignore the rich and long heritage of Christian "spirituality". However, the broad scope of this tradition has not been available to ordinary people, Catholics or otherwise, to assist and encourage them in their search for a spiritual understanding of their everyday lives. As a consequence, the interest in "spirituality" turned to other expressions of the spiritual including those of the eastern traditions, and even revisited pre-Christian or "pagan" practices and expressions.[278] This chapter sets out to identify the various experiences expressed by the "Spiritual Revolution" and to authenticate those that are "signs of the times" within the vision of the Second Vatican Council. Its aim is to provide a process to distinguish particular "spiritual experiences" as a continuing "revelation" of God's presence. This is at a time when many people seek meaning and value in their lives in ways that are outside the "spiritual experiences" the Church provides in its ritual and teaching.

The chapter begins by reflecting on "spirituality" as a by-word for those who seek deeper meaning in the rapidly changing social, religious, political and economic environment of the present era. Then, from this general perspective, the next step examines the origins of the spirituality phenomenon and its inherent dangers. In response to the confusion that this generates, a more critical study of the origins of the traditions of Catholic Spirituality will be undertaken.[279] This study is the heuristic tool which identifies the various shapes and influences

[278] The National Census figures of 2001 indicated the increase in adherents to eastern religions, or other non-Christian religions. C.Philip Hughes, "Using Data from the Census and *NCLS* in Religious Organizations", *Pointers,* 12(2002)3, 4-7. There has developed an understanding of eastern religions described by Edward Said as *Orientalism,* (Random House: New York, 1994). In this he traces the relationship between east and west and in Chapter 3. "Orientalism Now", 201, describes the fascination that Europeans have with the mysteries of the east. Wilson (c.f., 2.2.2) refers to pagan and other pre-Christian religious practices.

[279] The term Catholic Spiritualities has been used inclusively, in the sense that it recognises the lineage that began with the early Church and continues to influence Christian attitude and practice in various forms to the present time. The detail that follows is inclusive of the Orthodox and Protestant expressions and other forms of spirituality that originate in particular contexts and circumstances.

of Catholic Spiritualities. "Lay Spirituality", "Schools of Spirituality" and "Counter Spiritualities" are defined and described, as well as the processes that have authenticated their development and influence on the Church and the communities from which they came. What follows this is an examination of the processes used to authenticate and assist the resolution of the personal and communal conflicts, particularly those that arise in the struggle to either accept a new phenomenon, or retain the *status quo.* Finally, the chapter tests the Australian experience of the spiritual as a "sign of the times" and its subsequent challenge for the Church. The criteria used in this encounter are the lessons from the tradition of Catholic spirituality, the methods of discernment used to authenticate the experiences involved, the use of dialogue to engage the revelation of the Church and the processes required to implement renewal and to touch the lives of the people.

5.1 "Spirituality" Today

The Australian society shares a growing interest in "spirituality" with other West European cultures.[280] Previous chapters examined a variety of Australian expressions of the spiritual. They included such phrases as the "search for a soul", the desire for a "sea change", the "search for an Australian identity" and the "sacredness of the land". Expressions were also found in movements diverse as the "greenies' " focus on ecology, various forms of group meditation, aspects of eastern mysticism and "pagan" rituals. However, Australians generally were reticent to discuss the "spirit", or "spiritual things"; it was as if the spiritual had nothing to do with

[280] Anthony Russell in his contribution "Sociology of Spirituality" in Cheslyn Jones, et al. (eds.), *A Study Of Spirituality*, (London: SPCK, 1986), 34, outlined the specific relationship in western society between personal experience of God (or the equivalent) based on the public perception that distrusted any experience that could not be explained. This was shared by Australian attitudes of leaving "spiritual matters" to the official church, which the sectarian divide reinforced among the people themselves. Another important dimension of the development of spirituality was the work of Maria Harris in *Dance of the Spirit: The Seven Steps of Women's Spirituality,* (New York: Batman Books, 1991), xiii: The dynamism in the spiritual life of women was a rhythmic series of movements, like a dance "whatever step we find ourselves in, we are where we are meant to be". Cf. also Eugene Taylor, "Desperately Seeking Spirituality", *Psychology Today,* (1994)11, 1: available from http://www.elibrary.com/s/edumarkau/getdoc.cgi. Internet accessed 2/04/2003.

ordinary everyday life.[281] The realm of religion claimed the "matters of the spirit" and this was exacerbated by the wariness generated by the sectarian divide. Religious matters were left to the domain of the clergy or religious people. In recent years this has changed. In Australian society, as in other parts of the world, expressions of the spiritual have been used in a variety of circumstances and often without reference to religion. More often they were seen as a substitute for what were perceived as the staid and traditional religious expressions of ritual and prayer.

Prior to the 1980s the "matters of the spirit" for Catholics were aligned with the formal aspects of religion. They were the province of church authorities, priests and religious. Furthermore, the clergy gave directions and advice about the how and when to engage the presence of God, and closely monitored any personal encounter with the spiritual.[282] This ensured that ordinary people did not question the close relationship between "spirituality" and religious belief and practice. However, change came when the Council recognised the dignity of every human being and the universal call to holiness.[283] In this the Council re-emphasised the importance of the personal experience of God which became an essential element in the life of each Christian. It reflected on and shared the experience that this personal encounter embraced. Previous generations expressed suspicion of personal experiences and people were discouraged from sharing them with others. There are numerous examples of this in the hagiography of the saints of recent times. Those recognised for their holiness or closeness to God by the Church have had their private written reflections, which expressed their personal spiritual experiences, either left out or re-expressed more blandly, or altered to express what was deemed to be more

[281] Les Murray, *The Quality of Sprawl: Thoughts about Australia,* (Sydney: Duffy & Shellgrove, 1999), 42, developed the spiritual experience in its colloquial context. Kees Waaijman in *Spirituality: Forms, Foundations, Methods,* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 381, put spirituality in the context of the "Spiritual Theologies" of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, "the phenomenon of spirituality (is studied) in the light of a conceptual viewpoint". In the Thesaurus in Microsoft Word 2000, "spirituality" was listed as synonymous with, "religion, theology, religious studies, mysticism, and holiness". The Webster and Oxford dictionaries defined spirituality in reference to the conventional religious traditions of ritual and liturgy and expressions of piety that belonged to the religious person.

[282] Cf. 2.1.3 "Mol's Contribution". This identified the threat to the churches as the alienation of religion, it was not seen as an integral part of the lives of people in Australia. Cf. also Katharine Massam *Sacred Threads: Catholic Spirituality in Australia 1922-1962,* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1996), 4.

[283] "The root reason for human dignity lies in man's call to communion with God. From the very circumstance of his origin, man is already invited to converse with God. For man would not exist were he not created by God's love and constantly preserved by it, and he cannot live fully according to truth unless he freely acknowledges that love and devotes himself to his Creator." *GS.* #19.

appropriate for spiritual expectations of the times.[284] The formation programs in seminaries and religious houses inculcated a "spirituality" that was based on rigorous and routine exercises in piety and religious observance. The norm was conformity to the rule and performance indicators determined the presence of God and hence their vocation.[285] The excesses of these forms of "spirituality" continued to influence the formation of priests and religious until challenged in 1992 with John Paul II's Apostolic Exhoration *Pastores Dabo Vobis.* This document on seminary formation, recommended a broad integrated approach that embraced human development, spirituality, theological understanding and pastoral accountability.[286] The turning point for the priests and religious in Australia engaged in ministry came about with the re-discovery of "spiritual direction" as expressed in the revised Ignatian "Spiritual Exercises".[287] The encouragement and guidance to engage in a personal encounter with God began with the reflection on personal identity and the value as a human person as a gift from God.[288] Thus, priests and religious were encouraged to renew their lives and ministry by developing a personal relationship with God and, in the case of religious, to recall the initial inspiration and charism of their founders.[289] The appreciation of the spiritual for many priests and religious moved from the formality of ritual and conformity to rule, to a personal engagement with the presence of God.

---

[284] An example in popular experience is *The Story of a Soul,* an autobiography by Therese of Lisieux, heavily edited by her sister Pauline. Cf. Massam, *Sacred*, 128. Also, the work of Jules Chevalier the founder of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart was hindered by others who were against his reforms for the Congregation, as developed by E.J. (Jim) Cuskelly in his work, *Jules Chevalier: Man with a Mission,* (Roma: Casa Generaliizia Missionari Del Sacro Coure, 1975), 7.

[285] A. Tanquerey *The Spiritual Life: A Treatise on Ascetical and Mystical Theology,* (New York: Tournai, 1930) and similar textbooks were used in the seminaries to encourage an asceticism of pious practices from another era, which became determining factors in their suitability for ordination or religious profession.

[286] Previously the role of the Spiritual Director in the seminary, and the Director of Novices in religious life focused on assessing candidates by their ability to keep "faithful" to the many ascetical and pious practices. John Paul II in *Pastores Dabo Vobis* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1992), *#42,* emphasised the human, spiritual, theological and pastoral dimensions of formation, and the test of suitability became the integration of each of these dimensions into the life of the person involved. The previous discernment process was performance based on religious observance.

[287] Cf. David Flemming's *Draw Me Into Your Friendship: A literal Translation and a Contemporary Reading of the Spiritual Exercises*, (WSt.Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996).

[288] In 1978 the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart invited Armen Nigra SJ to begin a series of "Spirituality Institutes" at Douglas Park, NSW. These offered an integrated program of guided reflection in methods of prayer and personal awareness and the opportunity for individual supervision in personal prayer. In the lives of diocesan clergy fraternity groups and renewal programs offered similar opportunities.

[289] *OT.* #8; also, *PC.* #2.

However, "spirituality" for the majority of laypeople continued to be focused on devotions, pious practices and a commitment to a prescribed religious and moral behaviour in which they had little say. "Spirituality" was expressed in the observance of ritual and moral standards, and/or a regime of many and frequent personal devotional practices. The models of prayer for laity in everyday life parallelled practices of prayer in the lives of priests or religious. Some understood that prayer involved an adult personal relationship with God, but this was grasped intuitively rather than taught.[290] Their spiritual life was caught in a dilemma. On the one hand the expression of their spiritual experiences was determined by a religious regime of devotion and piety, and on the other, they became aware of the emphasis of the Council on the role of the laity in the Church's life and mission. They were subject to regulation and, at the same time called on to "make use of the gifts they had received from the Holy Spirit" because of their state in life.[291] This was the turning point, and the understanding of "spirituality" for Catholics began to change from this time.[292]

5.2 The Phenomenon of "Spirituality"

Book titles and periodical articles that explored and studied "spirituality" continued to increase in number, as did the approaches and responses to the questions this raised.[293] In general, there were many terms and phrases used to describe "spirituality". The authors cited attributed the

[290] The seminars of Peter Malone encouraged this development, as described in 3.2.1.

[291] *AA*. #4.

[292] Lay movements began that set out to develop a lay spirituality. Some of these in Australia were *The Teams of Our Lady*, *Movement for a Better World*, *Passionist Family Groups*. These movements encouraged married and family reflection on the presence of God in everyday life, but often struggled to let go of formal structures and practices as the circumstances of the people involved changed with time and experience.

[293] A list of titles at random on the topic of spirituality showed the complexity of the topic: Matthew Fox, (ed.), *Western Spirituality: Historical Roots - Ecumenical Routes*, (Santa Fe: Bear & Co., 1981); Harvey Egan, *An Anthology Of Christian Mysticism*, (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991); Cheslyn Jones, et al. (eds.), *A Study Of Spirituality*, (London: SPCK, 1986); David Knowles, *Christian Monasticism, (*London: World Uni. Library, 1969); Savage & Watson (trans.), *Anchoritic Spirituality*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1991); Donal Dorr, *Integral Spirituality: Resources for Community, Justice, Peace and the Earth,* (Melbourne: CollinsDove, 1990); John and Denise Carmody *Catholic Spirituality and the History of Religions,* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991); John and Denise Carmody *Christian Uniqueness and Catholic Spirituality,* (New York: Paulist Press, 1990); Maria Harris, *Dance of the Spirit: The Seven Steps of Women's Spirituality,* (New York: Batman Books, 1991); Stephen Pickard and Gordon Press, (eds.), *Starting With the Spirit,* (Adelaide: Open Books, 2001).

following descriptions of the spiritual experience as "a search for deeper values", a "personal relationship with God or the divine", "communicating with mystery", and a "devotional or ritual commitment".

The complexity that arose in the use of spiritual words was demonstrated by the following examples. The first was the ambivalence of the colloquial use of the word "spiritual" used in a discussion between the Russian President Mikhail Gorbachov and JohnPaul II. The pope described him as "a man of principles, *spiritually* very rich… he does not call himself a believer, but with me, I remember, he spoke of the great importance which he attributed to prayer, (and) to the inner dimension".[294] This comment focused on the individual qualities of each person and expressed the desire of both to find a common ground that would allow communication at the deepest human level of experience. It was an indicator of the changing understanding of the spiritual dimension of the human experience. Two people who represented opposite ends of the social, philosophical and political spectrum in the world at that time used it. This example revealed how the word "spiritual" was accepted as a personal experience that could engage dialogue rather than argumentation and debate. It enabled acceptance rather than judgement.

Another example illustrating the broader understanding of "spirituality" was an article entitled "Desperately Seeking Spirituality" by Eugene Taylor, a behavioural psychologist. In it he described spirituality as a "new awakening". He applied this concept to a particular group of Americans who responded to changed social circumstances, and saw it as a cultural phenomenon.[295] Taylor described the phenomenon in American society:

> One of the most distinguishing marks of the new awakening is that it appears primarily to be a shadow culture of Judaic Judaeo-Christian Protestantism. If the interpreters of modern culture wonder what this spirituality is all about they only have to recognise a widespread emphasis on the transcendent by those of the largely white middle-class

[294] Quoted by Michael Gallagher in his article "The New Agenda of Unbelief and Faith", in Dermot Lane (ed.), *Religion and Culture in Dialogue: A Challenge for the Next Millennium,* (Dublin: Columba Press, 1993), 134.

[295] Taylor in "Desperately", 9, wrote of the United States experience and highlighted the particular context in which spirituality was used, albeit with aspects that were common to other places and situations.

> generation who left the institutional church. This is a profoundly Caucasian phenomenon. [296]

In reply to his own question "why is all this spirituality breaking out now", he nominated the counterculture revolution of the 1960s, the migration of spiritual teachers to the West, Asian martial arts, the forty million baby boomers, the women's movement and the religious revivalist movements in American history as the major influences. It was his view that these happenings created opportunities for a particular section of the American community to express the desire to improve the moral and ascetic qualities of their lives. It was also an area of reflection that penetrated "scientific circles", the neurosciences, medicine, and psychiatry. Taylor concluded that because of a broader understanding of "spirituality" in society, "spirituality" in religion and "spirituality" in science were no longer seen as counter to each other. Like authors in Australia, he interpreted religion as the search for the meaning of life, or a spiritual desire that touched all human experience, rather than an organised expression of doctrine and ritual.[297] Taylor's analysis of the American phenomenon was akin to the Australian experience which reflected common threads.[298] The sociologists identified that ethnicity, education, religion, politics, class and status were able to contribute to the phenomenon of spiritual experiences that spoke a common language as in the example between the President and the pope cited earlier. Kelly reflected on the manner with which the spiritual can be expressed as an ideology.[299]

Another important example of the meaning of spirituality was the change that occurred in the modern conflict between religion and science. Religion rebutted the theories of the scientists with spiritual answers to the questions of nature and history. As a consequence, it placed itself

---

[296] Ibid. 11.

[297] Morris West in many of his novels and then in a summation of his work in *A View from the Ridge: The Testimony of a Pilgrim* (Sydney: HarperCollins, 1996), expressed the desire to search for meaning as his right and religious experience, and at the same time expressed reservation and dissatisfaction with the Church's use of authority in its teaching and its ritual: "I am still a questioner, because I regard the Christian Life as a search not as an arrival." 137.

[298] Rachael Kohn in *The New Believers: Re-Imagining God,* (Sydney: HarperCollins, 2003), 2, expressed in the introduction the connections in modern society that Australians shared with the Americans.

[299] Cf. 4.3.3.

above scientific endeavour, as it sought to bring dogmatic interpretation into the discovery of mystery and scientific questioning.[300] The work of astrophysicists such as Paul Davies has linked the "infinity of space" to the "mystery of the undefinable", not in terms of religious dogma, but with reference to a spiritual dimension of human experience when confronted with mystery.[301] Previously, because of its close connection with religious dogmatism, reference to the spiritual was seen to take away personal responsibility and authenticity in discerning the nature of experience and reflection on the world. However, once the spiritual was seen to have a place in the context of other human values, it was able to express in personal terms a relationship with God, or with a transcendent experience, or with mystery, or with the world 'beyond' and open to the scrutiny of others.[302]

The enthusiasm generated by spiritual experiences also brought dangers and threats to the established acceptance of the spiritual. Taylor recognised the need to interpret or to discern spiritual experiences as he endeavoured to justify the Sect Dravidian standoff and disaster at Waco, Texas in 1992. Similar "religious" tragedies in American history indicated the need for "spiritual experience" to be accountable to the other human values.[303] Thus, Taylor's article raised the issue of discernment, a process that made accountable the inspirations and motivations of spiritual behaviours in the cultural context in which they occurred. Hence, the relationship of "spirituality" to specific cultures and specific religious movements became a factor to consider in the face of the many different spiritualities, or expressions of the spiritual experience. The dangers inherent in an appeal to the spiritual as the motive for action required a balanced assessment that considered the background and circumstances of those involved as well as a personal or psychological analysis of a particular behaviour.

---

[300] The Church's condemnation of Galileo's proof of planetary rotation was the classic example that expressed the rejection of the Church of ideas that upset the established understanding of nature.

[301] Paul Davies, *Superforce: The Search for a Grand Unified Theory of Nature*, (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1986), 171. For a further discussion of this in the context of theology, cf. Margaret Wertheim, *The Pearly Gates of Cyberspace: a History of Space from Dante to the Internet*, (Sydney: DoubleDay, 1999), 216-219.

[302] Paul Cashen, "Different Necessary conversations", *The Mix,* 8(2003)5, 4.

[303] For example the Jonestown mass suicide (Guyana 1978), and the earlier Salem witch trials or the Klu Klux Klan massacres.

Recently Kees Waaijman published *Spirituality: Forms, Foundations, Methods* which was the result of an extensive study of the origins of Catholic "spiritualities".[304] His study began by identifying the spiritual experience across all cultures and peoples. He related many "spiritual experiences" of individuals and groups to the context of historical events and circumstances, from which he developed a method both of identifying the patterns of "spirituality" and authenticating their value to the community and to the wider society. In Part Two of Waaijman's work, after 305 pages, he posited the question, "What in fact is "Spirituality?" This question arose as a consequence of the many examples in his study.[305] He pointed out the many diverse expressions of "spirituality" as lived experiences, the various disciplines that were developed to maintain their original inspiration and the particular forms of "spirituality". His work placed the movements and changes in the understanding of the spiritual in an overall context. He concluded that "Materially, spirituality is the joint process of the divine-human relation which is, formally, a layered process of transformation".[306] Here he identified the tension between the personal experience of mystery and the ongoing demand for authenticity. "Spirituality" was both distinct from, yet derived from, the human search within.[307] Thus "spirituality" expressed the desire for and the celebration of the ultimate answers to questions of life and existence. The present interest in the spiritual can be authenticated by reflecting on the origins and development of Christian Spirituality in conjunction with Waaijman's research.

[304] Kees Waaijman, *Spirituality: Forms, Foundations, Methods*, (Leuven: Peeters, 2002).

[305] Ibid. IIV. Waaijman's *Spirituality* was a tome of 960 pages and outlined his research and analysis of spirituality in the total Christian context. His work was used as the principal source to identify the broad dimensions of "spirituality" and the long tradition it has in the Catholic Church. It was outside the scope of this thesis to critically analyse his work in detail and the conclusions drawn from it by the thesis have referred to the insights that Waaijman develops in much detail. They are also cross-referenced with other authors that bring the Australian experience, and are interpreted from the pastoral experience of the author.

[306] Waaijman, *Spirituality,* "Content", VII.

[307] Ibid. 8, outlined the distinctions that Waaijman established between the three basic expressions of "spirituality".

5.3 Waaijman: "What is Spirituality?" Its Shapes and Influences

Waaijman's *Spirituality* raised two questions "What is spirituality?" and "How can we properly study this reality?" He recalled the growing interest in these questions as a lived experience and as a focus for study. He introduced his study with the warning that "the reader will encounter fifty-four forms of spirituality" which he selected to "disclose the area of reality called spirituality".[308] From these examples he distinguished three basic forms, namely "lay spirituality, institutional forms of piety and counter-currents from the margin". On the content page he summarised his starting point:

> Within the area of lived spirituality we can distinguish three basic forms: *lay spirituality*, which is realized in the context of the family; *schools of spirituality*, which manifest themselves in the public domain; *counter-movements*, which occur outside of the cultural and religious consensus.[309]

In the sections that follow, Waaijman's forms of spirituality are used to identify various current expressions of spirituality. Once identified these expressions are then situated in the broader tradition of Catholic or Christian Spirituality.

5.3.1 *Lay Spirituality* and the Experience of Mystery

Waaijman pointed out that little had been written or recorded on *lay spirituality* because of the dominant role of the *schools of spirituality*. Historically, he identified two aspects or principles of *lay spirituality*. The first was that within Christianity each form of "spirituality" has the same origins, namely, baptism and human equality. The second was that *lay spirituality* was identified by its relational patterns (marriage, family, neighbours and friends), a specific "sense of time" (from generation to generation, life, death and birth), a "sense of space" (the home began the relationship with the environment around it and from whence it came) and that central to all was the personal life-journey of each individual.

[308] Ibid. 11.

[309] Ibid. VII (Italics mine).

The Council used the same principles in *The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* when it encouraged lay people to fulfil their baptismal commitment "by living in the world to sanctify it". The term "*lay spirituality"* gained prominence from this document and *The Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity.*[310] The Council's description of the source and focus of this "spirituality" identified its distinctiveness in the life of the Church, even though it left its development to the pastors of the Church. Writing forty years after the Council began, Waaijman concluded his historical overview of the development of *lay spirituality* with reference to the Council's changed emphasis, that the laity "had as their direct assignment the sanctification of the world, not by withdrawing from it, but by seeing God at work in it".[311] Malone's *Spirituality Seminars* reflected the tension that this change brought to the relationship between lay people and the church leaders. The tension was particularly evident in the spiritual dimension of their lives where the form of spirituality was still clerical. This dominance made it difficult for the laity to accept that the origin of their basic relationship with the divine was to be discovered in their everyday life. The spiritual environment that the Church had offered them was derived from and guided by a particular *school of spirituality* that had its origins in monasticism and clericalism. The Council and more particularly Waaijman's work, identified that *lay spirituality* offered the Church a structure to assist ordinary people to discover the presence of God in their lives in a time of change and transformation. Malone highlighted the difficulties the laity encountered as individuals gave expression to their struggle to express their relationship with God.[312]

In Waaijman's research the "indigenous spiritualties" from all continents were allied to *lay spirituality*. Although he used Native American and African spiritualities as his examples, he

---

[310] *LG.* #31. In *AA* #3, this has its limitations: "From the acceptance of these charisms, including those which are more elementary, there arises for each believer the right and duty to use them in the Church and in the world for the good of men and the building up of the Church, in the freedom of the Holy Spirit who "breathes where he wills" (Jn 3:8). For this to be achieved the laity in communion with their brothers in Christ, especially with their pastors, would "judge the true nature and proper use of their gifts, (not to extinguish the presence of the Spirit in their lives,) but to test all things and hold for what is good (cf. 1 Thes. 5:12, 19, 21)".

[311] Waaijman, *Spirituality,* 23.

[312] Cf. 3.1.2.

referred to the studies of the Australian Aboriginal spiritualties in a footnote.[313] These "spiritualities" identify three "interlocking lines of continuity" which added insights into how *lay spirituality* developed. They were: "the bond with the natural environment – experienced as divine – which was mediated by the community"; the network relationships that located and identified a person within successive generations, and the personal birth, life and death struggle to create and maintain a home and community environment "through love and care".[314]

These "interlocking line of continuity" were examined in six sections and were the framework Waaijman used to clarify the development of *lay spirituality*. Each section followed the progressive steps in the human journey from life to death and showed how each contained personal encounters with mystery and unfulfilled expectations. In summary, (1) "the coming-into-being of humans" was a mystery experienced at every moment of life. (2) In each generation children evoked a spiritual concern from parents and family. (3) Living together, in tents or in cities, "home unfolds as inwardness"; it gave rise to intimacy which was the mysterious mix of the inner and outer experiences of life. (4) Marriage, as the embodiment of the love of God, was a reality that expressed the mystery in the interaction of the couple. (5) "Mercy is the soul of mutual relations", on reflection it overcame the injustices or isolation that threatened relationships. (6) Finally, "the last days of life, death and burial evoke reflection and reverence", and thus was the mystery encountered by the bereaved.

Each of the steps summarised above reflected important spiritual developments in the life of the person, the family, the community and the society. Also, these developments have been the

[313] Ibid. 24. He referred to Max Charlesworth's (ed.), *Ancestor Spirits: Aspects of Australian Aboriginal Life and Spirituality*, (Melbourne: Deakin University Press, 1990), and Michael Goonan's *A Community of Exiles: An Exploration of Australian Spirituality*, (Homebush: St.Pauls, 1995). However, the inclusion of this latter work was misleading. Its focus was on the experience of the European settlers who came to Australia, and its theme more properly connected to the later category of Uprootedness in Waaijman, 261. This would place it in the category spiritualities he described as the "Counter movements". Charlesworth edited a later collection of essays *Religious Business: Essays on Australian Aboriginal Spirituality*, (Cambridge University Press, 1998) to continue the debate about the importance of indigenous spirituality. Also, of special note, was the study by E.A. Worms, *Australian Aboriginal Religions*, (Melbourne: Spectrum, 1988), who spent many years living among the more isolated groups of indigenous people. The spiritualities of the indigenous people of Australia have occupied an increasingly important source of inspiration for understanding and relating the Australian Identity to the search for meaning and ultimately the divine, C.f. Chapter Six.

[314] Ibid. 25.

subject of intense study and reflection and have had a particular focus on the changing circumstances that influence each level of experience. Over time this led to the development of social mores and customs, the rule and regulation of law and the passing on of tradition in ritual and ceremony. In this sense *lay spirituality* was the link between the external fabric of society and the personal, familial and communal expressions of the relationships experienced with the mysteries of life and hence the divine. It was the basis for the relationship society had with the developing religious expressions, which maintained and reflected its internal and external identity. The development of this relationship was questioned in the multicultural society of Australia because of the strongly developed historical suspicion of religious expressions that was exacerbated by the sectarian religious divisions. The connection between the developing *Australian Identity* and Waaijman's *lay spirituality* was the element of the "search for a soul" or the discovery of an "Australian Spirituality", when they both were seen as the experience of mystery in everyday life.

From another perspective, the relationship between the pope and the President at the meeting mentioned above, was consciously or unconsciously expressed in the context of *lay spirituality*. The sentiments expressed by both opened a dialogue between them on a personal level. They had very different beliefs and traditions and their socio-politico-religious contexts had little in common. A similar dialogue was also found in the reflection and inspiration expressed by those who were asked by Peter Malone to write about their experience of God. They sought to express themselves in words that made sense to them of the life that they encountered each day.[315] They responded from their own experiences and feelings rather than repeated from rote the definitions that they had been taught as children. In like manner, Waaijman concluded his study of *lay spirituality* with an example that focused on the connection between the lives of ordinary people and their encounter with mystery. Personal experience revealed that the awareness of the significance of this encounter was sometimes present and often not. He

[315] Cf. the detail of Malone's request and the response, 3.1.2, especially in fn. 158.

quoted a young person Danielle, who faced death with her own sense of mystery although she had no religious upbringing.

> I don't believe in a God of justice, or a God of love. It's too human to be possible. What a lack of imagination! But neither do I believe that we can just be reduced to some bundle of atoms. Whatever tells us that there's something beyond matter – call it soul, or spirit, or consciousness, whatever you prefer – I believe in the immortality of *that*. Reincarnation or arriving at an entirely new plan of being – it's discovery (is) by death![316]

There was a similar reflection expressed by Albert Facey as he approached death after a life of difficulty and disappointment, but located in the nineteenth century Australian bush.[317] His experiences epitomised the heroism and self-worth of many Australians then and since, and gave expression to the mystery encountered in the harsh world in which they lived. The desire was to give expression to the experience of mystery which was authentic and reflected the values of their lives. The principles the Council proposed for the role of lay people in the life of the Church required expression in a way that reflected this same authenticity, such as an openness to the reality of life and to the mysteries that it embraced. Waaijman's research showed the importance of the "back to basics" approach to spirituality that was at the heart of *lay spirituality*. It was an approach that began by identifying the experience of mystery in the life of the individual, the family, the community and then the society. It then gave expression to the mystery it encountered in ways that were celebrated and passed down through the traditions of that family, community and society. Malone encouraged people in his seminars to express the mysteries of their lives in a manner that reflected their everyday values.

5.3.2 *Schools of Spirituality* – The Source Experience

The *schools of spirituality* have had the most influence on the "spiritual experience" in people's lives because of their socio-politico-cultural connections. The *schools of spirituality* have given rise to

[316] Waaijman, 114. This was translated and cited from M. de Hennezel in *De intieme dood.Levenslessen van stervenden,* (Haarlem: 1996), 168.

[317] Facey, *Fortunate*, 314.

many revivals and renewals of societies, nations and peoples at crucial times within the major western and eastern civilizations. They have used the inspirations of religious traditions and beliefs to bring stability in times of economic, social and political upheavals. The *schools of spirituality* were recognised by their written traditions. As such they were studied and identified as having their origin in a particular era of human history, and developed in response to the various changes that occurred from era to era. Waaijman described a *school of spirituality* and at the same time outlined the steps that he developed to express the elements that went into establishing such schools:

> We define a school of spirituality as (1) a spiritual way that arrives from a Source-experience around which (2) an inner circle of pupils takes shape which (3) is situated within the socio-cultural context in a specific way and (4) opens a specific perspective on the future; the second generation (5) structures all those into an organic whole, by means of which (6) a number of people can share in the Source-experience; when the Source-experience, the contextual relevance, and the proud are not open to the future, (7) a reformation is needed.[318]

For Christians, Waaijman explains that the "Source-experience" has been the "way of Christ", and Christ was the model for Christian life, as expressed in John's gospel, "I am the way, the truth and the life" (14:6). The early development of Christian spirituality as a "way" to be followed began with the spread of the gospels, Paul's letters, and then the determination of the community to interpret and hold true to these teachings. Thus, they continued to respond to the presence of the "Source-experience", shared their experiences and reflected on the written word as a guide. The history of the Christian *Schools of Spirituality* and their variety of expressions reflected the influence of a particular place and time of a Christian community and their efforts to interpret the "Source-experience". The variety of expressions across the ages were recorded in the anthologies of Christian Spirituality and the theology courses designed to introduce students to the traditions that have been influential in the Christian life. An example of the latter was a lecture series entitled *Classical Approaches to (Christian) Spirituality.*[319] The lectures detailed

[318] Ibid. 117.

[319] Paul Cashen, *Classical Approaches to Spirituality,* (CSA 324), (Kensington: St. Paul's National Seminary campus of the Sydney College of Divinity, 1996). Cf. the content page of this course was reproduced in Appendix Three.

the changed circumstances of a particular era and the influence that this had on the traditions. In particular the lectures identified the specific interpretations individuals or communities gave to the "Source-experience" that had be passed onto them. Each tradition was identified by the particular circumstances of its origin, the specific interpretation of the "Source", the transformation of that occurred in everyday life, and the influence that were passed on to succeeding generations. The similar courses were developed following the injunction of the Council to renew the religious life of the Church by returning to the spiritual sources. This renewal led to a better understanding of the traditions passed down to the present generations and to the challenge to interpret them in the light of the present circumstances.[320]

Waaijman detailed the development of the *schools of spirituality* to clarify the interrelationship between the spiritual experience and the methods adopted by the school to guide and direct the life of prayer and action as it responded to the needs of the times. This led to rules of life to maintain a balance between personal commitment and dedication and service to the community at large. They were "spiritualities" that linked the social and environmental factors of the time and interpreted the original message of Christ in a way that reached forward from one generation to the next. The responsibility of the *schools of spirituality* was to continue the mission of the Church. In other words, they were responsible for the development of a world-view of religious values and practices that embraced a wide variety of experiences and were in a position to inspire renewal and change to the community and the society in which they lived.[321] In modern times the development of religious orders gave more specificity to the "Source-experience" as they responded to meet the circumstances of social, political and environmental need.[322]

---

[320] *OT.* # 2.

[321] Waaijman, *Spirituality,* 116, outlined the various methods of the *Schools of Spirituality* as: "Spiritual ways", "Liturgical Spirituality", "Religious Communities", "Spirituality and Culture", "Reformation" and "The Opening-up of the Future".

[322] Ibid. 165.

Waaijman recognised that the patterns developed in Christian spirituality had parallels in other major religious movements down through history.[323] There were similar connections between a "Source-experience" and the cultural and environmental factors that alter the life of the people. The circumstances of the time and place gave rise to particular *schools of spirituality* that were influential in bringing direction and purpose to the lives of the ordinary people:

> A culture cannot survive unless its present is open to an imaginable future. This perspective on the future is disclosed by prophets, utopians, futurologists, artists and thinkers, people who are able to illumine the present from the vantage point of the future.[324]

Waaijman concluded his reflections on the *Schools of Spirituality* by an examination of the contemporary interest in *Ecological Spirituality* which he was as a *School* rather than a "new age" or "counter" movement. He identified new insights in the relationship between the world of nature: the consciousness of its finiteness on the one hand and its interconnectedness with the lives of people today on the other. He concluded that the principals of this *School* were found in the Christian "Source-experience". The *School* highlighted the mystery and wonder contained in *nature* and integrated the desire to control the pain and suffering into the Christian mystery of self-sacrifice. New possibilities for relationships with the universe developed and focused on the challenge of balancing the injustices experienced with the shared "gift of being and being together".[325] Waaijman summed up the importance of this dawning in western thought and imagination: "When the world is thus disclosed as the sacrament of God, there is nothing left in it – no particle, however small – in which the believer cannot perceive and find God".[326] This aspect of spirituality was at the centre of much of Australian writing, and has an appeal to young

---

[323] Ibid. 123, under the heading *Spiritual Ways* he introduces the Jewish, Islamic, Buddhists parallels.

[324] Ibid. 195.

[325] Ibid. 209. Waaijman cites from Matthew Fox *Creation Spirituality,* (San Francisco: Bear & Co., 1991), 81, and summarised here.

[326] Ibid. 209. Other Australian authors expressed a similar conclusion, Denis Edwards, "For Your Immortal Soul is in All Things", in Edwards, *Earth,* 64; also "Ecology and the Holy Spirit", in Pickard, *Spirit,* 238; and also in Denis Edwards, *Jesus the Wisdom of God: An ecological theology,* (Homebush: St Paul's Publications, 1995); and essays in Hammond's *Creation Spirituality,* and Paul Collins, *God's Earth: Religion as if Matter Really Mattered,* (Melbourne: HarperCollins, 1995).

people in particular.[327] Tacey described the interest in ecology among the young, as a challenge to their interpretation of the traditional religious understanding.[328] However, for Waaijman ecology had its origins in the tradition of Christian Spirituality.

The *Schools of Spirituality* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries influenced Catholic life and continued to do so. Consequently, the religious attitudes and practices of Australians can be better understood when they are considered. Waaijman identified the influences of the *Ascetical School* and the *Dogmatic-Theological School.* Their disciplines looked with suspicion on personal spiritual experiences and controlled them with devotional exercises that had a rigorous attention to self-control through which "perfection" in the spiritual life was gained.[329] The emphasis placed on spirituality by the *Ascetics* was to control personal desires and feelings.[330] The failure to do resulted in moral condemnation and social ostracism. The *Dogmatic-Theological* approach viewed spirituality as "the appropriation of a certain sphere of ideas and values".[331] In the Australian context this influence reduced the personal response to the presence of God as it was subsumed into the communal response for the good of the whole.[332] In the nineteenth century identity and mutual support in the face of prejudice and opposition, demanded communal values and attitudes, and in some places this has persisted to the present day.[333]

---

[327] This writing combined the ecological emphasis on the relationship between the human use and abuse of the land, sea and sky, with the Indigenous respect for the sacredness of the "land" and is developed in the following chapter.

[328] Tacey, *Spirituality*, 66.

[329] Waaijman, *Spirituality,* 373.

[330] This was expressed in detail by Declan Marmion in his *Spirituality of Everyday Faith,* (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1998), 210. He reflected on Rahner's understanding of asceticism, "Dying to the world, asceticism and renunciation, and of the readiness for the cross, do not of themselves guarantee possession of God".

[331] Ibid. 383. Waaijman described many other examples of *Schools* that have influenced the Church and its activities in mission and ministry from the earliest times. The ones chosen here reflected the situation in Australia and the influence of the spiritualities that came from Europe beginning with white settlement. A more detailed and focused study would be required to grasp the extent of the influence of the *Schools of Spirituality* that came to Australia with the missionary religious congregations and orders. The influence of *Spiritualities* from other counties has been recognised in this study and accepted as significant in the early development of Christianity in Australia.

[332] The closest description of this was in O'Farrell's *The Catholic Church,* "The Irish Vision", 194f. "If piety, Irish piety, could be brought to shape Australia's destiny, a great religious nation would appear".

[333] Cf. 5.5.2 for a summary of this situation. It is also necessary to refer to the influence of Jansenism an *ascetical school of spirituality*. This came with the clergy and religious from Ireland, has been referred to in historical writings, cf. Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community,* (Kensington: University of NSW, 1992), 355, 375. Maloney's *Roman Mould* referred to its influence on the

The *Schools of Spirituality* became a powerful resource for the Church. The manner and expression of their influence changed according to the circumstances of the time. Therefore, based on Waaijman's study, two conclusions can be drawn concerning this influence. On the one hand the personal experiences of mystery, hence of God, were encouraged and integrated so that change and transformation came to the community and the society. On the other hand, the personal experience was controlled and subjected to the authority that developed from within the *School*. This formed the expression and relationship the individual had with the spiritual and it became a uniform communal expression. The study threw light on the difficulties encountered by those who found it difficult to write about the presence of God in their lives in contemporary Australia, as described earlier.[334] In response to this control the "Spirituality Revolution" developed its own understanding of the relationship between the person and the experience of mystery that could not see itself within the traditional structures of religious expression.

5.3.3 *Counter Movements:* Challenging the "Established Order"

The "touch of the Absolute" was an essential element of the "spiritual experience" which responded to and challenged the "established order" in cultural and religious terms. Waaijman used the image of two voices that moved against each other, or countered each other in a musical composition to describe the movement of this type of "spiritual experience". In reflecting on the spiritual, these movements were found outside established organizations and relationships, but were not a negative withdrawal or 'opting out'. Rather they were the recognition of other stances and attitudes. They moved against the accepted and regular expressions of the presence of the mystery, the divine, the absolute God, and used contrast to

---

structures and hierarchy of the Church in Australia. He also referred to the triumphal attitude of the Church and the disjunction between the spiritual life of the people and the demands of coherence and unity under the guise of Roman decrees.

[334] Cf. Malone's Seminars in 3.3.1.

enhance them. Waaijman divided these spiritualities into six categories. They were described in some detail because the dominant forms of spiritual expression rejected them. Yet they finessed and adapted the *status quo* in response to the circumstances of the time.[335]

The first example was "Liberation Spirituality" and examples Waaijman selected were Miriam (Exod. 15:21), Joan of Arc and Dorothee Solle. Each discovered the presence of God in their own adversity and their values and attitudes countered and challenged the judgements of the authorities and culture of the time. Solle lamented the self-aggrandisement of modern times in the context of the Second World War, suffered for her non-conformity, and discovered a new-self that rose above the difficulties she encountered, or the "mysticism of liberation".[336] Two Australians in this category were Caroline Chisholm and Mary MacKillop. Both were supporters of the poor and their commitment to their vision was criticised by church authorities. The spirit they generated survived and grew stronger as their spirituality was one of liberation, not only for themselves but for others.[337]

The second category consisted of those movements that perpetuated "Devotion". These are outside the *schools of spirituality* because they were concerned with such "everyday experiences of procreation, health, interpersonal relations and property". Their "naïve ritual language does not conform to the rational framework of the schools" or institutional spirituality.[338] Waaijman did not consider that these were examples of *lay spirituality*, as they involved practices that substituted for personal reflection and engagement with the divine. He quoted a number of spiritual writers who distinguished between "devotion" as personal commitment, and "devotion" as a practice or

---

[335] Waaijman, *Spirituality,* 261.

[336] Ibid. 263-5, Waaijman's three stages of transformation, applied to Dorothee Solle's life and struggle, 231.

[337] The spirituality of Mary MacKillop was a work in progress. The principles of the Council encouraged her religious congregation to revisit and understand the challenge she presented to the Church and her followers, religious and lay, to define more clearly for today the "source experience" that her expressed her own spirituality.

[338] Ibid. 233. Waaijman alerts his reader to the *Dictionnaire de Spirituale* to highlight the discrepancy between "Devotion, *Devotions and Devotions prohibes"* and the principal that "devotional practice precede the attitude of devotion which they evoke". In other words, devotion can take the place of the spiritual movement experienced as a personal response to the presence of God, and can often lead to extraordinary practices that are seen as enhancing the religious or institutional experience.

religious behaviour. These latter were usually adopted to follow a pattern of behaviour, accepted without personal discernment and without an appreciation of its origins. This "devotion" was regarded as a "folk religion" and seen as another religion over and against the currently accepted religious behaviour of a *school of spirituality*. Images of saints, devotional places, prayer rituals, became the focus for the devotion and was all embracing rather than an aid to further and deeper personal engagement in the mystery. In the Australian Catholic situation such devotions have been expressed in various ways. For example, the "Neo-Catechumenate Way" developed as a regime of devotional practices that were used to redirect people back to God. There have been various Festivals or religious-cultural celebrations that focus on a devotion to a particular saint and came with immigrants from Europe. Most have come from Italy and expressed devotional relationship akin to that left behind in Italy. However, they have failed to encourage the younger generations to become involved and experience them as an expression of the presence of God. In a similar way the Irish display and celebration of the "Faith of our Fathers" was an expression of devotion rather than a personal engagement with God. The emphasis on fear as a consequence of not fulfilling the conditions of the devotion, made it difficult for a personal relationship with God to develop.

The third category was exemplified by the "Ant-agonist". They were the "buffoons and fools, dissidents and satirists who, inspired by a contrary Spirit, regularly disturbed the members of the establishment". Waaijman gave as examples for consideration, Elijah, Symeon the Fool, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Australians whose lives had similar characteristics to inspire and challenge could be Simon and his Donkey from the Anzac landings, or Ned Kelly, or Philip Adams today.

The fourth category involved those who explored and expressed their "uprootedness", for example, the homeless, the refugee, and the exile. The spiritual dimension of this experience was explored in the exile to Babylon, the desert existence of the hermit and the solitude found in the metropolis. In the Australian situation, the plight of the indigenous people, the struggle of the

convicts and later migrants to survive and adapt, contained examples of this form of spiritual experience. They reflected other values, ran counter to, and accentuated their difference perceptions of God's presence.

The "Spirituality of Martyrs" was the fifth category. They bore witness "to God's rule over against a power which denies this divine claim", such as the seven brothers (2 Macc. 7:1-42), Polycarp who 'excelled in martyrdom", and the Holocaust.[339] In recent times the media exposed mass murders and genocide to an audience mostly focused in on its own struggles. The victims and those who survive were in this category because they challenged the comfort zones of those who look on – hence, those who supported the boat people and the refugees challenged the conscience of Australians.

Finally, "Eschatological Spirituality" has to do with death, the end of the world and the mysteries underlying the perception when threatened with these events.[340] Waaijman gave three examples of this form of spirituality: 'prophecy', from the Babylonian exile to end-time when God will be revealed to all people; 'imitation' by Christians in the death and resurrection of Jesus; and 'the unbecoming in God' of the mystics of Islam – final union with God, "I am nothing, He is all". In Australia these expressions were found in everyday life as groups of people responded to a perceived lack of value and direction in the social, cultural, political and religious dimensions of life. It was also the breeding ground of fundamental attitudes as selected parts of the message contained in previously held and experienced expressions of spirituality, responded to the threats of the present circumstances. This opened them to become ideologies rather than spiritualities, as Kelly expressed in the Australian situation.[341]

[339] Ibid. 276.

[340] Ibid. 291.

[341] Cf. 4.3.3.

These counter movements expressed many parallels with the experience of the spiritual encountered in Australian history. The mythologies and legends that grew up around these experiences reflect the unique side of the Australian character. They challenged the religious and institutional experience of the spiritual and further developed a basis for the Australian Spirituality explored by Kelly, Malone and others in Chapter Three above.

5.4 Waaijman: The Dimensions of the Spiritual Experience

Waaijman distinguished three fundamental expressions of how a spiritual experience developed into a form of spirituality. These shaped and framed the religious expression for the individual, the community, or for the religious institution. When the various expression of spirituality were identified and related to the situation within which they arose, the personal experience of the spiritual became the focus of reflection. The basic principle of the spiritual experience was the personal dimension which was and is at the heart of religious belief and practice. In fact this dimension of the experience was more important in determining its authenticity than the form or category it had in terms of its origin. The personal dimension has various elements or steps namely, the recognition of the experience itself, the ability to reflect on and share the experience with others, the value of the experience for the good of the community and finally the meaning and substance it could bring to others.[342] Waaijman examined examples of the latter element of the spiritual experience and used various analytical tools to put them into three basic forms of spirituality. These forms revealed the dependence of the experience on the context and on the environment from which the spiritual expression evolved. Although he did not explicitly make this connection, this conclusion has been drawn from the manner with which he developed his forms.

[342] Donal Dorr in *Integral Spirituality: Resources for Community, Justice, Peace and the Earth,* (Melbourne: ColinsDove, 1990), 269, also expressed the necessity of relating the spiritual experience to outcomes that make a difference to the person in their relationship with God and in the involvement in the world to which they belong. The spiritual tradition that they have inherited provides a base from which to understand the relationships they reflect.

This concludes a summary of Waaijman's description and understanding of the various forms of spirituality. It has also extended his reflections into the realm of the spiritual to the Australian experience. He identified three forms of spirituality, *Lay Spirituality*, *Schools of Spirituality* and *Counter Movements* , he described the origin of particular spiritual experiences, and categorised them according to their origin and their different expressions. The spiritual encounter between JohnPaul II and Mikhail Gorbachov expressed aspects of *Lay Spirituality* as each encouraged the other to share and reflect on their experiences by respecting their different spiritual origins, backgrounds and contexts. This sharing was achieved because they excluded the ramifications of their ideological differences and focused on the outcome of the acceptance and recognition of the goodness in each other. In a different way the Council's recognition of the role of the laity in mission and ministry also recognised the distinctive spiritual experiences and expressions of those experiences. Taylor and Tacey related modern expressions of spirituality to particular *Schools of Spirituality*. In other words, they identified a particular source experience that revealed a mystery which lay outside personal experience. Similarly, when a church insisted on the regulation of liturgical practice to an established spirituality, it determined the relationship of those participating in the liturgy to the spiritual experience.[343] Kelly and Malone looked beyond the familial and the influence of the *School*s on the spiritual expressions to the Australian context. For them the influence on the situation in which people found themselves, inspired, shaped and discerned their experience of the presence of God. In this they sought to counter the negative movements in the traditional spirituality of the time in order to lead people to a deeper appreciation of the wider dimensions of the spiritual realities in their lives.

[343] An example of this was the impact of the recent document from the Congregations of the Liturgy and Faith on the manner in which the Mass was to be celebrated. Although, many documents have expressed the essential relationship between culture and liturgical expression this and other instructions ignore or condemn liturgies that reflect specific cultural expressions of spiritual experiences. The *source experience* of the Eucharist has been the "source and summit" of Catholic life, and particular schools of spirituality have formalised its expression in response to the circumstances and needs of the time. See: *Redemptionis Sacramentum, #24; Ecclesia De Eucharisti,* #3*; The Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1324; *LG.* #3.

5.5 Waaijman: Authenticating the Spiritual Experience

The ongoing demand for authenticity involved a process to test the personal spiritual experience against other aspects of personal, cultural and social life. Through this process a growing awareness evolved within which the experience of mystery itself was acknowledged as developing relationship with God. Waaijman argued that the word "God" was central to "spirituality" whatever its origin, form or circumstance.[344] This centrality he saw as essential to the discernment of the "spiritual experience" because it identified the relationship that was the initial focus. He followed this with a detailed appreciation of the human component in the light of the divine presence which was based on phenomenology rather then theological argument.[345] Waaijman's use of phenomenology to develop this argument in detail paralleled Kelly's concern for the abstraction that both theology and philosophy had brought to the debate in western thinking about expressing the presence of God.[346]

The important conclusion from this is that "spirituality" that is based on the personal experience offers a break-through in the human and divine relationship. It is a dialogic experience which attains further understanding from within the experience itself. Once the spiritual dimension of the person's experience is shared honestly with another, a common ground is attained and this becomes a source of further reflection. Joan Chittister described the experience as "Wrestling with God".[347] The important factor is that the experience is shared and therefore involves a mutual transformation, wherein the divine touches the human person. It acknowledges the

---

[344] Waaijman, *Spirituality,* 427. He argued that whatever the origin of the spiritual experience, and some distinguish secular, non-theistic, religious and theological forms of describing it, "it does not seem warranted, on the basis of a number of uncritically adopted stereotypes …. to delete the notion of God from the definition of spirituality", 430.

[345] The development of hermeneutics and linguistic analysis in Western philosophy struggled with the concept of God because of the difficulty of translating the experience of mystery into a rational argument. Previously, the *via negativa* was the ploy of theologians to explain away the difficulty of reasoning to God, who is beyond all human reason. The post-modern responses to this problem tended to step around the question, and endeavoured to relate to the actual text that described the experience of mystery. Thus, they appealed to the context and its aftermath as not able to be dismissed but at the same time able to reveal something more – even if this cannot be defined. Cf. Jacques Derrida, *Of Spirit: Heidegger and the Question,* trans., G.Bennington and R. Bowlby, (Chicago: Chicago Univeristy Press, 1989), 36.

[346] Waaijman, *Spirituality*, 536. Cf. 3.1.1.2, and the development of the understanding of "Holistic Spirituality" in 6.2.

[347] Joan Chittister, *Scarred by Struggle, Transformed by Hope,* (Ottawa: Novalis, 2003), 88: "In the process we learn things about self and come to understand things about God as well".

openness that the experience offers in "letting-go of self", and this once engaged, authenticates the spiritual character of the experience. Thus the key elements of the spiritual experience are summarised as: "Openness to the Other", "The Mystical and Emotive", and "Personal Transformation". The spiritual experience requires a process of discernment to identify these steps and authenticates the experience itself.

5.5.1 Openness to the Other

Waaijman described discernment as the process of choosing one of two roads.[348] One road led to self-fulfilment, the other ended in fear and self-loathing; one leads to God, the other to confusion and despair. He identified the importance of discernment over and above the identity of the type of "spirituality" that was involved (*Lay Spirituality, Schools of Spirituality,* or *Counter Movements in Spirituality*). To summarise: at issue was the discernment of the spiritual experience, or the ability of the individual to discern and then authenticate the experience of the spiritual in a sea of other experiences.

Discernment was the process used across history in situations that have inspired Christian and other spiritualities. It situated the personal experience of the spiritual in a relationship to the cultural, historical and inherited vision of God. It was a process that enabled a person to speak about God as an experience that they recognised within themselves, and one that affected their relationships with others and the world itself. It opened a path ahead and offered a direction that lead either to a fuller life, or to more confusion.

Thus, "spirituality" was defined in terms that acknowledged the value of the "spiritual experience" in itself. It was an experience of the individual, but also involved others, the family,

[348] Waaijman, *Spirituality,* "Discernment – A Blueprint for the Method", 481. This was the title of a chapter in which Waaijman develops fully the method of a "critical reflection on the divine-human relation process". He began with a sub-section *"Discernment of the Two Ways",* 486, which concluded with the reflection "Discernment not only sees the spiritually possible in a person's actual condition, but also perceives the way which mediates between the factual and the possible", 514.

and the wider community to which they belonged. Discernment identified the opportunity within the experience for the person to commit themselves to openness to personal change and renewal. It was also an opportunity for the person to choose a response that was focused on self, and thus lead to self-deception. This occurred when two contradictory values were held at the same time, a situation that was prompted rationalisation. In this case a person's life was divided in two, and he/she began to live in two worlds.[349] The discernment of spiritual experiences has a parallel in determining the difference between a "daydream" and an "intuition". On the one hand, a daydream can momentarily satisfy and then it was gone, replaced with disappointment. On the other, inspiration challenged and demanded the courage for a person to step out of the comfort zone, and this step transformed lives. "Spirituality" was human inspiration in search of the good, or for God, in everyday circumstances of life, and was about "transformation".[350] The articulating or sharing of the spiritual experience with another person was the key characteristic of the process of the discernment. The common dictum of "spiritual direction", 'a person who directs him/her self has a fool for a director' expressed this fundamental principle. Openness to family and friends authenticated an experience in terms of *lay spirituality*. In the *schools of spirituality* this was achieved by the formal induction and education in a way of life freely accepted with docility and openness. For those in the *counter movements*, the encounter with human suffering opened and maintained a dialogue with the divine experience.[351]

---

[349] William Barry and William Connolly in *The Practice of Spiritual Direction,* (SanFrancisco: Harper, n.d.) 102, the practice of discernment "is finally, nothing more than being able to recognise and admit differences … directors are able to help people discern what they notice is going on as they pray".

[350] Waaijman, *Spirituality,* 192. "Return to the sources and adaptation to changed circumstances need intermediation between the two: the hermeneutic component of renewal. Consequently, the Council stresses that renewal must include both: return to the sources *plus* adaptation to change." Waaijman refers to Vatican Council II, *OT*. #2. C.also Harris, *Dance,* 179, "Transforming: the seventh step", in which she illustrates the simple yet profound experience of stepping beyond personal boundaries. Chittister, *Scarred,* 108, described the movement from pain and suffering to hope as being "transformed".

[351] Barry, *Practice*, 1-12. The examples used in Chapter One emphasised the role of personal responsibility, the relational manner of facing their innermost thoughts, feelings and inspirations, and identifying what the consequences might be.

5.5.2 "The Mystical and Emotive"

The process of authenticating a spiritual experience began by identifying it in the context of cultural and religious traditions. Waaijman's comprehensive study detailed the variety of contexts and situations that gave rise to particular spiritualities, which he pointed out, were predominately *schools of spirituality*. They provided a framework for him to identify a particular spiritual experience from history, and to discern the value and contribution it brought to the particular society from which it came. He set out to demonstrate that the human response to the Divine (or the experience of the spiritual) was more than an expression of "religious ritual" passed down from previous generations. To show this he traced the changed identity of "spirituality" as it moved from the "Ascetic Theologies" of the eighteenth century to the "Spiritual Theologies" of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[352] These theologies divorced the "mystical" and "emotive" elements from a personal relationship with the divine and replaced it with a ritualised devotion. The spiritual experiences that evolved from such devotional ritual lost credence and influence on those whose lives had competing and conflicting values. Devotion under those circumstances became confused and the personal experience of God was more focused on the self. The schools of spirituality that relied on ritual to maintain a following failed to express the reality of a "mystical" and "loving" God.

The "Spirituality Revolution" required the same degree of scrutiny if it was to be authenticated and seen as contributing to the spiritual good of society of today. This required an analysis that examined the origins and expressions of this spirituality within the history and tradition of western spirituality. This step would identify particular spiritual expressions and the inspiration they provided to develop new relationships with others, with the world environment, and with God or the divine. The authentication of the Australian experience of the divine identified those experiences that were unique or distinctive to the Australian situation, and also the influence that

[352] Waaijman, *Spirituality*, 373.

these experiences had inherited from the traditions of Christianity. Discernment enabled dialogue to develop and thus enhanced the relationship to the divine in a way that reflected the life and times of those involved.

The Catholic response promoted by Malone expressed the desire to find God in the ordinary and everyday experiences of life and explored the difficulties that arose when people endeavoured to do so. Kelly desired to find a new language with which to talk about the spiritual.[353] Both understood that the spiritual experience of Australians had to be developed further. They did this by exploring the links with experiences of mystery and emotion that characterised life in Australia, a process akin to the principles of the *lay spirituality* that Waaijman outlined above. From another perspective of the Australian experience various *schools of spirituality* influenced the lives of the Irish, Polish, Dutch, Italian, and Vietnamese Catholics that have settled in Australia. The early settlers and convicts and recent migrants encountered opposition and hardship that led to an appreciation of God in their lives that was counter to the expectations of the established majority.[354] The influences of spirituality as well as culture and the environment will affect the development of an Australian *school of spirituality.* This will be addressed in more detail in the next chapter.

5.5.3 Personal Transformation

Once the spiritual experience has been identified in its "mystic" qualities, the next step determined the methods and the disciplines that were necessary to maintain the relationship between the human and the divine. This was the "transforming experience of the spiritual

[353] Cf. Malone 3.1.2, Kelly 3.1.1.3, "A New Imagining".

[354] A recent study of post World War Two Italian Immigration reveals a similar pattern of behaviour and change of attitude. Anthony Pagonini, *Valiant Struggles and Benign Neglect: Italians, Church and Religious Societies in Diaspora; The Australian Experience from 1950 to 2000,* (New York: Centre for Migrant Studies, 2003), 265.

encounter".[355] This was achieved by examining the manner of sharing "spiritual experiences", the practical results that encourage people to gather together and the relational qualities of the rituals that develop. The second step sought to understand the context that produced this particular spiritual experience.

Waaijman developed four methods of research to examine personal transformation. The first established similarities in expression across a range of spiritual experiences using scientific disciplines to establish the criteria for the comparisons. The second used a variety of hermeneutic methods to analyse the language used. The third focused on motivation, the level of interest and the relationship with the wider community of those involved in spirituality. Finally, using the dynamics of inter-relational experiences Waaijman studied the methods and styles of accompaniment in the spiritual journey.[356] The importance of this step in understanding the spiritual experience was the ability to identify the context and the effectiveness of the transformation on the individual initially, and ultimately on the community in which it took place.

These steps were used to identify the Australian "Spirituality Revolution" in its historical and traditional religious contexts so that its influence on the community could be understood and its authenticity tested further. For example, the studies of religious sociology described in Chapter Two, identified the dilemma for the Australian Church as the formal religious practice of Sunday Mass was engaged a much smaller percentage of the Catholic population. It was in this context that interest in "Australian Spirituality" became prominent among Catholics. Waaijman described this level of investigation of the spiritual as "Form-descriptive Research" and that it

[355] Waaijman, *Spirituality*, 305. Waaijman described Discernment (*Diakrisis)* as "the critical-reflective moment of transformation in God".

[356] Ibid. 595-921. This is developed in detail in Part III, "Methods of Spirituality Research". It has four chapters: "Form-Descriptive Research", "Hermeneutic Research", "Systematic Research", and "Mystagogic Research" in which four research categories that are used to identify the authenticity of a spiritual experience. Waaijman's conclusion was that they are each intertwined, and one will reveal aspects of the other as they develop. One focused on the historical descriptions, another the linguistic complexities, then different methodologies frame the development of spiritualities and the importance of accompaniment on the spiritual journey. It is beyond the scope of this work to other than refer to the detail that he used in developing these research methods.

examined the historical development and changed in patterns of behaviour.[357] Cassian's analogy helped to deepen the reflection on what had happened, since the analogy engaged a hermeneutic that asked questions about motive and personal values.[358] At this level the situation and circumstance made a clear demarcation between Catholic practice and belief. A choice was offered to Catholics that either led them closer to God, or into further confusion, and it would seem that the choice for a personal relationship with God was not necessarily dependent on Sunday mass. (Waaijman's Systemic Research) This was because a "spirituality" that comes from the search for something deeper in the lives was more meaningful and encouraged a person to step beyond custom and habit in their daily experiences (Mystagogic Research). In this movement the spiritual experience became a personal experience of God. In practice this meant that the personal experience of God was authenticated by the influence the person had on the day-to-day context of life. This experience provided the meaningful links with the history and tradition of the community, or society, within which the person lived, and sustained their belief.

5.6 Authenticating an Australian Spiritual Experience

"Spirituality" expressed by acts of piety and devotion had provided a religious environment that united Australian Catholics and gave them standing in society.[359] This form of spirituality had its origins in European schools of spirituality as described above. Its authenticity involved a rigorous adherence to the practices of the Church, its rituals and structures of authority. The adaptation of the "faith" from Ireland to the Australian context occurred as people encountered experiences and expressions of mystery, wonder, beauty and awe in the new land. But more

[357] Ibid. 597. "Our starting point is prescientific experience, whose basic structure we will analyse. We then explore the basic structure systematically, laying the groundwork for the methodological design that follows next" … then there are three lines of research, the first is the phenomenology of spiritual reading - or source material, the second the contextual dimensions, and the interior form of these examples, and the third brings together "the descriptive, hermeneutic, systematic and mystagogic research".

[358] Ibid. 485. Waaijman's lengthy treatment follows the development of a method that involves four stages or steps and uses the analogy of the moneychanger to distinguish these steps: "First, a prudent moneychanger examines the gold coin on the point of its genuineness; is it gold or not? (2) Next, he asks whether the effigy is that of the king or has been falsified. (3) After that he checks whether the coin was minted legally or by a counterfeiter. (4) Finally he determines whether the coin has the stipulated weight". (Quoted from John Cassian, *The Conferences* I, 20-22, New York: Orbis, 1997.)

[359] Massam, *Sacred,* "The Role of Liturgy in Community", 156.

often tragedies and poverty that came with isolation and personal hardship shaped their personal experiences. The experiences of other immigrants replicated this after the Second World War.

More correctly the "spirituality" of Catholics reflected the relationship of Australian Catholics with God in two ways. Publicly it was seen as adherence to the ritual and practices of the Church and, in the face of adversity, this governed their relationship with God. Privately, personal experiences had secular expressions, such as the "promised land", the "pot of gold" and the "success of their children".[360] There was duality in Catholic life that contrasted the public and the private spiritual values. This contrast foreshadowed the dilemma that later arose in the lives of Catholics as their social circumstances became more favourable in the twentieth century and the adversity that bound them together lessened. The contrasting attitudes and behaviours brought a disjunction to personal desires and the public worship of God, as the latter was ritualised and authenticated by religious ritual and the community expectation that established a daily rule of life. In this sense, in the life of the Church the ordinary everyday experience of mystery could be divorced from the religious expression of the relationship its followers were to have with the divine.

The regulation of "spirituality" to religious norms left little room for personal expression or the desire for something deeper or more fulfilling. It was in this context that the search for "Australian Spirituality" developed in the 1980s, as both Kelly and Malone have demonstrated. Further, to discern an authentic expression of "Australian Spirituality" would assist the Church to resolve the dilemma it faced in Australian society. A process of discernment would in this way integrate the personal experience of God with the public expression, that is, the worship of the Church community. Integration would occur when the relationship of "spirituality" and the "revelation" of God expressed the Christian and Catholic traditions of the Church met the

[360] Barry Dwyer and Graham English, *Faith of Our Fathers and Mothers: A Catholic Story.*(Burwood, CollinsDove, 1992), 56, and McConville, Chris *Croppies, Celts and Catholics: The Irish in Ausralia,* (East Caulfield: Edward Arnold, 1987), 17, give numerous examples of the struggle of the Irish in Australia and the "faith" that sustained them.

aspirations of the community of the faithful. Thus, the presence of God would be authenticated in each dimension of the experience of the spiritual in a dialogue of respect and acceptance among all its members.[361]

5.6.1 "Spirituality" and "Religious experience"

The Catholic search for an "Australian spirituality" initiated by Malone began when it broke with the accepted pattern of religious expression. This occurred when people were invited and encouraged to write about their experiences of the presence of God, or the spiritual in their lives.[362] They focused their writing on their personal experiences of God which they were encouraged to share with others as their spiritual reflections, thoughts, feelings and desires. As was stated above in Chapter Three, their responses expressed dissatisfaction with the formal religious expressions they had been taught. As a consequence they expressed the personal encounter with the mysteries of life and faith in their own way. This challenged the meaning of "spirituality" for those involved in the *Spirituality Seminars*. In so doing it broadened it's meaning to refer to emotive experiences that took them beyond the religious piety, as well as the comfort or safety this afforded them. For those involved it became an experience akin to that described as "searching for a soul", or as others describe it an "encounter with the beyond", and by the generic term "spirituality". Australians shared this experience with other western cultures as they sought to understand the effect of pragmatism on western economic, political and social values.[363] The point made here is that *Australian Spirituality* evolved as people distinguished between the "spiritual experiences" and the "religious experiences" in response to the demands of everyday life.[364]

---

[361] This was the interpretation of John XXIII on the role of the magisterium in the life of the Church. C.f. Chapter Six.

[362] Cf. 3.2.2.

[363] Cf. 4.2.

[364] In a recent publication David Ransom develops this more fully: *Across the Great Divide: Bridging Spirituality and Religion Today,* (Strathfield: St.Pauls Publications, 2002)

The separation of the spiritual from the "religious" experiences of God did not sit easily with the Catholic tradition, in which the liturgy and sacramental ritual determined for many their personal relationship with God.[365] The studies in sociology have shown that these latter activities have ceased to be the dominant spiritual influence in the ordinary lives of most Catholics. This questioned the methods and practices of teaching and catechesis and the ability to express personal experiences of the spiritual, in particular those that were outside traditional "religious" patterns. One interpretation was to use the doctrine of "revelation" to control the personal experience of the spiritual.[366] The "spirituality" of ordinary people challenged the church authority to go beyond this attitude, and to understand and authenticate the presence of God that it expresses.[367] At the very least, the Church was called to consider these experiences as "a sign of the times" to be respected and taken note of. The personal experience of the spiritual as expressed in the search for an Australian Spirituality, and the like, opened the way for the Church to engage the people of today. It is an opportunity for "evangelisation".[368] In other words, it provides a way to bring the gospel message to those who search for God in their lives, particularly to those who feel that the current message of the Church is not assisting them in their search.[369]

When "spirituality" and "religion" are seen as different and even contradictory expressions of the personal relationship with mystery or God, the result is a loss of understanding for religious practices and traditions, as they do not relate to the changed social, cultural and religious

---

[365] In 1960 Louis Boyer published *Introduction d la vie spirituelle,* (Paris-Tournai: Desclee, 1960), with a critique of the artificiality of the spiritualities that began with the restoration of religious orders in France during the nineteenth century. This responded to the imbalance in the piety and ritual that most ordinary people regarded as spirituality. Declan Marmion summaries the response to his work and influence in *A Spirituality,* 24.

[366] The Catechism of the Catholic Church, (Homebush: St. Paul's Publication, 1996), #99 -100, "Thanks to its supernatural sense of faith, the People of God as a whole never ceases to welcome, to penetrate more deeply and to live more fully from the gift of divine Revelation. The task of interpreting the Word of God authentically has been entrusted solely to the Magisterium of the Church, that is, to the Pope and to the bishops in communion with him."

[367] The development of spirituality in a Christian context is expressed by Sandra Schneiders in "Theology and Spirituality", *Horizons* 13(1986), 266. Examining a number of Catholic and Protestant definitions at this time she was aware of the "unifying concept. …which gives integration and meaning to the whole of life".

[368] Vatican Council II, *LG.* #35; *GS.* #44.

[369] Paul VI, *Evangelii,* #4, describes this as the "central axis of evangelisation".

context.[370] The separation of "spirituality" from "religion" was a cultural phenomenon and in the words of Paul VI, the very separation challenged the Church to acknowledge the life and experience of the people. The pope described the task of addressing this separation as evangelisation:

> What matters is to evangelize man's culture and cultures (not in a purely decorative way, as it were, by applying a thin veneer, but in a vital way, in depth and right to their very roots), in the wide and rich sense which these terms have in Gaudium et spes,(50) always taking the person as one's starting point and always coming back to the relationships of people among themselves and with God.
>
> The Gospel, and therefore evangelisation, are certainly not identical with culture, and they are independent in regard to all cultures. Nevertheless, the kingdom which the Gospel proclaims is lived by men who are profoundly linked to a culture, and the building up of the kingdom cannot avoid borrowing the elements of human culture or cultures.[371]

From another perspective Stephen Bevans cited "cultural identity, popular religiosity and social change" as issues to be addressed to enable evangelisation to "speak to every aspect of human life".[372] The focus for the Church's mission was directed towards those who struggle to understand its message and to adapt and change its language – in the broadest sense – to be heard by people everywhere and in all eras.

5.6.2 "Spirituality" as "Revelation" - "a sign of the times"

The link between "spirituality" and "revelation" was the living presence of God made man, or the revelation of Jesus Christ. In its teaching of "salvation history" the Church not only expressed its belief and commitment to the revelation of God in the person of Jesus Christ, but it emphasised as well that the divine incarnation was to assure all that God's love was not just for the chosen few. The Council gave clear expression of this belief and teaching:

> In his gracious goodness, God has seen to it that what he had revealed for the salvation of all nations would abide perpetually in its full integrity and be handed

[370] Tacey, *Spirituality,* 75, explored the "gap" between spirituality and religion as experienced by the young people of today.

[371] Paul VI, *Evangelii ,* #20.

[372] Stephen Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology,* (Maryknoll, Orbis Books, revised edition, 2002), 15, 25.

> on to all generations. Therefore, Christ the Lord in whom the full revelation of the supreme God is brought to completion (cf. 1 Cor 1:20; 3:13; 4:6), commissioned the apostles to preach to all men that Gospel which is the source of all saving truth and moral teaching, (1) and to impart to them heavenly gifts. [373]

On the eve of the Council, John XXIII challenged the Church to renew itself and its mission, so that its message would be more open and conscious of the situation of all people in the world. He challenged the church leaders to move the Church from its defensive stance towards the world, to see it as God's creation, and to recognise the goodness of all Christian denominations and other religions. This changed the emphasis of the church's mission and the repercussions took some time to be appreciated.[374] At stake was the Church's ability to respond to this inspiration, to change its methods and structures, and primarily, to understand that the need for change was a development of the gospel message in response to the difficulties facing humanity. This challenge engaged the Church and all people of goodwill with the belief and the hope that all would come to know the love of God for them. The "revelation" of the Spirit of Christ would be experienced in the lives of all people. The continuing revelation of Christ was the link between the manifestations of God's presence and the "signs of the times".[375] The doctrine of revelation prior to the Council had been interpreted solely within a tradition that was not considered changeable. The Council's response to the "signs of the times" changed this interpretation, and as a consequence changed the teaching and the disposition of the Church to the interpretation of personal "spiritual experiences" in relation to the doctrine of "revelation".

5.6.3 The Council and "Revelation" – Openness to the Spirit

In announcing the Council, John XXIII was motived "solely by a concern for the 'good of souls' in order that the new pontificate may come to grips, in a clear and well-defined way, with the

---

[373] *DV*. #7.

[374] Alberigo, *History: Vol. I,* entitles the first chapter "The Announcement of the Council: From the Security of the Fortress to the Lure of the Quest", and then in subsequent chapters develop the context that shaped the direction the Council took.

[375] *GS*. #4.

spiritual needs of the present time".[376] The Council changed the lives of many people and became one of the most significant gatherings the Church and the world has experienced. As an Ecumenical Council it gathered bishops from all continents, from most nations and cultural groups. Participants ranged from national figures to missionary bishops living at the extremities of "civilisation". In all, over two thousand attended together with their assistants and other companions. Personal invitations to observe and be part of the ceremonies of the Council were sent to representatives of the major Christian Churches and heads of other religious bodies from many different backgrounds and beliefs.[377] The Council gathered to share the search for God with people throughout the world. The Council in its intentions and its activities set out to engage the modern world in dialogue. Its primary focus was not on the internal running of the Church as the significance of the documents it produced attested. In the very act of calling of the Council, John XXIII extended an invitation to Catholics and to all "people of good will" to enter into dialogue about the future of humanity in a global context.[378] In his opening address John XXIII challenged the Council to change the attitude of church to its mission, "She (the church) considered that she meets the needs of the present day by demonstrating the validity of her teaching rather than by condemnations"[379]. To use Alberigo's words, the task of the Council was to "plunge into the heart of the Christian message and at the same time to present it in a renewed form to a changed world".[380]

The activity of the Council was twofold. It was to listen and reflect on the Word of God alive in the hearts of those gathered together. This would change the way they accepted each other and

---

[376] John XXIII, *Announcement*, 398-401. Also in Alberigo, *History-I,* 1.

[377] Ibid. "VI. The Arrival of the Fathers in Rome", 492, presents a detailed analysis of who came, and how they came.

[378] Ibid. "3. Diplomatic Intelligence and Comments in the Press", 30.

[379] John XXIII, *Gaudet Mater Eccelsia: Opening Speech for the Council of Vatican II*: available from http://www.ourladyswarriors.org/teach/v2open.htm. Internet accessed 7/09/2003), 4.

[380] Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak, *History of Vatican II: The Formation of the Council's Identity, First Period and Intercession October 1962 – September 1963,* (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 18. This section comments on the response to John XXIII's address by the bishops, the media and the general population, 14-19.

emphasise the respect due to the dignity of all people of good will.[381] In short, this challenged the fathers of the Council and their advisors to adopt the dialogic principal in their efforts to interpret the Word of God in the context of the world around them. Thus, the Council set out to renew the church and began with the affirmation that all people are called to holiness and that the mission of the church was to assist them achieve this. As a consequence all people were to be involved in and presented with the mysteries contained in the coming of Christ as man. The language and methods of sharing this revelation were subject to this mission being accomplished.[382] John XXIII therefore, challenged the Church to change its attitude from the defensiveness of the previous era to openness to other religions and to the world, "We feel we must disagree with those prophets of gloom, who are always forecasting disaster, as though the end of the world was at hand".[383] The experience of hope that it brought to so many in a time of global conflict and fear produced an opportunity for reflection that sponsored action.[384]

5.6.4 Culture and "Revelation" – "God in His Goodness"

The studies in the sociology of religion placed religious belief and behaviour in the context of the events and circumstances of people's lives. It helped to identify likes and dislikes, values and abilities by comparing one person against another or within a group of people, or groups to each other. Mol concluded that such behavioural studies had difficulty in establishing the link between the inspiration or motive behind the action and the actual choices that people make.[385] At the point where each person encountered their individual response to the search for meaning and value in their lives, they had the choice to move beyond themselves, to become open to another dimension. Waaijman described this as a "spiritual experience".[386]

---

[381] John XIII, *Gaudet*, 4.

[382] "The intimate bond between the church and mankind", Vatican Council II, *GS.* #1.

[383] John XIII, *Gaudet,* 2.

[384] At the time of the Council the "Cold War" between the USSR and the West resulted in an arms race and the build up of tensions that had been expressed in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

[385] Mol, *Religion*, 302

[386] Waaijman, Spirituality, 352 explores in detail the modern use of the word.

By exploring the link further (in Christian terms) the "spiritual experience" was seen as an invitation from God to enter a deeper relationship with the divine. However, the Council did not limit this experience to Christian spirituality since all people have the opportunity to be open to this encounter.[387] Emotionally, intellectually and physically their response ranged from the mundane to the sublime, from an over-powering and ecstatic experience, to one that is empty or non-existent. These responses were open to discernment which was the way the society or community was able to differentiate the extremes of interpretation and behaviour for the greater good. In other words, God was present to each person in their spiritual experience. But, as described above, this was interpreted and validated by the community and thus provided the stimulus for action that respects and benefits all.

The relationship between God and human beings was expressed as spiritual encounter and raised a number of issues in philosophy, theology and related human sciences. The human experience can divide religious communities. It has begun religious wars, inspired disputes between nations and has led the "battle for souls" (as an oft used war cry expresses it). As a consequence of extreme spiritual behaviour, societies and cultures have questioned the ability of the human person to know God, or to believe in God and even to accept that the spiritual experience has a positive influence. Church authorities have judged modern thinkers as atheists. Their struggle was not to debate the presence of God, since for them to do so was illusory, misguided, or meaningless. It is only in recent times that the reflections of Martin Heidegger and Ludwick Wittgenstein about their "spiritual experiences" have been studied. Such reflections were confined to their private correspondence.[388] In another reaction, a recent statement seemed to suggest that the "salvific will of God" was restricted to those who were graced with "theological

[387] *LG.* #13, "And there belong to or are related to it in various ways, the Catholic faithful, all who believe in Christ, and indeed the whole of mankind, for all men are called by the grace of God to salvation."

[388] John Macquarrie, *Heidegger And Christianity,* (SCM, 1994); J.D. Caputo, *Heidegger And Aquinas,* (New York: Fordham, 1982); Fergus Kerr, *Theology After Wittgenstein,* (Basil: Blackwell, 1986); and Christopher Insole, "A Wittgensteinian Philosphy Of Religion", *Heythrop Journal*, 39(1998)2, .

faith" which seemed to contradict the Council decree that all were able to experience this grace.[389]

Thus, "Revelation" as a doctrine of the Catholic Church distinguished between the relationship of the Divine with human history (as the ever unfolding creative encounter), and the revelation that comes in the person of Christ to Christians and through them to the world of today.[390] The Council re-emphasised the connection between the revelation "God in his goodness and wisdom revealed himself and to make known the mystery of his will" to all people, and the revelation in which "the salvation of man that shines forth in Christ, who is himself both the mediator and sum total of all revelation".[391] This redirected the mission of the Church, so that, conscious of the fullness of revelation in Christ, it was called to act as he did, engage the "signs of the times" and move its focus outward towards other Christians and other peoples. Thus, the Council moved from the defensive mode of the past which had responded to the threats within Christianity, and, exacerbated by Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant insistence that each was the sole authority to authentically interpret the message of Christ through scripture and tradition.[392] In this environment salvation was dependent "revelation" being centred on adherence to a particular denomination. The change came when the divisions within the Church of Christ were

---

[389] Post-modern thinking picks up the tension in the subtle difference between the theological expression of the Second Vatican Council in *DV*. and the document of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith *Dominus Iesus***:** *On the Unicity and Salvific Universality of Jesus Christ and the Church***, (**Strathfield: St. Paul's Publications, 2000), concerning the nature of this relationship. For a fuller development of this c.f. Terrance Merrigan in Terrance Merrigan and Denis Robinson, (ed.), *Religious Imagination and the Pluralist Theology of Religions,* (Louvain: Faculty of Theology, 2002), 198.

[390] Karl Rahner explains the complexity of the distinction in, *Faith and Mystery: Theological Investigations, Volume Nineteen,* (London: Darton, Longman, Todd, 1985), 60. "What we call revelation history and salvation history in not the sum total of particular interventions of God at different points from outside into an at first merely naturally created world and history, but the history (the interpretation of space and time) of a self-communication of God in free grace in which God from the very beginning established himself in the innermost centre of the world as its salvation. As seen from God's standpoint then, his gracious self-communication to the world is not be conceived as a kind of second initiative of God in regard to a natural world created in a first initiative, but as God's free will toward a world distinct from himself as the condition of the possibility of a more fundamental free will of God to bestow himself in love of the non-divine." Edward Schillebeeckz in *Jesus in Our Western Culture,* (London: SCM Press, 1987), entitles his first Chapter "Who or What Brings Salvation to Men and Women? The World and God" and concludes "Thus salvation from God comes about first of all in the secular reality of history and not primarily in the consciousness of believers who are aware of it". 9.

[391] VD. #2.

[392] This is re-stated in less condemning language in *Dominus Iesus, #17* "Therefore, there exists a single Church of Christ, which subsists in the Catholic Church", and the following, although there is an ongoing debate of the interpretation of "subsists in".

judged to be "one of the principal concerns of the Council".[393] The Council made this clearer when it stated, "God's plan was to dignify all people with a participation in the divine life"[394].

Therefore, all people were called into a personal search for meaning and direction, and were able to encounter the mystery of the Divine presence in their lives because the spiritual encounter with God was based on the dignity and respect God has for every human being. People of all ages, races, cultures and abilities have the possibility to experience this for themselves. The experience of God's universal "revelation" was defined and enhanced by the various religious movements – *schools of spirituality* – through a process of discernment within the community. The process of the discovery of the divine through "revelation" was open to all people, and it was a level of human experience that could be identified, and discerned as authentic in the context of the community or society that gives rise to the experience. Once shared by all those of "good will", it provided a further opportunity for the revelation contained in the life, death and resurrection of Christ to be embraced by those who wish to share his experience and message of God's presence. The Council extended an invitation to all people to share in this experience by participating in the mission of the Church. [395]

The relationship that the created has with the creator continued to be debated in philosophy, in a search for the most suitable expression.[396] In Theology the debate expressed the relationship between the revelation of Christ to the Church and hence to the world and has been caught up in the transcendence-immanence interpretation of the presence of God.[397] The general use of the word "spirituality" today tried to ignore the tortured analyses of this relationship that engaged the past eras, and equally has little regard for the linguistic consequences. However, the

---

[393] Cf., also Rahner, *Foundations,* 58, on the relationship between baptism, its integral part in the revelation of Christ and the fundamental pre-dispositions of God's grace available to all people prior to baptism.

[394] *LG.* #2.

[395] John XXIII, *Gaudet*, 4, and *LG.* #9.

[396] C.f. the comments of Waaijman and Kelly and their response to linguistic analysis.

[397] Marmion, *A Spirit,* 55, develops the theme in Karl Rahner's understanding of spirituality in the section entitled "God as Mystery".

interpretation and expression of the "content of revelation" was a principal concern for the Church if it was to be "spiritually" relevant for people today. This raised an issue concerning the manner with which the Church brought Christ's message to the world. At issue was, the how, the when, the where and the why of the message as it encountered and responded to the search for the divine in everyday life. It was a practical matter of determining and controlling the authenticity of its interpretation.

From the other perspective, for the revelation of Christ to be authentic, discernment has two levels. On the one hand it was concerned with the transmission of the mystery of Christ's presence to those who experience his love, in and through the Church. The other recognised that as God's love was for all people, then the divine encounter with each person takes place in the personal spiritual experience, and was to be found in the spiritual experiences of other religions, and in the experience of creation itself. Both aspects concerned the "missionary outreach" of the Church as it dialogued with other people and the world in which they live, and was described more fully in the processes of evangelisation and inculturation.[398] It was sufficient here to recognise what Rahner called the "self communicating of God in free grace". This existed prior to the mission of the Church to bring Christ to all people. The need for renewal that continually challenged the Church's mission was based on the changing nature of the human dimension, or its ministry. Thus its changing role brought the revelation of Christ to each and every era and to all peoples, and as such, responded to the changes that continually engage the human condition.

5.7 Australian Spirituality and the "Signs of the Times"

For "Australian Spirituality" to be a "sign of the times" for the Church, it has to bring together spirituality, revelation and evangelisation in an effort to clarify the situation for Catholics today.

[398] Paul VI, *Evangelii, #20* – 'Evangelization of cultures".

Put concretely, the sociologists have shown that more and more people were turning from the guidance and practices of the Church to other sources to provide a spiritual encounter to assist them in their struggle with the meaning and purpose of life. John XXIII referred to this situation as the inspiration for calling the Council. He reflected on the state of the Church in Rome at the time where, "…the Gospel episode in which the multitudes are called to follow the Lord and get close to Him, but are unable to find the nourishing food of grace is being repeated, and the anxious heart of a Pastor is moved".[399]

In the European context people whose nations that have been the bearers of the Christian Tradition were also turning to other "spiritualities" to assist them in their daily lives. People looked for experiences of the spiritual to help them in their difficulties and struggles. As a consequence this movement has called into question the religious values and practices they previously accepted and in which they participated.[400] The practices and beliefs derived from the scriptures and tradition had been built up across the years, and had been changed and adapted to refresh the sense of mystery in the presence of God particularly through difficult times. The *schools of spirituality* with their origin in religious orders arose from these circumstances. The robustness of these *schools* brought life to the Church and to society and their authenticity in teaching and practice was maintained through the "extraordinary Magisterium" of the Church.[401] The desire and inspiration of people in western societies to look for "spiritual experience" was not unique. The history of Catholic spirituality has identified the various forms that spiritualities have taken in the past and also, their influence on the life of the Church and the society. The

[399] John XXIII, "Announcement of Ecumenical Council and Roman Synod", (*Pope Speaks* 5(1959)4, 396-401), 399.

[400] Kerkhofs, *Europe,* 144: "Christians leave their churches, as it happens in their millions, or remain "Christians" out of tradition without being believers". Cf. also Jeff Chu's report "O Father Where Art Thou?" in *Time Magazine,* June 16, 2003, 19. He gives the statistics of the decreasing number of Christians in European Countries, and this affects the traditional Catholic countries of France (57.5%, The Netherlands (44.8%), Belgium (63.5%), most of all.

[401] John XXIII, *Gaudet,* 2. This was the meaning that John XXIII gave to the heritage that was passed down, and how this heritage was maintained and made available as a source of encouragement and enlightenment in the face of the difficulties of the modern age. He used it as an expression of hope that showed that in the past many obstacles of human social and spiritual life could be overcome. He disagreed with those who wished to use it as a restriction and a determining factor to address the situations faced by the church today. Another more legalistic meaning of magisterium was restricted to the "teaching authority of the church", which described who had the authority, and how it was expressed. The broader interpretation of John XXIII was more in keeping with the "signs of the times".

challenge for the Church today was to accept that the current search for "spirituality experiences" expressed God's presence at the level of a personal encounter, because the traditional practices and devotions have failed. The desire for a personal encounter with the divine was at the heart of the relationship each person has with the creator. The tradition of Catholic Spirituality acknowledged that these experiences led, through a process of discernment, to a relationship with Christ as the one who came to fulfil them.

In Australia the search for spirituality from the Catholic perspective gave expression to the presence of God in the unique and distinctive context. As such it could be recognised as a "sign of the times" as it began as a personal experience, and with dialogue and reflection has discerned the presence of God within a community in a way that relates the experience to everyday life. The long tradition of Christian and Catholic Spirituality required the discernment process to balance the personal and communal experiences and responses to the spiritual, rather than be used to check its development. Discernment could authenticate the quest for spirituality in Australia as a "sign of the times". As a "sign of the times" it provided a starting point for dialogue between the contemporary experience of life and the rich traditions of the Church. Taken in this way the spiritual experience involved the continuing revelation of the mystery of God, both in ordinary everyday life and in enhancing the mission and ministry of the Church.

5.8 Conclusion: Catholic Spirituality; its Challenge and Opportunity

This chapter set out to identify the Australian experiences of mystery or God that have gave rise to what was described as the "Spiritual Revolution". These were then authenticated as "signs of the times" for the Church today, or, as expressed by the Council, as moments that inspire renewal in the Church. The process of authentification enabled particular "spiritual experiences" to be identified as continuing the "revelation" of God's presence in the community and in the Church.

A number of steps were involved in achieving this aim. The first step was to examine the meaning of "spirituality" in the contemporary context as the search for meaning in a rapidly changing world. The contemporary "spirituality phenomenon" involved a variety of expressions and contexts, as well as inherent dangers to the persons involved and to society in general. In response to this the origin of the Catholic or Christian tradition of spirituality, with the aid of Waaijman's foundational study, was developed in detail. Through this step various expressions of Australian experiences of the spiritual were used to demonstrate the connections and similarities with examples taken from the Christian tradition. The conclusion of this comparative study was that the "spirituality" inspired by the Australian context could be discerned as a "sign of the times". This led to a further reflection which outlined the process of discernment to assess the authenticity of spiritual experiences and the argument that in the Christian and Catholic tradition, authenticity and revelation were two aspects of the unique relationship between the creator and the created, between the divine and the human. This conclusion was then linked to a review of the experiences of the Australian search for meaning or spirituality. Through these steps the chapter tested the "search for an Australian Spirituality" as a "sign of the times". This search involved a personal encounter and transformation in God's presence and a challenge for the Church to renew its mission and ministry.

It was further concluded that "spirituality" and the phenomenon that it produced in Australian society in particular, would find its authenticity in the context of the spiritual traditions of western Christianity. In doing so it would open-up a broader appreciation of religious belief and practice and relate religion and its traditions to the personal experience of mystery and of God. The Christian tradition of spirituality also showed that the changing nature of spiritual experiences brought with it new enthusiasm for the Christian message, and encouraged new expressions of the mysteries it contains. This was expressed in the relationship between spirituality and revelation. Thus, this chapter has moved the experience of spirituality in

Australia from a sociological study of a phenomenon to an appreciation of the revelation of the mystery of God's presence it contained. It was described as a phenomenon that caused division between spirituality and religion, but in reality it was a spirituality that could be understood and authenticated in the tradition of Christian Spirituality.

It was concluded that the "spiritual experiences" derived from the context of Australian life could be discerned and their authenticity determined. Spirituality in the Australian context came from the search for personal meaning and direction in life and was part of the national search for identity. The criteria have been established to discern and authenticate the spiritual experience in the context of the Catholic tradition of spirituality. It is now time to identify the distinctiveness of the Australian experiences of the spiritual. This distinctiveness has grown out of an encounter between the religious and social traditions that came with the settlers to Australia and the influence of the new realities they discovered in this land. These encounters produced the experiences of mystery that were different from those experienced in other places. The experience of mystery engaged Australians, and was able to influence those who encountered it from afar.[402] Chapter Six explores the distinctiveness of Australian spiritual experiences and the influence that this has had on the life of the Church.

[402] Laurence Freeman, "A Sunburnt Soul", *The Tablet*, 31(1992)13, 57-60, "perhaps one can see in Australia something of the shape of the spirituality of the next century."

Chapter Six: The "Search for a Soul" and Australian Spirituality

Introduction

Australians' "search for a soul" gave expression to the experience of mystery in their lives. This chapter argues that the distinctiveness of this "search" has its origins in the human encounter with the strangeness of the environment, in the spirituality of the first inhabitants, and in the clash of religious values and traditions that accompanied settlement. The Catholic perspective of this "search" in the 1980s (outlined in Chapter Three) became a journey of spiritual reflection that sought to give clearer expression to personal experiences of the presence of God. Notably these experiences took place outside the traditional religious practices which were found inadequate to express the mystery of God. This reflection will engage the mystery encountered in everyday life and thus identify the distinctive characteristics and circumstances of a spirituality that come from the Australian context.

The previous chapter identified the "search for a soul" as a search for meaning in the human interaction with mystery, and hence a spiritual movement.[403] In Christian terms, the search was seen as the desire to engage the presence of God in the everyday, and to give expression to and to celebrate the experience in images and words. The experience of God will be seen to be influenced by the distinctiveness of the environment in which it took place and the ability of those to give expression to the experience.[404] This chapter will examine in detail the Australian context that engages the personal spiritual experiences of mystery. The influence of this context on personal experience, once identified, is then able to be used in a dialogue with the experiences of the spiritual found in the traditions of the Church. Dialogue is essential if these personal

[403] The development of Waaijman's forms of spirituality, the "counter movements", explained the connection of mystery and spirituality. Cf. 5.3.3

[404] Kelly and Malone explored the relationship between words and symbols in the context of ordinary life and the struggle to give adequate expression to the presence of God. C.f. 4.3.1 and 4.3.2.

experiences of mystery are to be accepted into the Christian and Catholic tradition. Such a dialogue begins with the life experiences of mystery that originate from distinctive Australian situations. These then become the source of a spirituality that is in touch with people's lives.

There are four steps involved in identifying distinctive Australian characteristics that have inspired the "search for a soul". Ultimately these characteristics become points of departure for a dialogue between the personal encounter with God and the traditional expressions of mystery.

The first step will identify the significant and distinctive qualities and characteristics that arise from the Australian situation. These inspire the "search" and therefore are the basis for developing an authentic "spirituality" that speaks to the heart of Australians. Of the many aspects of Australian life that could be considered, three are selected. These offer significant examples of the encounter with mystery, and they have had, and continue to have, an influence on all Australians, either directly or indirectly. The first will be the impact of "Terra Australis" on all who came to this "new land".[405] The second will be the recognition of the spirituality of Indigenous Australians. The third will be the social divisiveness of religious sectarianism among the Christian churches.

The second step will link the emerging spiritual identity of Australians to the inspiration it provides in the "search" for mystery. It focuses on the experiences that people encounter in everyday life. In this way the "search" for spirituality will lead to the desire to discern these experiences as a relationship expressed by God's self-revelation, and subsequently authenticate an appropriate human response.

[405] Peter Conrad "Tales of Two Hemispheres", *ABC Boyer Lectures, 2004,* (ABC Radio National, 5pm, 15-11-2004), previewed in the "Inquirer", *Weekend Australian, (13-14 November, 2004), 22.* Conrad "describes how discoveries of the southern land shocked the northern hemisphere". "Terra Australis" as the term to designate Australia was in favour by the time of Cook's voyage, but it took time to develop a positive image from the first encounters.

The third step relates the message of the gospel to the spiritual experiences of the people of a particular time and place and focuses on the dialogue that develops between the two. This is a dialogue that engages the experiences of mystery with the revealed presence of God. In other words, in a Christian context it relates the distinctive characteristics of mystery in everyday life to the mystery of the person of Christ. It is in the discernment of the experiences that give rise to these characteristics that the substance of the dialogue develops. The discernment recognises the significant and distinctive features of the Australian life that derive from the engagement with mystery. The dialogue will continue as the teaching and traditions of the Church and the authenticity of the spiritual character of these experiences are expressed by the faithful and enjoy the positive acceptance of the wider community.

The final step will carry the dialogue further as the "holistic" nature of the relationship between the spiritual experience and the context within which it takes place is developed. This relationship embraces all the dimensions of human experience. Thus, the experience of mystery is seen to be present in each and every human encounter and, in the Australian context; this has been expressed as a spiritual value in the "search for a soul". The Christian dimension of the "search for a soul" will call on its tradition to discern an appropriate response to personal and communal experiences of mystery, according to the circumstances in which it occurs. It is at this level of experience that the sacred at the heart of the experience of mystery will provide the opportunity for the Church to revitalise its religious practices and thus recognise and respect the context of the changing cultural circumstances, or the "signs of the times".

This chapter concludes by engaging the present pastoral situation of the Church in Australia. It identifies that the desire of Australians to "search for a soul" provides a distinctive opportunity for the Church. The "search" has awoken the spiritual dimension in the lives of the people with its many layers and meanings. Chapter Five has demonstrated that the spiritual tradition of the Church was the product of mysteries faced, discerned and authenticated in the past and inspired

renewal in the life of its people. The present situation in Australia provides the Church with a spiritual window through which it is called to assist all "men (and women) of good will" in Australia to discern and realise the presence of God. This task begins by identifying God within the experience of mystery, through reflection, discernment and dialogue.[406]

6.1 Significant and Distinctive Experiences Encountered in Australia

The struggle and hardship that people endured to survive as settlers in the "new" land Australia had significant and distinctive impacts on them. These experiences marked a person as Australian not only from the personal encounter, but also as national characteristics. These characteristics are expressed in the history of this nation and identified by "foreigners" observing the behaviour they encourage. The three areas selected to highlight the development of distinctive Australian characteristics are the impact of *Terra Australis,* the spirituality of the indigenous people, and the divisiveness of religious sectarianism.[407]

6.1.1 The Impact of "Terra Australis"

The first human settlement in Australia is very much in pre-history. The indigenous peoples of Australia "arrived" between forty and seventy thousand years before the Europeans. Ancient European charts indicated a southern continent and gave it the name, among others, *Terra Australis.*[408] The first European sighting of the shores of northern Australia reported its inhospitable environment. English national ambition and the social turmoil in its major cities encouraged the first settlement in 1788. A threatening and harsh environment confronted the

[406] *GS*. #10, "…The Council wishes to speak to all men in order to illuminate the mystery of man and to cooperate in finding the finding the solutions to the outstanding problems of our time".

[407] Malone's seminars explored many aspects of the Australian character by studies of history, literature and personal reflections. These three examples have been chosen because they have affected and continue to affect the lives of Australians. Cf. 3.1.2.1.

[408] The visit of the Chinese President in 2003 also raised the possibility of Chinese knowledge of a southern continent.

administrators, soldiers, and convicts who arrived on the first fleet.[409] The struggle to survive the physical environment, the different climate, strange flora and fauna, and the prevalence for natural disasters, were experienced from beginning and continued through the years to the present day. For settlers and convicts, the hoped for release from the social depravation of the homeland, met with the more social and personal hardships. As time elapsed the dream of immense prosperity became possible. These were significant influences that impacted on the first settlers and convicts, and which continued to challenge the lives, attitudes, practices and values of future generations.

6.1.2 "The Tyranny of Distance" [410]

The first example of the unique circumstances that confronted the first (and subsequent) settlers in Australia was the length of the voyage. In 1787, it took nine-months to sail from Portsmouth to Botany Bay. It was an arduous and often fatal voyage with storms and shipwrecks a common occurrence. The distance and inherent danger of the voyage made Australia an ideal place for a penal colony. To be sentenced to "transportation" was a punishment and as a deterrent to crime in the streets of London and the undesirable elements were removed from Britain.[411] Transportation became a permanent separation from home and family for the majority of the convicts, since the *tyranny of distance* meant that most never returned to England, Ireland, Scotland or Wales. The soldiers and free settlers found it financially difficult and, in most cases impossible for them to return, even if they had the courage to face the journey back to Europe. This realisation encouraged the new comers to look for a new start in a New World. It

[409] Manning Clark, *A Short History of Australia,* (New York: Mentor Book, 1980), 20f.

[410] This is the title of Geoffrey Blainey's *The Tyranny of Distance,* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1966).

[411] Don Chapman in *1788 The People of the First Fleet,* (Sydney: Double Day, 1986), 14, describes the initial voyage to Botany Bay and the circumstances of those 750 convict men and women - "unlike six convict women who chose death rather than transportation in 1789".

developed hope and a determination that they would not be subjected to the same control and exploitation they had experienced in their home countries.

The new environment was to be a harsh teacher and demanded that those who settled in it learn to survive. This led to the discovery of new ways of growing food, raising crops and husbanding herds and flocks, of building houses, roads and public works and structures to protect themselves from the torrential rain, long droughts and scorching sun.

6.1.3 The Struggle to Survive the 'Land' Itself

The "new land" challenged and changed new comers to Australia. The first Europeans settled on the edge of a continent that had a similar landmass to Europe, or India, or continental United States of America. Topographically its features of vast plains, salt lakes and mountain ranges, took decades to be "discovered" and, although the first settlement was on a magnificent harbour, the soil was not very fertile and this fact alone brought starvation in the early years. The sandstone coastline of the harbour had little topsoil to support crops and was surrounded by marshland or sand dunes and more inlets of seawater.

The settlers came to the driest continent on earth from a green and mild Britain. Two thirds of the landmass was semi-arid or desert, and from the tropical north, through the deserts of the centre to the temperate southern regions the soil as well as the seasons changed and this changed the way the land had to be farmed. The settlers experienced rivers that changed quickly from flooding torrents to dry creek beds, from endless forests to raging bush fires, from years of droughts to overnight floods, and seasonal patterns unpredictable to Europeans. The "land" and its environment threatened the destruction of life and dreams of prosperity. The fact that it took fifteen years for explorers to find a way over the mountains that surrounded Sydney

restricted agricultural development. When the vast tracts of land were opened up across the mountains, farming and grazing laid the foundation for the rural economic boom in wheat and wool that brought Australians their first prosperity. The innovator, John Macarthur, made sheep breeding an export item that could be shipped 'home' to England to bring an income for the settlement. The "new land" gradually revealed its geologically distinctive age and rock formations; this led to the gold rushes from the 1850s. The dream of a new life was reinforced and new wealth drew prospectors in the thousands from Europe, America and China. This complemented an agrarian based economy and the towns and cities developed civic facilities that brought pride and international reputation.

A rapid increase in population came with mining and introduced an ethnic mix that in turn led to racial prejudice and riots in the goldfields. Ultimately the resentment of Asian prospectors resulted in the *White Australia Policy,* one of the first acts passed by the new Federal Government in 1901. This restricted Asian migration until the 1970s.[412] The mineral boom began with the gold discoveries in the 1850s and continued across Australia with the exploration and development of other mineral finds initially copper, then iron, lead, zinc, aluminium and uranium. Coal, oil and gas production along with precious stones such as diamonds, opals, emeralds and pearls assisted the expansion of the economy and the fortunes of Australians.

The native flora was inedible to European tastes and experience. In stark contrast to the indigenous people who had lived off the land for thousands of years, the first settlers and those who followed often went hungry in the midst of plenty. The unique flora varied across the tropical, desert, savannah and alpine climates. The rainforests were the principal source of timber and along the east coast between the sea and the mountains, although initially regarded as

[412] Geoffrey Blainey, *A Shorter History of Australia,* (Australia: William Heinemann, 1994), 135. Also H.I. London, *Non-White Immigrations and the "White Australia" Policy*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1970).

an inexhaustible resource, by the end of the twentieth century they had been depleted and preserved only in national parks.

The fauna provided no natural predators for humans to contend with other than those that threatened agricultural aspirations. Sheep were the prey of dingos, and kangaroos, emus and the introduced rabbits reduced the wheat harvests. European methods of clearing the natural resources of flora and fauna failed to account for regeneration, and left problems not only of the depletion of the original resource, but erosion, salinity, climate change and the like.[413] The exploitation of such a variety of natural resources brought change to the lives of many Australians. However, it also depleted the environment and this has challenged the future Australian lifestyle and questioned the values that motivated the desolation and destruction that white settlement had brought.[414]

The challenge of the physical environment demanded practical and personal change as natural disasters and good years affected social patterns and behaviour. Fear and courage arose in the face of the uncertainty and destructiveness of extreme events and produced respect and consideration for the natural cycles and patterns. Europeans had worked out the patterns and balances required in their environment over millennia, and found mystical connections between the natural events around them, and the fear and appreciation of such events was lessened by such connections. They expressed them in ceremonies of harvest festivals or votive offerings to the gods of the storms or floods. The first settlers to Australia, and those who followed, brought these experiences and the traditions with them and expressed them in customs and rituals. As Christians they brought beliefs and ceremonies based on their European experience and cultural beliefs. However, there was little or no appreciation of the contradictions that came

[413] The Murray-Darling river system is an example of the over use of agricultural practices that have depleted the water resources. The headlines in the *Weekend Australian,* (August 30-31, 2003)1, "Water deal to rescue rivers", begins to describe "A HISTORIC deal on water reform" illustrates the case for better management and understanding of the principle resource for South Eastern quarter of Australia.

[414] See the influence that this has had on the Australian "Emerging Spiritual Identity", with particular reference to the work of Denis Edwards in fn. 478.

with a literal imposition of these customs onto a new environment. The most quoted expression of this was the celebration of Christmas. This feast was timed to take over the "sun god" ceremonies of many Europeans cultures. This ceremony celebrated the winter solstice and promised transformation from the depths winter in the hope for warmer and more fruitful times in the months ahead. The Christians modified the ceremony to announce the birth of Christ, the Son of God, and to highlight and celebrate the promise of new life and hope that he brought to the world.[415] Christmas, from the first settlement, was celebrated in Australia at the time of the European winter solstice. This included all the trappings of a European celebration with the snow and the reindeers, the Christmas decorations, the types of food and activities that expressed another environment. Little consideration was given to the contrasting reality of a summer solstice with the expressions of freedom and holiday that summer in Australia provides for its inhabitants. The inherent contradiction did little to enhance the Christian values that the celebration Christmas was meant to highlight, and has led to a focus on the holidays and the good time that followed. The shrines and sacred places that prominent in the villages and towns of Europe were non-existent in the Australian landscape and culture, and the connections between mythology and symbolism of Christmas relied on the imported traditions and cultural features. The 'new land' was a strange place and cultural connections with Europe were imported to bring solace and comfort in the face of the difficulties and the challenges that the land presented.

6.1.4 From Social Depravation, to Survival and Development

As a penal colony the harsh realities of its beginnings for those convicted of crimes in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, defied the romance of the "New World". Those sent as convicts were often the products of an increasing desperation among people, as they struggled to survive the move from an agrarian to an industrial urban society. From the beginning of the eighteenth

[415] The *New Grange* discoveries north of Dublin, Ireland, link the Irish people to a winter solstice ceremonial that is dated 3,000 before the present era.

century and particularly by the nineteenth century, the medieval fabric of Western Europe was breaking down as the life-styles, customs, traditions and cultures that had held societies together were no longer able to provide the security or the livelihood for ordinary people. The control and orderliness of former times was replaced with the "Dickensian" intrigues and behaviour of the rabble that fought among themselves and all others for their own survival. This "rabble" was sent to Australia in the convict ships of the first fleet and continued until "transportation" stopped in 1842. Others caught up in political struggles in Ireland were added to the mix that ranged from petty thieves to gang leaders and hardened criminals.

The descriptions of life in Australia up until the 1830s are colourful and horrendous at the same time.[416] By and large the people were described as irreligious, having no morals and rebellious. The offspring of the liaisons between convicts, soldiers, government officials and free settlers earned them a reputation as "currency lads and lasses". These expressed independence, opportunism, bravery, and physical strength, and as the "new breed", claimed Australia as their own. In short, the people who actually made the sea journey and endured the first years in Australia were survivors. They survived the injustices of the English penal system, the horrors of the sea, the conditions and deprivation of the colony itself, and the lack of hope and promise that came with them. Many died, and the survivors provided the genetic stock, the emotional impetus, and the creative ingenuity that became the features of the first settlers and pioneers in a foreign and alien land.[417]

The success story of those who have come from Europe and made their home in this land occupied a significant part of recent world history. The challenges they faced were part and parcel of this success as they inhabited and adapted their lives to a very different physical

[416] Samuel Marsden, the "Flogging Parson", and William Ullathorne, the first Catholic Vicar General, shared the view of the depravity and desperation of those living in Port Jackson. Mardsen, both chaplain and magistrate, ordered floggings for what would in the present day be considered minor offences. O'Farrell, *Catholic,* 1-10.

[417] The above paraphrases many of the commentaries and histories published that describe the conditions of the convicts and the early settlement. Blainey, *The Tyranny*; Breward, *Australia;* Edmund Campion, *Australian Catholics*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1988); Marcus Clark, *For the Term of His Natural Life*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1966 (ed.); Hughes, *Fatal.*

environment. Their success also attracted the migrants from Europe after the Second Word War and since then, the boat people from Vietnam and others from Asia and the Middle East. Success left the legacy of the exploitation of natural resources that destroyed many species of flora and fauna, and the mismanagement of limited water resources that produced saltpans and the constant threat of drought. People responded to the opportunities this "new land" offered. They grew and prospered despite the frequent personal and community failures and ruin either brought on by natural causes or the misunderstanding and greed in the over use of its resources, or a mixture of all these. The consequences of the "boom and bust" environment had a corresponding impact on human relationships and behaviour. At one time, the threat of disaster or death brought neighbours together to fight to save their years of effort and often their families, at other times families and populations were wiped out. The isolation in the bush encouraged a camaraderie that became "mateship", and developed respect and appreciation among those facing danger; it also brought loneliness and despair. There was also a "boom and bust" cycle in the economy that was the product of the fluctuations of rural yields and mining ventures, and this brought social upheaval and poverty to town and city dwellers. On the whole, the social fabric was strengthened by cooperation and mutual support and was the basis for the egalitarian acceptance of personal and social difference.[418]

The physical environment with its natural disasters and benefices demanded practical changes to customs and management techniques and affected personal and social changes in all aspects of human behaviour. This new environment brought fear and courage in the face of the unknown, and this was experienced in the destructiveness of extreme events. The experience of those who settled in Australia developed a desire and a conscious respect and consideration for the basic structures and relationships in the entire fabric of nature itself and in the human society that embraced it.

[418] Examples of the human response to difficulty and disaster are found in the "Lawson-Furphy tradition"; for and explanation of this cf. Bruce Bennett and Jennifer Strauss (eds.), *The Oxford Literary History of Australia,* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), 136.

The impact of continental Australia on its first inhabitants, the indigenous people, contrasted with the struggle of the Europeans. At least what can be understood of the way they have respected and accepted the vagaries and difficulties of the environment creates the contrast. They have regarded the land itself as sacred, in that every hill or gully, tree or rock formation spoke to them of the spirits that gave meaning and direction to their lives and was expressed in their religious and cultural practices.[419] The "new comers" were offered an insight into the relationship that the Indigenous have with the "land", and were challenged to establish the balance and the meaning of life through its impact and influence.

6.2 The Spirituality of the Indigenous People

Australia began as a penal settlement with an English administration that established the social values and customs. Justice was meted out in horrific punishment for minor crimes which provided a degree of slave labour that profited the ruling class. As time passed the convicts were given "tickets of leave" to settle in the community, while the soldiers and merchants prospered through land grants. The population increased and prospered and the demand for home rule and ultimately democratic government came with the desire to establish social order out of a place of exile and punishment. However, it took one hundred and seventy seven years (until 1965) for this society to express equality in the relationship between the European settlers and their families and the Indigenous people. And a further thirty years for the culture and spirituality of these people to be recognised and that they had existed in a pre-history of many thousands of years. This was acknowledged during the bicentenary celebrations in 1988.[420]

[419] The European practice of naming a territory as a means of establishing a claim on it is not the meaning that the indigenous people have of the "land". They not only refer to the physical land when speaking of "their land", but suggest a spiritual relationship in so far as the total environment in which they live and were born, speaks to them of the "dreaming", or the meaning of their existence. C.also: Denis Edwards, "Apprentices in Faith to the Indigenous View of the Land", *Compass* 20(1986)1, 23-29.

[420] Cf. *"Terra Nullius"*, 18.

The indigenous population at the time of European settlement in 1788 was estimated to have been between four to six hundred thousand people spread across the continent.[421] Most lived on the coastal fringe, and white settlement, which gradually dominated these areas, reduced this number to as low as two hundred thousand. The total population in 2001 was four hundred and sixty thousand or two and a half percent of the total population of just under twenty million people.[422] Geraldine Flood in *Archaeology of the Dreamtime* summarised the research into the origins of the indigenous people, and detailed when and how they came to the Australian continent.[423] Flood proposed the particular geological eras, the routes that may have been taken, and the means used to cross the sea barriers between Indonesia, New Guinea and Australia. The people arrived in the north and eventually inhabited the furthest parts of Tasmania. There is growing evidence of trade routes and barter systems, aspects of their complex social structures and customs, and the use of stone tools and hunter gatherer techniques to sustain their lifestyle. The fact that these people survived and inhabited the length and breadth of the continent, adapted to the various habitats, climates and changing environments encouraged study and research. This interest was not purely academic, to understand their customs and practices, but practical as an aid to resolve current environmental problems associated with resource management.

Archaeology and palaeontology has gradually extended the timeframe during which the indigenous people arrived in Australia. In the 1950s their arrival was commonly estimated as five to ten thousand years ago, and more recent theories extend that to fifty or sixty thousand years.[424] Hence it was established that their presence provided the most ancient and continuous

---

[421] Geoffrey Blainey, *A Shorter History of Australia,* (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1994), 1.

[422] These figures were taken from the website of the Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics: available from http/www.government.census.com.html. Internet accessed 14/05/2003.

[423] Geraldine Flood, *Archaeology of the Dreamtime, (*Melbourne: HarperCollins, 1992).

[424] Blaney, *History,* 218.

surviving cultural and social groups on any continent.[425] The influence of the indigenous presence and cultures on white settlement created a lasting legacy for all Australians to appreciate. Three areas of their lives are studied; they are "the dreamtime", "Terra Nullius" and the contact with missionaries. These will reveal the influence indigenous people continue to have on the development of the Australian identity and character. They are examples of the spiritual connection the indigenous people have with the "land" and how they have offered other Australians an insight into the "search for a soul".

6.2.1 The "Dreamtime"

The "dreamtime" for the indigenous people determined the relationships between each person and all others in the group, both alive and dead. It passed on the stories of the land to which they belong and its relationship to the spirits that created everything. The "dreamtime" from generation to generation determined the laws and customs for the community and provided the guidelines required to maintain and appreciate the resources the land, as a mother provides for her family. The "dreamtime" was expressed in song, dance and story in rituals and ceremonies of religious significance and was the principle source that educated and formed the members of the group.[426] Djiniyini Gondarra explained the "dreamtime":

> When the religious tribal elder says 'This mountain is my dreaming' or 'that land is my dreaming', he is really saying to us that this mountain or that land holds very sacred knowledge, wisdom and moral teaching, passed on to us by the spirit of the Creator, who has created for us the holy sacred sites and the sacred mountains that exist today.
>
> Therefore, indigenous dreaming is based on three fundamental areas of indigenous life systems.
>
> They are religious, social and political. One cannot be divided from the other…

---

[425] Eugene Stockton, "Their Blackened Stump" *Compass* 22(1988)1/2, 150-161, and Eugene Stockton, (ed.), *Blue Mountain Dreaming,* (Katoomba: Three Sisters Publication, 1993).

[426] The "Dreaming" was explained by Pat Dodson, "The Land Our Mother, The Church Our Mother"; Djiniyini Gondarra, "Father, You Gave us the Dreaming"; and Miriam-Rose Ungermerr, "Dadirri", in a double issue of *Compass* 22(1988) 1/2.

> Australian indigenous are spiritual people. Their religion is life tuned with the Creator who has give the religious laws, ceremonies, teaching, holy sacred land and the mountains for which the term we use today is 'sacred site'. [427]

The philosophical traditions of Western Europe made it difficult for white Australians to appreciate the significance of the indigenous "dreamtime". The indigenous appreciation of the land and the relationships it brought to each in the community ran counter to the pragmatic and utilitarian distinctions of matter and spirit, body and soul of the western tradition and practices.[428] For the first 180 years of European settlement the indigenous people and their lifestyle were dismissed, at best, as primitive and in need of welfare and education. At worst, they were judged as non-human and exterminated by the settlers as pests if they were in the way.[429] The settlers' ignored and rejected the physical and spiritual appreciation of the land and what it provided both for the indigenous people.[430] Until 1965, these people were treated by the government as "wards of the state" and even to wearing the "collars of colonialism" to share some of the privileges of white society.[431] Archaeology and kindred sciences began to dispel the ignorance of the general population and taught them the unique place the Australian indigenous peoples have in the development of human civilisation. The government policy of assimilation into the mainstream of Australian life became integration and the richness of the nations indigenous heritage and the "dreamtime" more widely appreciated.[432]

6.2.2 "Terra Nullius"

The first recorded contacts between Europeans and Australian Indigenous people occurred in the seventeenth century. The English explorer/pirate William Dampier in 1680 reported to

---

[427] Gondarra, "Father", 6.

[428] Martin Wilson, "Indigenous Religion", *Compass* 12(1978)2, 8-13, and a more detailed work by Worms, *Australian Indigenous*.

[429] Russell McGregor, "The Doomed Race: A Scientific Axiom of the Late Nineteenth Century", *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* 39(1993)1, 14.

[430] Don Chapman, *1788,* 19.

[431] Geraldine O'Brien, "Collars of Colonialism", *Sydney Morning Herald, Good Weekend,* 22 May 1993, 26-27.

[432] Russell McGregor, "The Doomed Race", 14.

England about "the savagery and sub-human existence" of the inhabitants in the north west of Australia.[433] This attitude continued when the east coast was annexed for the British Crown in 1770. The indigenous people that Captain Cook encountered in Botany Bay were dismissed as having no relevance in civilised society and therefore no role in determining the future of "terra nullius", the land that belonged to no one.[434] The first fleet of 1788 came and carried with them "the assumptions of white, British, Christian supremacy, (and) decided the aborigines were degraded, shiftless savages totally devoid of culture, religion and morals."[435] The initial curiosity of the settlers towards the "natives" then turned to a benign paternalism subject to conversion to the "Christian way of life" and educated to a "civilised society". Later paternalism gave way to intimidation and brutality as the Indigenous people retaliated to the alienation and spoiling of their land and with it their "dreamtime". Early Australian history has many examples of the consequence of this clash of cultures with numerous massacres, incarceration of tribal groups away from their land, and the removal of half-caste children from their families.[436] As late as 1950 at high school level Australian history students were taught that Able Tasman in 1642 recorded on his visit to Tasmania that the inhabitants of the land "lived in trees" and were "giants".[437] The two cultures were judged to have nothing in common[438] and the fractured relationship between the white and indigenous Australians has affected the relationship between them to the present day.[439]

---

433 Ward and Robertson, (eds.), *Such was Life: Selected Documents in Australian Social History*, (Sydney: Ure Smith, 1970), 5.

434 Ian Breward, *Australia: The Most Godless Place Under Heaven, (*Melbourne: Beacon Books, 1988), 5; and Edwards, "Apprentices", 23.

435 Muriel Porter, *Land of the Spirit? (*Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1990), 3.

436 Blainey, *History,* 41- 48, details some of this brutality.

437 Such was Life, 3 and also, H.I. London, Non-White Immigrants and the "White Australia" Policy, (Sydney University Press, 1970,) 4.

438 Blainey, *History,* 22.

439 Veronica Brady, *Can These Bones Live?* (Sydney: Federation Press, 1996), 56. In the chapter entitled "The Moral Wound…" examines the complex reasons for this attitude that developed among the settlers and later the rural people.

The 1960s referendum voted overwhelmingly for Indigenous people to be given citizenship and hence the relationship with the wide Australian community began to change again.[440] The awareness of racism and discrimination, of poor living conditions, education and health, and the research into their ancient past brought about efforts to assist and support them as a people. Vocal and educated indigenous people challenged the bicentenary celebration of European settlement in 1988. A "new consciousness of the appalling consequences of British colonisation" began to develop from this point in the general population.[441] In 1992 the decade celebrating Indigenous Peoples of the World was announced by the United Nations, and that same year, the Mabo Judgement of the High Court of Australia, ruled that prior to the arrival of the British first fleet in 1788, the Indigenous population in the Torres Straight had possession of the land and had continued to occupy it. The land claimed by Captain Cook was therefore not to be considered *terra nullius*. Fear and hostility in rural Australia arose built on the perception that Indigenous "land claims" would threaten the livelihood of farmers and miners. This reaction touched core human values once again between the two cultures and continued to be the subject of political, social, economic, and theological, and most recently became a spiritual debate. The influence that this has on the character of the Australian people challenges all Australians to accept the different ways of the indigenous people and to acknowledge the suffering and the injustice brought about by ignorance and racism.

6.2.3 The Mission to the "Aborigines"

The religious relationships between white settlers and the indigenous peoples were characterised by the involvement of the churches through missionary activity. They were the principle benefactors offering support to them. However, from the first contact of Christianity of whatever persuasion, the indigenous rituals and ceremonies were rejected as pagan. As

[440] For the consciousness-raising campaign in the 1960s against racism led by people like Charlie Perkins, cf. G. Goosen, "The Emancipation Theory Applied to Australia", *Peace and Change,* (April, 2004), 250-265.

[441] Eric D'Arcy, "Religious Belief in Australia", *Australasian Catholic Record,* 65(1988)3, 388.

happened under the policy of assimilation into the values and customs of western social life, the Christian missionaries worked at replacing the Indigenous religious expressions with the gospel values of western Christianity.[442] This removed the traditions and rituals expressed by the "dreamtime" and thus threatened indigenous cultural and religious values and community life itself. The people were removed from their origins by being placed in mission stations as this severed their connection with their land. Those who have been missionaries in the remote settlements around Australia are now critical of the lack of understanding by the churches of the cultural and religious expressions of the Dreamtime.[443]

In 1986 JohnPaul II spoke to the national gathering of indigenous people in Alice Springs:

> "You are part of Australia and Australia is part of you. And the church in Australia will not be fully the church that Jesus wants her to be until you have made your contribution to her life and until that contribution has been joyfully received by others." [444]

This identified the relationship that most churches had begun to develop with the indigenous people. The practice of assimilation was rejected and the emphasis turned towards acknowledging the value of the indigenous culture and the uniqueness of its relationship to the "land". The churches also acknowledged and apologised for the hurt, suffering and injustice that had been inflicted upon so many of these people by the ignorance and brutality of past attitudes. They encouraged the nation to accept greater responsibility for the situation in which the indigenous peoples found themselves, however the "sorry debate" became an issue for many Australians.

---

[442] Martin Wilson, New, Old and Timeless, Pointers towards Indigenous Theology, (Kensington: Chevalier Press, 1979).

[443] Ian Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches,* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993), 1; Peter Hearn's, *The Catholic Church in the Northern Territory,* (Kensington: Chevalier Press, 2003) is a study of the relationship between the missionary work of the Church and the cultural aspirations of the indigenous people of the north through the policy of assimilation to the changing of the policy.

[444] John Paul II, *The Pope in Australia: Collected Homilies and Talks, (*Homebush: St. Pauls Publications, 1986), 171.

6.2.4 The Indigenous People and the Australian Identity

The influence of the indigenous peoples on the development of an Australian identity has been negative in terms of human rights and Christian values because of the cultural, physical and social depravation inflicted on them by white settlers. This became more evident as the historical and the anthropological evidence revealed the presence of these people in Australia for tens of thousands of years and with this presence complex system of cultural and spiritual values. The "sorry debate" that divided the nation, the criticism by the United Nations and other countries of the treatment of the indigenous people and the growing number of circumstances and situations that reveal the depth and beauty of the indigenous cultural and spiritual expressions has added to the broader Australian search for meaning and "spirituality". In this sense, the resilience of the indigenous people and their ancient heritage has reminded Australians that the care of the "land" is a sacred trust. As with the indigenous people relationship with the "land" will give identity, establish a kinship or 'mateship', mould patterns of behaviour, and establish practices that respect and acknowledge the "sacredness" of the land. The "dreamtime" and "sacred sites" have been adopted into the language of all Australians as they have given expression to the presence of mystery, the desire for wholeness, and other dimensions of spiritual experiences. In fact, the "search for a soul" paralleled the "dreamtime" in contemporary Australian society as it came to terms with the changing attitude in the religion versus science confrontation over creation.[445]

Living in this land brought responsibilities and called forth values from its people that were not evident at first glance. They continue to be revealed as the gifts of those who live in this land and have been accepted and appreciated. The indigenous heritage expressed in its own way the mysteries contained in its pre-history in Australia, and also the pain and suffering consequent on white settlement. This heritage has values that challenged the Western European attitudes to the

[445] Catherine Hammond, (ed.), *Creation Spirituality and the Dreamtime, (*Newtown: Millennium Books, 1991). This was a series of essays that reflects on the Western understanding of Creation in the holistic manner of the Indigenous "dreamtime".

land, to the spirit within all of creation, and to community life itself. It has been a challenge that called for reconciliation and as such confronted the political and church leaders to address the difficulties that ignorance and prejudice has generated.[446] The Australian identity continued to develop as it struggled to bring about justice and reconciliation. The pope's message acknowledged the connection between the spirituality of the indigenous people and Christian spirituality. In this he summed up the importance of their contribution of the indigenous people to the Australian Identity.

6.3 The Divisiveness of Religious Sectarianism

Religious sectarianism has had a profound affect of the development of an Australian identity. The divisive expressions of sectarian religious beliefs and practices have impacted on the social, economic and political development in Australian society. In fact, the "search for a soul" has been a reaction to the dissatisfaction and disillusionment with organised religion among Australians. This disillusionment has highlighted the inherited struggle among the major denominations as they sought to maintain their status as the "true religion".

From the first settlement the Government accepted religion for its pragmatic value, namely, to maintain social order at first within the convict population and latter in the settlement itself. [447] Parsons and eventually priests were tolerated in so far as they acted as moral policemen. Religious ritual and moral authority was used to control the behaviour of the convicts or "lags" and as a standard for the military and administrative personnel. All were expected or compelled to attend the Anglican Sunday service irrespective of their religious affiliation. Therefore, the

---

[446] Kate Legge in "The History Wars" explored the re-writing of the history of the Tasmanian Indigenous people according to political expediency. (*The Weekend Australian, Inquirer,* August 29-30, 2003, 19). It continued the debate that was initiated by Keith Windschuttle in *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History: Volume One, Van Dieman's Land 1803-1847,* (Sydney: MacLay, 2002), and critically appraised by Robert Manne's (ed.), *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History,* (Blackinc Books, 2003). This latter response brought together a number of scholars who objected to the narrowness of research and interpretation.

[447] Manning Clark in *A Short History of Australia,* 2nd ed. (New York: Mentor Book, 1980), Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History,* (Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1985), Ian Breward's *History,* and others provide the detail used in this section.

practice of religion, and its values, was regarded as part of the establishment, or the government. The early churchmen who imposed religious discipline in this manner evoked the same political reactions and disruption as the government officers. This set a pattern that strained relationship between the authority of the churchmen and the people, and was a significant factor in the development of a "secular Christianity" as part of the Australian identity.

Other aspects of the religion have also played a part in developing a "secular Christianity" in Australia. The working relationships between the various religious authorities and the government has been a marked by disagreement. Religious sectarianism developed from the various ethnic religious differences that came initially with the English, Irish, Welsh and Scots, and latter other European immigrants. This continued the long-standing disputes and the bitterness, transferred from their countries of origin. In particular, the influence of divisiveness on development of the Australian Identity is expressed explicitly in the Catholic experience. It is used here as an example of the bitter experiences migrants have had as they have settled in Australia, and to highlight the relationship between the Irish Catholic influence on the Church in Australia.

6.3.1 The Irish Catholic Conflict

The Catholic Church in Australia has been profoundly influenced by the "Irish Troubles". These had begun during the time of Henry VIII and involved the struggle between England and France for the control of Ireland. This became a religious war between Henry and his creation of the Church of Ireland, and the French kings who had the support of Catholic Ireland.[448] Thus began the Irish-Catholic rebellion against English rule.

[448] O'Sullivan, *Religion,* 10.

For the English, at the time of Australian settlement, "to be Irish was to be Catholic". Hence, from that time, there has been hostility towards Catholics in Australia. In Ireland and the major English cities, Irish Catholics struggled for relief from social, political and religious oppression, and for acceptance and recognition in English Law. As a consequence, Catholic life was characterised by an emphasis on loyalty and solidarity to the Irish cause, and was expressed by the demand and acceptance of their Catholic practices and beliefs. English law forced the Irish to accept the Anglican and Protestant religious rituals. Mass was outlawed and priests regarded as conspirators. The hymn "Faith of Our Fathers" was a rallying call for Irish Catholics. It encouraged them to unite together and to fight to achieve their social and political freedom. The religious aspiration of a heavenly reward inspired their efforts. [449]

In Australia a new environment offered hope to Catholic convicts and migrant workers. Many had been transported as convicts. Between 1788 and 1862 over forty thousand of Irish origin or twenty five percent of the total were sent to Australia. Some were hardened criminals, but most were petty thieves and a few were political prisoners. However, they were all considered to be part of or associated with the uprisings in Ireland against English rule. Catholic priests were among the transportees, though they were not permitted to celebrate mass with their people. They were highly regarded by the Irish as patriots for freedom and martyrs for the faith, and this strong bond with their people continued. [450] The growing number of free settlers and released convicts agitated for Catholic priests to celebrate mass and the other sacraments. In 1813 permission was given to the priest-convict Father Dixon to celebrate mass publicly for Irish Catholics. However, after the Castle Hill rebellion less than a year later this permission was withdrawn. In 1820 two priests became chaplains to the convicts and were sponsored by the

[449] Lean Litvack, "Songs and Hymns of Irish Immigrants", in Patrick O'Sullivan, (ed.), *Religion and Identity: The Irish World Wide Vol. Five,* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 85, explained the origin of this hymn.

[450] Mol in *Religion,* 23, notes the different attitude among Catholics to their priests was an important part of their social cohesion until this time.

government on the understanding that they were in the "service of the crown". Catholics regarded this as an unjust restriction and reacted with further dissension.

In the early period, the favouritism shown to the de facto or "established" church, the Church of England in Australia, created suspicion and bitterness with the dissenting churches and the Catholics. Also, the relationship between the government administrators and all the churches, and then between the Catholic Church and other churches deteriorated as more authority passed from the military into the hands of civilian authorities. In his book *Australian Christians in Conflict and Unity,* Frank Engel explored in detail the development of the divisions that arose.[451] The sectarianism that caused the conflicts between the churches stretch across the cultural and political differences in Australia but they had their origins in events and circumstances in Ireland and Britain.

6.3.2 Further Sectarian Divisions

The definitive public confrontation between the Catholic and the Protestant (including Anglican) Churches in Australia occurred in 1825 over the "Church and Schools Corporation Act". Governor Bourke proposed to entrust the schools to the churches and to support them with government monies.[452] Thus began the argument over state aid to Catholic schools and resulted in the two separate education systems, Government and Catholic. This divided the community with the struggle for justice by the Catholics and an equally stubborn opposition by the proponents of state education. 1962 saw the beginning of government funding for non-government schools and ultimately all churches were able to begin schools that were supported by state funding. However, this dispute resulted in the separate development for the Catholic

[451] Frank Engel, *Australian Christians in Conflict and Unity,* (Melbourne: The Joint Board of Christian Education, 1984), 45-67.

[452] Engel, *Australians*, 23.

minority that lasted for over a hundred years.[453] It brought continued discrimination and bitterness to the society. This in turn alienated religion and its values in the life of the general community.[454] The division played a significant role in developing an Australian identity that suspected religion and its values in everyday life.

The atmosphere of distrust and conflict between the churches led to public frustration with religion as a whole. The bitter contesting had unusual consequences an example of which was illustrated by the following. Anzac Day was established to commemorate those who fought and died in World War One and has continued to include Australian and New Zealand armed forces ever since. Fifty six thousand men were killed in the First War and this meant that almost every family experienced some loss out of the population of approximately four million. On this day memorial services and marches are held throughout the country. In the early years the public disputes over religion and then the division among church leaders over the support of the war itself, made it difficult for the churches to have a united role in the commemorative services proposed for Anzac day.[455] Their inability to co-operate and organise common Anzac day services was interpreted as disregard for those who had been killed. The returned service men and women brought with them their own "moral code which was in many ways admirable, emphasising as it did honesty, uprightness, loyalty, generosity, and pulling one's weight; but this did not seem to be in any sense a Christian orthopraxis".[456] The religious disagreements they encountered on their return home reinforced the lessons learned in the trenches where new values and attitudes to "God" and religious practice were formed. Many turned aside from the traditional church practices to remember and celebrate the experiences that affected them in the

[453] The debate over the "ghetto mentality" or "separate develop" in the Catholic population continues to engage people. This will continue in so far as discrimination is felt and experienced by Catholics in areas of social, governmental, and commercial life. Although anti-discrimination laws have been passed the practice still exists, although proof of it is anecdotal rather than able to be proven.

[454] Edmund Campion, *Australian Catholics*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1988), 59, suggests further issues that continued to challenge the Catholic Church and the Australian Society, in a chapter entitled "Finding an Australian Identity".

[455] Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 82.

[456] Barry Brundell, "Australian Secularism and its Challenge", *Compass* 22(1988)3, 26.

trenches. Anzac Day Services were organised by the Returned Soldiers League in the local community and have become the occasion of practical ecumenism, not constrained by the traditions of the "Catholics" or the "Protestants". At the invitation of the local RSL, the role of the clergyman at the "Dawn Service" was to read a passage of scripture at the appropriate time and to lead a prayer. For many years in some places, the Catholic priest was not able to take part in the ceremonies because church authorities regarded them as Protestant and local masses were scheduled at a time that conflicted with the local celebrations.[457]

6.3.3 The Catholic Response

Religious sectarianism encouraged Catholics to maintain their loyalty and commitment to their Church. The Catholic community provided support and protection against the discrimination and prejudice in public life and the work place. Catholics were identified by their formal religious practices and they maintained their separateness until the ecumenical movement of the Second Vatican Council. In Australia ecumenism challenged the Catholic Church to begin to dialogue with the other churches, rather than dispute with them over their differences. At the same time their social status or the acceptance of Catholics by the general society had begun to improve. As more attainted the level of higher education, job opportunities were increased and their election to leadership roles in public life became more frequent. Other social factors such as increased immigration, the developing economy and the growth of the major cities, contributed to the changed social environment and deflected attention from the historical

[457] The Anzac Day Service was one example. Another was the formulation of the *Australian Constitution.* The only part of the Australian Constitution (promulgated 1901) that the churches agreed to was to add the words "humbly relying on the blessing of almighty God" to the preamble. Whereas number 116 of the Constitution is the result of bitterness that existed at the time among the members of the churches, afraid that one might receive the favour of a government in the future Commonwealth. "The Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religion, or for imposing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of religion, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth." Geoffrey Sawer, *The Australian Constitution,* (Australian Government Publication, 1975).

tensions of sectarianism. The Catholic influence on the distinctive Australian character had to wait until the present time to be accepted and identified as contributing to its development. [458]

6.3.4 Sectarianism and Migration

Religious sectarianism continued in the post World War Two era in the debate over the effect of migration on Australian culture. The inherited values and practices of immigrants presented a challenge to the host community as they were regarded as "un-Australian".[459] On the other hand, the new environment challenged migrants in their religious, social, economic and human values and practices.[460] This repeated the social and ethical dilemmas that Europeans first encountered when they attempted to relate their values to what they saw to be a "more primitive" way of living and believing. The attitudes that underlay the unjust and punitive behaviour of earlier times resurfaced as migration brought Asian people in numbers to Australia. In this situation the changing social and economic climate generated fear of the unknown or difference, and to support for this response was generated by a re-examination of the clashes of the past with indigenous people.[461] This debate challenged the Australian character once again to search for justice in the circumstances that surrounded the "refugees" and "children over-board" controversies.

In short, the sectarianism initially experienced by the Irish Catholics was also experienced by first the Southern European and then Asian migrants. The ability to adapt to the circumstances of life in Australia was governed by the pressures to conform to the values and patterns of life in

---

[458] As mentioned earlier, as sign of this was the popularity of the ABC TV program *Brides of Christ,* and also the media coverage of the papal visits of JohnPaul II.

[459] An example of this is highlighted by Pittarello in "Migrants" 147, "the most urgent task of the Catholic Church in Australia is… the one of revisiting its own traditional social and cultural identity".

[460] *The World Upside Down: Australia 1788-1830,* (Canberra: Australian National Library, 2000), 13.

[461] Refer again to the current dispute in historical circles about the truth or otherwise of the relationship between the indigenous people of Tasmania and earl white settlement. Cf. Windschuttle, Manne and Legge in fn. 444.

keeping with the majority, particularly in the expression of religious beliefs and practices.[462] These pressures continued to impress on all Australians an identity that had difficulty with the values, practices and religious beliefs of the migrant peoples who came to this land. In more recent decades these pressures have surfaced again as has been even more starkly demonstrated by the debate to establish a multi-cultural society in Australia.

6.4 A "New" People: An Emerging Spiritual Identity

The three areas described above, the impact of the land, indigenous spirituality and religious sectarianism, have developed significant characteristics that mark the Australian identity. This was the case for all who came, from the first indigenous people, to the first convicts and soldiers, and to the most recent migrants. The qualities, values and achievements of these people have produced characteristics to be acknowledged, appreciated and celebrated if Australians are to be true to themselves.[463] Recent events of national importance have indicated that Australians have changed the way they see themselves and raised the profile of Australians as a nation on the world stage. The Australian identity reached a point of clarity and public perception with the bicentennial of European settlement in 1988. It was a celebration that created an increased interest in the early history of Australia and reflected the characteristics that had produced its many achievements as a nation. The beginning of the new millennium, the Olympic Games and the Centenary of Federation in 2001 continued to deepen the recognition of Australians that they had an identity and culture. This was a significant step not only for themselves but for neighbouring nations and globally, and international interest and travel assisted the developing of a national identity. This was the case in particular for many Australians who travelled abroad,

[462] Paganoni, *Valiant,* details the paradox of the "benign neglect" in the Catholic Church towards the Italian migrants that came to Australia after the Second World War.

[463] Robert Schreiter and Louis Luzbetak have developed the theory of this process in much more detail. The important aspects of their work are referred to in this section and in the next on the "holistic" challenge a new nation such as Australia has faced.

especially those who returned to their place of origin to holiday or work. These experienced being identified as Australians.[464]

Recognition also came from other sources. The visit of John Paul II to Sydney in January 1995 for the beatification of Mary MacKillop received global coverage.[465] His farewell address described Australians as a "new people", derived from a variety of cultures and nations, who live in harmony founded on social, economic, political and religious freedom all of which has been achieved in their own special circumstances. The pope encouraged this "new people" to explore further their hopes and visions, and offer to other peoples in the world the example of this *new way* of living together. The pope also recognised something special or distinctive about Australians and their way of life. This distinctiveness provided them an opportunity to further explore the benefits that they enjoyed and share what they have with others. [466]

The Catholic expression of the Australian identity manifested itself at the beatification ceremony of Mary MacKillop. Until this time the Catholic population had not experienced the positive wide media interest nor the warm welcome the pope received from the secular and religious leaders.[467] The event brought public acceptance to the Catholic Church and although it did not end the sectarianism, it acknowledged the significant contribution Catholics had made to Australian society. This acknowledgement by the nation also highlighted the role Catholics had played in what the pope described as the development of a "new people". They saw that they could belong to this "new people" and, at the same time, acknowledge their origins. The "new people" that JohnPaul II identified, originated from the interaction that took place between the

---

[464] Katherine Kizilos, in *The Olive Grove: Travels in Greece,* (Melbourne: Lonely Planet Publications, 1997), 72, describes her renewed search for the sacred in the land of her father.

[465] 'From the Heart of Australia - Mary KacKillop: A Life and Legacy", *Cath Int,* 6(1995)5, 216-219.

[466] Paul VI on the visit to mark the Cook Bicentennial Celebrations in 1971 described Australians as "an original people, the result of the meeting of people from very different nations languages and situations". *AAS* 63(1971), 62.

[467] Apart from the Catholic Press, other Religious Press and Secular Press did not provide the same depth of coverage with the visit of Paul VI in 1971, or with JohnPaul II's visit in 1986. The sainthood of Mary MacKillop received positive attention, which contrasts with the sectarian bitterness that judged the Catholic "worship" of saints as idolatry.

beliefs and practices of the Old World and their encounter with the New World.[468] The pope's presence in Australia recognised and acknowledged the value of the life and ministry of Mary MacKillop at a global level, and referred to the distinctive ways in which she had served and helped form this "new people".

The significant influences described above as *Terra Australis, Indigenous People, Religious Sectarianism* and others too numerous to mention,[469] assisted the development of the Australian Identity or in the words of the pope, a "new people". The influence of European values and customs had a continuing legacy, but in many ways, including the subtlety of language, these had been reinterpreted or changed to reflect the experiences encountered in the "new" world.[470] Social anthropology continued to research this inter-cultural encounter in order to understand and appreciate the distinctive characteristics of the "new" culture. The physical, biological, cultural, social, religious and psychological experiences encountered led to a better "understanding of what it means to be human" in this particular context.[471] In an all-embracing context the search focused on the integration of each dimension and value contained in life's experiences. From this, significant characteristics can be identified that make a society unique in its time and place and the study of human experiences can draw general conclusions about the influences and inspirations on the behaviour and attitudes of the people involved. An "Australian Identity" or a culture has been recognised by others. It has distinctive characteristics as the result of the encounter with the "newness", in historical terms that can be called Australian. This "new" encounter played a part in the struggle to find God or the spiritual in an environment and in

[468] The liturgy of the ceremony for the first time gave hope that Australian expressions of reverence for the presence of the Spirit of God would be possible, from the "smoking ceremony" at the beginning of the liturgy to the central presence of women in the celebration.

[469] Cf. 3.2.1. In Malone's seminars there were various attempts to identify the characteristics of the Australian character.

[470] Louis Luzbetak, in *The Church and Cultures: New Perspectives in Missiological Anthropology,* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books) 1991, 294-299, described the complexity in this type of transition or adaptation and the stages it involved. Here it is sufficient to recognise the fact of the change as indicated by observers.

[471] Ibid. 23. Luzbetak, described the nature and scope of anthropology, with particular emphasis on its holistic endeavours.

situations that challenged previous behaviour and attitudes. Such encounters encouraged the emergence of "new" spiritual experiences.

The Australian search for meaning had a spiritual dimension with its origins in the encounter between the European values, customs, and understanding and the experiences of the "new world".[472] In the exploration of the influence of the Australian context on belief and spirituality, Kelly called for a new way to imagine the relationship Australians have with mystery, or the "unknown" that people encounter in their lives. Malone encouraged the spiritual desire of Australians by suggesting new ways to speak of the experience of God. It was clear by the 1980s that the religious expressions and customs of European origin did not satisfy the Australian encounter with mystery or the spiritual. The task Mol presented to the churches in 1985 highlighted the necessity of acknowledging the changes that had occurred in the cultural appreciation of religion. He pointed out that Christian teaching and worship needed to find expressions, or a new language, that would embrace the lived experience of Australians.[473] In the Catholic perspective the loss of confidence in Sunday Mass was equated with the loss of a celebration that fulfilled the desire for sustenance and support in the encounter with everyday life. This change expressed the difficulties that all churches faced in relating religion to Australian life and was a consequence of the emerging Australian identity engaging the spiritual dimension of people's lives.

Paul Hasluck, previously cited, illustrated the necessity for a new language to explain the religious or spiritual experience in Australia.[474] He humorously, but with none the less poignancy, expressed the challenge that Australia, the "new" land, continued to have on European customs

---

[472] Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, (New York: Obis, 1985), 24f. explored the relationship between the context of theological reflection and the spirituality that was derived from that particular context. For him the latter was the prior experience that came from the cultural experiences of mystery. In the context of his writing, as with Luzbetak, the African experience of intercultural dialogue and adaptation moved differently to the Australian experience. However, the principles they have used can be applied here to assist in identifying and understanding the changes that have taken place in Australia.

[473] Cf. Chapter Two, 16; and Mol, *Faith,* 220.

[474] Cf. 3.1.1.2 and fn. 147

and expectations. His search for a soul attempted to make sense of the hopelessness that came to those who were confronted with devastating yet intriguing realities of Australian life.[475] In Hasluck's words, it was a life as irritating and demeaning as "a multitude of ants and flies" seeking to devour a picnic, and reflected the sense of hopelessness that both entailed. This is the reality that faced the difficulties of life, and the search for a soul was an escape or withdrawal in search of an inner peace – "that the world cannot give" (Jn 14:27). The search was the response to an environment that engaged the person physically, socially, rationally and spiritually. It was at the heart of a culture that sought deeper answers to the privations forced on people by natural and human events that were unpredictable and often incomprehensible in their magnitude.[476]

In more recent years much has been written about the "rape of the land" by agriculture and mining enterprises in Australia. These studies contradicted the principles and attitudes that underlay the impetus for the prosperity and were the basis for Western business practice.[477] They endeavoured to deepen the understanding of the ecology of the Australian environment and created social pressures to give the "greenies" a political voice for practices that were more ecologically sensitive.[478] The personal or human dimension was used to respond creatively to the land and all living things, and was expressed in *ecological theology.*[479] These were contemporary

[475] Freeman in "Sunburnt Soul", 59, expressed the contradictory experiences he encountered with the "beer and surfing" culture in Australia.

[476] Schreiter, *Constructing,* 42, detailed the "tools for listening to a culture", and pointed out the depth to which this process will take place, either consciously or sub-consciously. When the latter has taken place, a form of dualism is developed in relation to the values and expressions of two cultures, with consequences similar to the decline in mass attendance among Catholics in Australia.

[477] Francis Fukuyama, in *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order,* (New York: Free Press, 1999), challenged the relationship between business principles and social and environmental outcomes.

[478] The European movement inspired the "Green Party" in Australia initially, at least chronologically. However, the scope of mining activity and wood-chipping in Australia has increased the importance of the movement in the Australian context.

[479] Two books by Denis Edwards explore this, J*esus the Wisdom of God: An ecological theology, (*Homebush: St Paul's Publications, 1995); (ed.), *Earth Revealing, Earth Healing: Ecology and Christian Theology,* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2001). Also there are statements from Australian Bishops Committee for Justice, Development and Peace, such as *Christians and Their Duty Towards Nature, ACSJC Occasional Paper, 7,* (North Sydney: 1991).

examples of the challenge that was given to Australians, and they expressed in a new language the relationship between living the Christian faith and the world in which this takes place.[480]

The questions based on this ecological view were notionally similar to those expressed by Europeans and Americans. However, the Australian environment demanded different responses. The importance of knowing the demands and special features of the local situation has been demonstrated by the environmental disasters that resulted from introducing practices and solutions inherited or borrowed from Europe to the Australian environment. Examples have been numerous and well known: the rabbit was introduced as game, the cane toad as a predator of a beetle that had been previously introduced to eat prickly pear, and the erosion caused by unrestricted clearing of native vegetation for pasture land. On another scale, the rice-paddies were developed at Humpty Doo in the Northern Territory because of the abundance of water, but failed because of the magpie geese and native insects. British urban high-rise planning in the 1960s became the social slums of the 1980s in Australia and in Britain. These examples of introduced solutions turned against the environment. The lessons learnt resulted in the desire to better understand the ecological balance required by the Australian environment. This impact on the Australian identity reinforced the search for a deeper understanding of the relationship between human experience and the consequences of actions and behaviour that led to environmental degradation. Connected with the relationship that the indigenous people had with the land, it assumed a spiritual dimension as it sought to give expression to mystery.

This "new people" addressed by the pope in 1995 were the product of the interaction of different cultural experiences and expectations on the human condition. The "new" identity of these people grew out of their encounters with mystery and difficulty that were consequent on their coming to this "new" land. These encounters were expressed in a variety of ways with both

[480] Tony Kelly, *An Expanding Theology; Faith in a Word of Connections,* (Newtown: EJ Dwyer, 1993), ix. "This new sense of the mystery of the cosmos is often accompanied by a stirring of ecological conscience… How can our Christian vision encompass the wonder and responsibility that a new sense of reality inspires?"

good and bad results and experience brought authenticity to the "new" identity that evolved. In other words, the qualities and characteristics of the *new* people expressed change and adaptation. At the same time continuity was maintained which linked them to past traditions. This produced the transformation that could be identified as a "new people". The transformation ultimately led this people to "search for a soul", or for something deeper that inspired and encouraged them in the face of difficulty and difference. It challenged them to go beyond both the traditional responses and the pragmatic reactions to the mystery that lay beneath the different circumstances and situations that confronted them.

The development of an Australian "Spirituality" in the Catholic tradition took place when the individuals involved engage the mystery they encountered in every day circumstances, discerned those aspects and characteristics that add quality and value to human life, and endeavoured to re-establish connections between the "new people" and the "old". This "spirituality" took place when the total environment was embraced, or when there was a "holistic" response to the mystery encountered. Although the response to mystery had common values with the "old" world, there were distinctive characteristics that were "new" and in that had the opportunity to give expression to the inspiration of God's presence as the "signs of the times".

6.5 Distinctive Characteristics and "Signs Of The Times"

The search for an Australian spirituality emerged from the encounter of its people with this "new" land. It was first experienced when the people encountered the difference and difficulties of everyday life. It then became a desire of the heart, or a "search" that led to a personal and often a communal journey into the mysteries experienced. In the terminology of the "dreamtime", it became a journey into the *heart of the sacred.* When people encountered the mystery of the "new" land, words failed to translate their experiences and their patterns of behaviour because they were so dissimilar their previous responses in other lands and others

times. In recent years the "search" began a spiritual journey which responded to the distinctive characteristics that has shaped the Australian Identity. This journey opened the sense of mystery to the day-to-day experiences of Australian life, and discerned the sacred character that this land has generated. In this sense, the search that developed for an Australian Spirituality was a "sign of the times".

The Australian characteristics developed from the interaction between human activity and a new environment. This interaction expressed itself in the changes in the behaviour and attitude; these were passed on to successive generations and became identified as cultural expressions. Donal Dorr considered that an integrated culture had three major aspects, the 'public', the personal and the interpersonal.[481] He further described such a culture as a "holistic spirituality". This occurred when each aspect of a culture, although individual in itself, developed relationships with the other two aspects. He expressed this diagrammatically as a composition of three interlocking circles, the 'public', the 'personal' and the 'interpersonal' experiences of culture. The challenges occurred in the areas where the circles overlap, and these enabled and supported the building up of the community, or a *new people.* The spirituality expressed in these terms involved relationships, and was holistic because it took into account the various levels of relationships. Dorr reached these conclusions during his research into African traditional societies and their responses to disturbance and change.[482]

Following Dorr's reflections, the development of the Australian culture can be expressed as follows. In the initial phase of Australian settlement the three aspects of Dor could be identified

[481] Donal Dorr, *Intergral Spirituality: Resources for Community, Justice, Peace and the Earth,* (Melbourne: CollinsDove, 1990), 3. The meaning he gave to "holistic spirituality" was that it embraced all our activities. He expressed this best in relationship with God, "Our relationship with God is not represented by any specific section of that diagram. This is not because God is outside our spirituality but precisely because our relationship with God suffuses all our spirituality." 269.

[482] Ibid. 161.

as the 'new environment', the 'convict', and 'first settlement' itself.[483] The impact that each of these aspects had on each other brought changes in attitude and values, and these that were passed-on and evolved in succeeding generations. With the passage of time the public domain became less threatening and less strange as experience produced patterns of behaviour or cultural expressions that were passed on. However, individuals continued to experience fear and isolation. Personal and interpersonal difficulties were affected by disasters as well as the disputes that continued to occur, even though new possibilities, more challenges, and more changes continue to open up as Australia was explored.[484] At the same time, the origin and understanding of inherited traditions from cultures left behind became blurred, less appreciated and forgotten as generations passed. The customs and practices that had held communities together became lost, and fragmentation occurred as new migrants and then communities faced external challenges.

The human condition because of the Australian encounter responded with "new" expressions or values that would guide and assist individuals, and at the same time influenced the community response to the challenges they shared in common. As core values that had held together communities of previous generations lost their significance, they were replaced by the search for other values.[485] This search was aided by a spirituality that engaged all three aspects of the relationships encountered, and expressed the challenge that the pope gave to the "new people". The "signs" of the "new" life in Australia were the values, attitudes and ultimately practices that challenged the old ways of thinking and behaving.

---

[483] Other individuals involved were soldiers, guards and government administrators. These groups related to each other distinguished by their status or station, but they had the common experience in their encounter with the new land. The indigenous people also engaged in this inter-relationship, but by default rather than by invitation.

[484] The problems and challenge to maintain an ecological balance in resource development, the rural versus suburban development, the de-population of rural towns and the growth of the cities, the controls of mass media, the breakdown of family life, and others, are similar to those faced in other western counties. However, their scale and personal impact challenged all levels of human relationship and behaviour. The studies in religious sociology above have highlighted the extent of cultural and social change; the reasons behind the changes became the search that people have engaged in. It was noted that religious groups and churches were not looked for to provide the answers to the practical dimensions of change, rather they have had a comfort and supportive role. The Salvation Army and the St. Vincent de Paul Society came to be seen as independent of the mainstream church presence in disastrous situations such as floods, bushfires and major tragedies.

[485] Bevans, *Models,* 5, details the interaction of experience, cultural influence, social standing and the reality of social change on the developing cultural expressions within a community.

Thus, the distinctive characteristics of the Australian way of life would continued to give rise to 'new' spiritual experiences as individuals and communities searched beyond the pragmatism of surviving or prospering. Faced with these challenges the principal concern for Australians became the search for authenticity in these *new* experiences. In Christian tradition discernment was identified as the process that authenticates the spiritual dimension of those experiences that further the growth of the relationships that maintain the community, and those that do not.[486] From the Catholic perspective, Malone engaged in the search for an Australian spirituality in a process that encouraged reflection, mutual sharing and dialogue. He applied this to both the teaching of the Church and the experiences of "new" land. He challenged and interpreted the experiences of mystery in dialogue with the community, with the environment and with the inherited traditions and customs of other cultures. The authenticity of these encounters with the mystery was expressed by the ability to speak to the "new people" of the presence of God in their daily lives, and to do so in a language they could understand.

Kelly, on his part, set out to "contextualise" the spiritual encounter in Australia. He sought to understand and appreciate the values contained in the beliefs and practices of past generations of Irish Catholics. Their sub-culture motivated and then enabled them to gain identity and acceptance in the mainstream of social life. Also, their strong religious connection gave them a sense of solidarity and leadership. Ultimately, this sense of identity enabled them to achieve social acceptance in the face of religious and social prejudice and discrimination.[487] The effort to attain this goal however was at the expense of the previously expressed religious beliefs and practices, as the present decline in mass attendance and the lack of vocations to priesthood and

[486] Cf. 5.4 for Waaijman's explanation.

[487] Edmund Campion, in his two books *The Rockchoppers*, (Ringwood: Penguin, 1982) and *Australian Catholics*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 1988), gave expression to the journey of Australian Catholics, from the convict past to the prosperity and acceptance of more recent times.

religious life has indicated.[488] In other words, the spiritual motivation that had maintained the effort to achieve the strong Catholic identity eventually failed to engage the personal or interpersonal aspects of life. The Irish Catholic identity became a commitment to religious ritual and practices, and not a holistic expression of its spiritual reality.[489] When the goal of this identity was achieved, namely acceptance in society, the practices and personal attitudes that supported the effort to achieve it, were not able adapt to a changed environment. The practices and attitudes became superficial for many because they failed to integrate the original spiritual motivation into the "new" situation the people encountered.[490] The work of Tony Kelly and also Peter Malone support this conclusion. Their efforts in the 1980s sought to develop an Australian Theology that would listen and respond to the people's experiences of God. Inspired by the documents of the Council they focused on the Catholic experience of God in everyday life. They used examples in Australian literature to identify non-traditional expressions of this relationship, especially in the non-religious works that explored the Australian environment and culture. However, as the data developed by the literature review showed, a pre-occupation with the "state of crisis" in the Catholic Church curtailed their search.[491] The "state of crisis" moved many to return to traditions and practices of the past eras and became a judgement made of the efforts of those who sought to relate the Church to the expectations and hopes of the broader Australian community.[492] The later contributions of Kelly and Malone came on the wave of interest in spirituality in the general population as well as in the difficulties that the Catholic Church had continued to face.

---

[488] Marcellin Flynn expressed this concern as a result of his studies in religious sociology into the changed values and practices of those that attended Catholic Schools and their families. *Catholic Schools And The Communication Of Faith: a Study Of The Mission Of Catholic Schools Today For Parents, Teachers And Students,* (Homebush: St. Pauls, 1979), xii.

[489] Cf. Chapter Three.

[490] Bevans, *Models*, 4. "As our culture and historical context plays a part in the construction of the reality in which we live, so our context influences the understanding of God and the expression of our faith."

[491] The interest in Australian Spirituality among Catholic writers waned from 1990 until 2000, whilst the interest in the state of the Church in Australia led to more analysis of what was wrong with it, leading up to the "crisis of faith" statement in 1998. Cf. Chapter One, 1.7.3.

[492] George Pell, in "*2000 years of hope", The Weekend Australian,* January 1-2, 2000, 20, welcomed the new millennium with the call to reject the inroads that dominated the latter part of the second millennium by secularism and intellectualism, and return to the guidance and direction of the church. In Australia this "revisionism" as it is called has brought more doubt and concern to those who long for an acceptance by the Church. Cf.. Paul Collins, *Papal Power: A Proposal For Change In Catholicism's Third Millennium, (*Melbourne: Fount, 1997).

The document *Evangelii Nuntiandi* stated that the mission of the Catholic Church was to "inculturate" the message of the gospel and the teachings of the Church into the lives of the people it serves.[493] This ongoing process required an acceptance of the distinctive characteristics that develop and identify a people. Kelly had begun his reflections by theologising in an Australian context and drew attention to the openness required, lest a focus on national identity become an ideology, particularly in the religious dimensions of life.[494] The principles of "evangelisation" acknowledged both the gospel tradition and the distinctiveness of the local culture.[495]

The focus on "holistic" spirituality was meant to inspire the person and the community to look beyond pragmatism, ideology, or religious idolatry. The challenge was to engage all dimensions of human activity and reflection.[496] This would encourage a search for meaning and substance that embraced the individual, the community and the 'new' context in which it took place. This would be a spirituality that would search for a "soul" in the distinctive Australian physical environment, and reflect the sacredness expressed by the indigenous people, and also the divisiveness of religious sectarianism, as expressed above. The relationship between "spirituality" and "culture" would be dependent on the ability of the spiritual encounter to provide a hope and promise of a future in the face of change and therefore lead to transformation.[497] It would rely on an openness that sought to understand, then discern the core

---

[493] Paul VI, *Evangelii* #35, referred to the document, *AG,* # 22, and also *GS*. Ch. 2, to link the methods of evangelising and human advancement.

[494] Cf. 4.3.3

[495] *AG.* #22. "To achieve this goal, it is necessary that in each major socio-cultural area such theological speculation should be encouraged, in the light of the universal Church's tradition, as may submit to a new scrutiny the words and deeds which God has revealed, and which have been set down in Sacred Scripture and explained by the Fathers and by the magisterium."

[496] Luzbetak, *The Church*, 24.

[497] Bevans, *Models,* 50. The debate raised here has been expressed as dependent on the "bottom up" or the "top down" understanding of the relationship between a particular culture and the gospel message: this dominated the terms of the dialogue that took place. Bevans discussed this in detail. For this thesis the point made about the relationship between culture and spirituality, was that a "holistic culture" was spiritual in its expression. From the Christian perspective a dialogue was necessary for the expression to be discerned as authentic, a dialogue between the culture and the traditions and teachings of the Church, which resulted in an outcome that was to the betterment of the society. Cf. 5.4 "Authenticating the Spiritual Experience".

experiences that would lead a community to deeper appreciation of their customs and practices. A subsequent transformation would then celebrate the presence of the 'new people' within the changing environment they inhabit. For Waaijman, the fruit of this encounter became a "form" of spirituality, one that held the community together in the circumstances of life, and gave expression to the deepest values of each generation.[498] In this way individuals were open to "new" challenges and thus were inspired to move beyond the everyday into the world of the "beyond" with hope that replaced the fear of losing habits and customs.

Since the enlightenment Western European philosophy and theology argued about belief in God in a debate that has been from the "top down".[499] As such it was an argument about established positions and explanations, rather than an actual attempt to find God within the inner reaches of the human experience. As if to emphasise this for Australians, JohnPaul II referred to the qualities and gifts of this "new people" as signs of hope for the world.

The "search for a soul" in Australia entailed a "holistic" approach that linked all aspects of culture to the spiritual desires which engaged the distinctive characteristics of Australian life. Tacey pointed to the desire among young people to experience the spiritual since "Spirituality allows us to experience the 'soul of the world'".[500] Thus the "search for a soul" expressed a desire that responded to the Australian identity and reflected on what this was meant to be as a "new people". It was a form of spirituality that was based on listening to the "signs of the times" in the Australian context.

---

[498] Cf. 5.3 and Waaijman's three basic forms of spirituality.

[499] John Macquarrie, in *Heidegger And Christianity*, (London: SCM, 1994), 92, concluded that for Heidegger, "God is not dead, but he has withdrawn himself". Macquarrie expressed the link between the experience of the presence of God for Heidegger and the actual metaphysical argument for the existence of God was the actual lived reality. Thus, he dissociated himself from the pragmatism of Sartre's atheism that left "man alone in the universe, or master of the universe" (60) as unreal.

[500] Tacey, *Spirituality,* 67.

6.6 Conclusion: Acknowledging New and Distinctive Experiences

In this chapter the grounds for a significant and distinct expression of spirituality in an Australian context were identified in the encounters between the "new" environment and the people who had come to settle and live in this land. The "spirituality" that emerged from the experiences of mystery in these encounters, changed the beliefs and practices that had come with the traditions of other times and places. Consequently three major influences that contextualised the encounters were identified; the impact of "Terra Australis", the spirituality of the indigenous people and the divisiveness of religious sectarianism. These influences were significant in affecting and changing the religious practices and values of Australians as the "new" environment challenged "old" traditions and practices.

The Australian identity was a product of the characteristics that originated in the encounter with another environment and were modified or replaced by the experiences of a "new" environment. This encounter of the "old" with the "new" embraced the total human reality in the physical, social, political, economic and spiritual dimensions of personal and communal life. In practice the 'new" environment and circumstances produced responses that challenged the "old" or inherited traditions. These latter were judged impractical or not relevant and were adapted, replaced by "new" practices or behaviour, or they were just forgotten. As time and generations passed, intrigue and inspiration produced personal encounters with mystery at the deepest level of human experience. From the 1980s, this process gave rise to a "search for a soul", or a "sea change", or the desire to change the way Australians saw themselves and the world they lived in, and how they expressed their relationship with God. The chapter concluded that a process of spiritual discernment was required to assist Catholics to be open to experiences of God in the "new" world, and that the experiences of the "new" world ultimately diminished the influence of the Irish traditions on their religious beliefs and practices.

Thus, it was shown that a distinctive spirituality has arisen from the discernment of the responses to the "new" environment and that this offered inspiration and creativity to a "new people" in their search for God. The values and characteristics of the Australian identity had created an opportunity for a particular spirituality to develop which was derived from personal encounters with mystery in a particular context. The process of discernment also identified that the holistic relationship between aspects of the Australian "culture" and "spirituality" expressed itself as the "search for a soul". Thus, new patterns of behaviour developed that fostered community life and reflected the message of the gospel for a "new" time and place.

Much of the chapter was devoted to identifying aspects of the Australian encounter that led to the expression of the experience of mystery in a new language and patterns of behaviour. This encounter produced a pastoral dilemma. It was described as a dilemma that expressed itself as either a crisis or a challenge for the Church to face. On the one hand the changes linked to a distinctive Australian culture produced a crisis response, with a subsequent return to past practices and explanations. This crisis response belied, on the other hand, the interest in the spiritual that could be found in every facet of Australian life, from theology to sport, to art and business management. The dilemma therefore would be resolved positively by presenting a challenge for discernment and dialogue. It was an opportunity for the Church to re-engage the "new people".[501] The spiritual movement in its many and varied expressions had touched the hearts of the people and offered hope and the promise of transformation.

The principal conclusion of this chapter was that Australian Spirituality or the "search for a soul" recognised that the personal experience of God could be discovered and expressed in a particular cultural context. In turn, this created an opportunity for a renewed participation in the mission and life of the Church for Catholics in Australia. This opportunity would involve the

[501] Freeman, "A Sunburnt Soul", 1358, expresses the contradictions between the "most secular country in the world" and the search for an "Australian soul".

development of a spirituality that gave fuller expression to the personal experience of God in everyday life as a starting point.[502] The process that enabled this spirituality to develop would look to cultural aspects that interacted with the experience of mystery, and that these changed according to the circumstances of a particular time and place. This process therefore discerned positively the areas of concern identified in Australian Catholic life to be in a state of crisis. This discernment incorporated the context in which they occurred as producing the "signs of the times" for the renewal of the Church.

The next chapter will address the dilemma in more detail. Its resolution will discern each area of concern in a holistic way, which will respect the personal experience of God's presence and engage it in a dialogue with scripture and the traditions of the Church. The discernment begins with the acceptance of the experience of mystery, and acknowledges that it has at times come from outside traditional sources of reflection and teaching. The pastoral renewal of the Church will begin by acknowledging the changing and developing expression of God in people's lives, and through discernment and dialogue expresses the continuing revelation of the mystery of God in creation itself.

[502] Robert Schreiter, *The New Catholicity: Theology between the Global and the Local,* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1998), 81, explores the relationship between "authentic Christian identity" and "intercultural setting" as a dialogue between communication the persons and their theological criteria.

Chapter Seven: A Spiritual Response to a Pastoral Dilemma

Introduction

PART TWO began with an analysis of the tradition of "spirituality" in life of the Church and located the Australian "search for a soul" (or Australian spirituality) as a positive quality within that tradition. It then argued that through a process of discernment the distinctive expressions of mystery experienced in Australia could be identified and authenticated as "signs of the times" and as influences on the everyday life of Catholics.

As early as the 1980s, sociologists and theologians challenged the direction of the pastoral renewal in the Church. They proposed that a dialogue begin with the latent spiritual desires of Australians.[503] However, these "latent desires" were not acknowledged by the efforts of pastoral renewal and consequently many Catholics began the search for a spirituality to assist them to meet the demands of their changing environment. This was accompanied by the decline in the traditional practices in the life of the Church. The Australian "search for a soul" expressed the desire for a spirituality that related to the context of their lives, and began an "holistic" approach to spirituality.[504]

As Chapter Five has shown there was a relationship between everyday spiritual experiences and the process of discernment that was at the centre of the Catholic spiritual tradition. Discernment was able to determine the authenticity of the spiritual experiences of the individual and the community. It also noted that the renewal called for by John XXIII followed the same process of discernment. This chapter proposes that the discernment of the everyday spiritual experiences provides the basis for a pastoral response that will resolve the dilemma that faces the

[503] Mol, *Faith,* 220, and Kelly, "Theology", *Compass,* 1.

[504] Cf. 6.5.

Church. Many Catholics experience the presence of God outside the religious practices of the Church.[505] This is a dilemma in itself, but the situation has been exacerbated by the negative response of some Church authorities to the expression of personal relationships with God that were outside the traditional norms and practices. Pastoral responses based on past principles and practices, have produced a negative impact on Catholic life and caused confusion among its members.[506] In reality, as this chapter concludes, they were attempts at "crisis management" and were caught up in the polemic that featured the "conservative" versus "progressive" debates immediately after the Second Vatican Council.[507]

The way out of the dilemma is to discern a positive response that has a spiritual foundation. This follows the conclusions of the previous chapter and this chapter focuses on the personal interaction and dialogue with the spiritual experiences of everyday. The purpose of resolving the dilemma is to create opportunities for the Church to develop pastoral practices that will engage the majority of Catholics. In other words, this level of pastoral response enhances the celebration of the Eucharist, leads to a renewed ordained and religious commitment to life and ministry and resolves the dissatisfaction among the people with the exercise of authority in the Church.

This chapter first of all sets out to address the negative responses, or the "crisis management" approach. The exercise of authority in the Church is not challenged by this criticism, but rather

[505] This statement was based on the census data, surveys and mass counts of the time. However, in colloquial terms, it recognised that Catholics had "voted with their feet", and while not leaving the Church, did not respond to the efforts of Church authorities to become more involved.

[504] A poignant example of this was given by noted author Morris West, when interview on ABC TV by Geraldine Doogue in 1998 he restated his love for the church and noted his opposition to the "arbitrary nature and disrespect shown by Roman authorities to those they have been called to serve".

[507] During and after the Council politicising developed the Progressive and the Conservative factions within the church, a situation that continues to the present in the media with stories such as "How the Roman hit squad brought priests to heel", *Australia,* April 3-4, 1999, appearing of the front page. The "hit squad" in this case was a group of people who agitated for the removal of the permission for the Third Rite of Reconciliation given to the Archdiocese of Adelaide. For an understanding of the root causes of this division in the church c.f. Gabriel Flynn, "*Mon journal du Concile:* Yves Congar and the Battle for a Renewed Ecclesiology at the Second Vatican Council", *Louvain Studies,* 28(2003)1, 59f.

its effectiveness and manner of its expression. Jim Cuskelly challenged the effectiveness of the Church's pastoral response in this way:

> Living a spirituality or practicing one's religion? Depending on one's attitude there is a vast difference between the way one performs religious duties. For instance, there is a world of difference between those who go to Mass only because it is a duty expected of Catholics and those who go because they have committed their lives to God and are eager to thank God for being gracious to them and to learn what is God's will for them. The first lot find it boring; the second see it as a necessary part of their spiritual life.[508]

The desire of Australian Catholics to look more deeply into their experiences of the presence of God parallels Cuskelly's comment. This desire can be placed in the context of the renewal called for by John XXIII. He required the bishops at the Council, first of all, to be open to the sincerity of others and thus to ensure that the message of the Gospel was heard and accepted with joy and peace.[509] The search for God is discerned in a dialogue that is open to and accepting of the experiences of others. This level of pastoral response puts the dilemma into a broader context. The efforts to return to past practices and values focused on a superficial response and situated in the category of argumentation and dispute about words and not about the search for God in the everyday. This response further alienated and dissatisfied many members of the Church in Australia, as their life experiences of God seem to be ignored.

Thus, the resolution of the pastoral dilemma requires the following steps. The first step places the spiritual experiences within a "holistic" understanding of the human condition, or within the context of all other experiences and behaviours. In this the holistic perspective, the spiritual dimension of human experience is seen to influence all other human activity. Conversely, it also shows that all human activity influences the way in which the spiritual is expressed.[510] The resolution of the dilemma can be judged as either deepening the relationship of the personal experience of God, or lessening the everyday appreciation of what have been traditional supports

---

[508] E.J. (Jim) Cuskelly, *Walking the Way of Jesus: An Essay on Christian Spirituality,* (Strathfield: St. Pauls Publications, 1999), 15.

[509] Ibid. 31.

[510] Cf. 6.3.

to this experience. The second step applies this criterion to the three significant areas of concern in Australian Catholic life. Each area is addressed by applying the principles of discernment of the Catholic tradition of spirituality to the changed behaviour and attitudes of Australian Catholics.

The third step in the resolution of the dilemma develops in detail the consequences of a pastoral response that acknowledges the centrality of the spiritual experiences that come from the everyday situation. This response determines the quality of dialogue that is essential in discerning the authenticity of these experiences; a dialogue that results from shared individual spiritual experiences and the exercise of pastoral guidance. The responsibility of pastoral guidance is identified as one of service to the sacredness identified in people's lives. The task of this dialogue is to resolve the tension that exists in the Church, the tension at the heart of the dilemma. Dialogue acknowledges and accepts two realities, *sensus fidei* and *magisterium*. These are the realities that give expression to the unifying principle of the Council which describes the Church as a "communion" (communio). Dialogue is placed at the heart of the relationship between the *sensus fidei* and the *magisterium* because it is based on the spiritual reality in the lives of all the baptised. When the relationship fails the "communion" can only be restored by dialogue and by recognising the spiritual reality in the lives of all involved.

Finally, the general conclusion of the thesis explains the resolution of the dilemma in terms of a spiritual journey. It is a journey that has its roots in the Gospel tradition and it is continued in the lives of Australian Catholics. It is described as one that has moved from a devotional spirituality expressed in such terms as *the Sacred Heart of Jesus,* to the desire among many Australians today who seek the mystery of God in *the heart of the sacred.* For those who are Catholics this is finding the person of Christ in the sacredness of one another – "communio" - and his message in the sacredness of the world he created.

7.1 The Dilemma: A Sign of the Times or a Crisis of Faith?

The challenges that face the Church's pastoral ministry today have been developing for some time. Forty years ago John XXIII called the Council to address a number of pastoral issues in society and in the Church. The fact that he called the Council in the first months of his papacy reflected his concern for these issues, and principally because of the disjunction between the changing world and the life of the Church.[511] He also acknowledged that the human character of the Church's life, and that its organizations and structures were established to be of service to its mission and in need of renewal. He insisted that the Church's mission was to embrace all people of good will, and acknowledged the respect due to other Christian churches and other religions.[512] He called for dialogue with other Christians, other believers and non-believers, a move which involved an opportunity for further reflection and interpretation of Scripture and Tradition and the relevance they brought to the world of today.[513] Finally, his pastoral experience emphasised the need of the church to be a sign and inspiration, "so that every human being may see the salvation of God".[514] Under his inspiration the Church was challenged to "come to grips…with the spiritual needs of the present time" in order to discern the "signs of the times".[515]

John XXIII directed the Council to consider the "spiritual needs" within and without the Church. In his opening address to the Council he challenged every member of the Church to undertake personal renewal, both human and spiritual.[516] Among the members of the Council he maintained a pattern of interaction and dialogue based on the spiritual discernment of differing

[511] John XXIII, "Announcement", 399.

[512] John XXIII, *Opening Address,* 2.

[513] Ibid. 4.

[514] Alberigo in *History, Vol. I,* 11. This quotation comes from John XXIII's *Journal of a Soul,* and written the day of his election as pope.

[515] Alberigo in *History,Vol.I,*1, details the context behind John XXIII's *Allocution* in which he announce the Council and the Synod of Rome to small group of Cardinals on 25th January 1959.

[516] John XXIII, *Opening Speech,* 4.

even opposing reflections. The principles of this discernment came from the Catholic tradition of spirituality, as expressed in Chapter Five above.[517] The discernment initially focused on the spiritual relationship between the Council Fathers and the lives of the people.[518] The principles of discernment were to guide the work of the Council. The first principle examined the manner in which the Church's authority exercised its ministry. This principle considered the difficulties and tensions of living the Christian life within modern society, and highlighted the need for openness in order to recognise the spiritual needs of the people. The second principle acknowledged the values and expressions of others in explaining the teachings of the Catholic faith. The final principle was that the Council needed to be attentive to the pastoral implications of any proposed resolutions, and in particular the effect they would have on the mission of the Church to all people.[519]

In the following sections the principles of discernment used during the Council are applied to the pastoral dilemma of the Church in Australia. Each area of concern is addressed and recognises those responses as "signs of the times" that provide a positive direction for the Church in its mission, one that will engage all Catholics in its life and ministry.

7.1.1 Analysing the Changes to Catholic Practice and Affiliation

Chapter Two identified the continuing decline in church attendance from 1950 to the present. Such a decline had been previously experienced in Australia and the Church's pastoral response

[517] Cf. 5.5. This summarised Waaijman's steps in the discernment of the spiritual experience: "Thus the key elements of the spiritual experience are summarised as: "Openness to the other", "The Mystical and Emotive", and "Personal Transformation". The spiritual experience requires a process of discernment to identify these steps and authenticates the experience itself."

[518] Barry in *The Practice,* 102f, described the steps in the discernment of the spiritual experience. "Discernment at its most basic level consists in recognising differences." These differences open the question of a person's relationship with God, with others and themselves. It is the quality of the relationship that is important and this identifies it as being from God or some other inspiration. In "spiritual direction" or the conscious search for the "will of God in my life", steps apply to individuals in their day-to-day struggle to work out what is good for them. They are applied here to help clarify what is required to understand the challenges facing the church when it opens itself to the spirit of God as John XXIII did in announcing the Council in 1959.

[519] These have been summarised in the author's words from the opening address to the Council, John XXIII, *Opening Address.*

had corrected the situation.[520] The sociologists identified that this decline applied to the Protestant churches, but it was not until the late 1980s that the seriousness of the decline in the Catholic Church was recognised. This confusion occurred because of the continuing growth of the Catholic population, the reverse was occurring in other churches in Australia, and in the Catholic Church in Europe.[521] From the time of Mol's work, sociologists had trouble in interpreting the growth in Catholic numbers in relation to the attendance figures.[522] More dialogue and reflection was required to discern adequately the attitudes and values that produce this situation. The data presented the changing situation of practice of religion among Catholics, but two indicators added to the confusion. The first indicator was the decline in Sunday mass attendance, and that this had occurred after the pastoral reforms of the Council. These reforms had produced significant liturgical innovation, including the change from Latin to the vernacular all of which were meant to increase participation and involvement in the mass. The second indicator was the continued growth of the Catholic population, and that although many had absented themselves from Sunday mass, they had not severed their connection with the Church.[523] The call for personal renewal inspired by John XXIII and the reforms of the Council contrasted with the confused response of Catholics generally. The pastoral implications of this confusion later called into question the manner in which the reforms in liturgy in particular took place. The indicators have shown that these reforms did not engage the people, and therefore they did not respond to the changing times. The decline in Sunday mass attendance prompted two questions:

What is the significance of church going for Catholics? and

---

[520] The efforts to reform the church in Australia in the 1860s also raised the concern for the manner with which the clergy dealt with the laxity of the laity. Cf. Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community,* (Kensington: NSW University Press, 1992), 209f.

[521] Kerkhof, *Europe*, 2f. His research compares Europe with various groupings globally, and then individual countries within Europe. The Europeans are concerned that the decline in mass attendance came in a time of relative peace and prosperity on the one hand and falling natural populations levels on the other (natural as distinct from the influx of immigrants).

[522] John Bellamy, et al. *Why People Don't Go to Church,* (Adelaide: Open Books, 2002), was the latest study of "church attendance". Although it includes Catholic statistics in its comparisons, it has not recognised the different understanding that Mol had noted.

[523] In a series of studies in Britain from 1994 Grace Davie has addressed the situation of the scope and nature of belonging to religious groups, rather than the erosion of religious faith. This was part of the debate in Australia, but similar studies have focused on the negative side of the debate – "Why people don't go" as discussed in Chapter Two. But the positive side – "How do people express their religious experiences" – has not been studied. Grace Davie, *Believing without Belonging.* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); *Europe: the Exceptional Case,* (New York: Orbis, 2002); *The Sociology of Relgion: New Horizons in Sociology,* (New York: Sage, 2004).

What is the spiritual motivation behind the decline in attendance?

The answers to these questions required further dialogue and discernment in line with the principles of the Council's call for renewal. Among Australian Catholics an effective pastoral renewal was dependent on the ability of the Church to recognise and build on the spiritual values expressed by the "search for a soul".

7.1.2 Discerning the reasons for the Decline in Mass Attendance

Mol's work showed that the motives for churchgoing were very different for Catholics and Protestants (including Anglican).[524] Statistically, the behaviour could be interpreted to be the same, but in reality, it was based on different motivations and levels of understanding.[525] The initial pastoral response interpreted the decline as directly attributable to the changed social environment under the influence of materialism and secularism.[526] But, as O'Farrell pointed out, those who did not go to church were not surveyed, nor were those with no affiliation to any church.[527] The following recent comparison indicated the different values placed on church attendance. In a radio interview the pastor of a very successful congregational gathering likened the spirit generated at his Sunday worship to that of a football crowd, roused by the joy and excitement of the occasion.[528] An examination of the statistics gathered for this type of Sunday service revealed a large turnover of those who attend each week.[529] In the same month that this interview was recorded, the Catholic Archbishop sent out a survey to the clergy and parishes.

---

[524] Cf. 2.1.1.1 for Mol's conclusion. He argued that the high percentage of Catholics attending church regularly in the 1960s is due to a different appreciation of Sunday worship and the role of the priest. C.f. Mol *Religion,* 23.

[525] Mol explored the moral debate over church attendance, 2.1.2.2.

[526] Cf. 2.2.3 and the Christian Research Association debate on "nominalism". Luzbetak, *The Church*, 329, explored the Catholic situation the relationship between baptism and affiliation in the same way. The recent research in Britain by Steve Bruce, *God is Dead: Secularisation in the West,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002) examined the secular nature of religious behaviour. This was not the direction that this thesis took in addressing the positive experience of the "search for a soul" in the ordinary dimensions of Australian life.

[527] O'Farrell, "Foreword", in Hynd, *Shape*, viii, "Readers will search in vain for a contribution from any secularised indifferent Australians who feature so prominently in this book's concerns".

[528] This was the focus of a radio interview on the Religious Talk Back Program on ABC 891, Adelaide, Sunday night, June, 2003.

[529] Philip Hughes, "Trends in Religious Identification", *Pointers* 12(2002)3,1 pointed out the growth in *other Christian groups*, whilst the percentage of church-going remained the same.

He encouraged the people to "review and evaluate the quality of their liturgical life". The survey was based on the Council's claim that the mass was "the source and summit of the Christian life".[530] This simple comparison revealed the different values and attitudes of those who attended church in the same city.

The positive value of the Sunday mass presented by the Catholic Church was important in the context of its ecclesiology in that a serious decline would threaten the continued life of the Church itself.[531] Surveys showed that middle-aged and younger Catholics placed a higher value on their other Sunday activities than what they experienced at mass.[532] Even though they may have decided that these activities had a greater value for them on Sunday, it had not meant that they rejected their Catholicism. The response of so many Catholics (and others) to Christmas and Easter masses and special gatherings for weddings, funerals and first Holy Communion and Confirmation was another indication that these people had not been engaged by the pastoral renewal that stressed the value of Sunday mass. In fact, the decline in attendance compounded the failure of the long and laborious renewals of liturgy in the Catholic Church.[533] These reforms attempted to renew the mass as the principal religious expression of the life of the people.

However, the reforms have not arrested the decline in Sunday mass attendance. As a result the pastoral processes that presented the reforms can be viewed negatively, in that the people have not responded to them, therefore have lost touch with the importance of the mass in Catholic life. On the other hand, a discernment process that began by listening to the people who have stopped attending, and by seeking the advice of other churches, other religions and outside

---

[530] *Liturgy Review and Evaluation* for all Parishes in the Archdiocese of Adelaide, August, 2003.

[531] Cf. also Neil Brown "Falling Mass Attendance – a pastoral response", *ACR* (2000)1, 34f., that pointed out that it was hopelessly insufficient to inform people that they were under an obligation to attend Sunday mass without providing the motivational infrastructure for it to be truly effective.

[532] Bellemy, Why People, 14, figure 1.1 Stated Reasons for Not Attending Church.

[533] The list has been long in the making, from dialogue masses and English Scripture readings in the early 1960s to the latest documents on the Eucharist: John Paul II, Encyclical Letter, *Ecclesia De Eucharisti,* April 17, 2003, and Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments: *Redemptionis Sacramentum: On certain matters to be observed or to be avoided regarding the Most Holy Eucharist,* Rome, 2004.

critics is a positive response. This response would examine the context of what has happened holistically, engage those who search for meaning (searching for a soul) and offer pastoral guidance that was based on the progress of this dialogue. In this response the Church would seek to interpret the "signs of the times" through this discernment, and interpret the values discovered in the light of its traditions. It is also a pastoral response that would be inclusive of all.

Therefore, the Catholic decline in attendance at Sunday mass can be interpreted positively, as a "sign of the times", a call for renewal that would bring about new life. As such it would offer the Church the opportunity for a deeper appreciation of the values of the mass, particularly when considered in conjunction with the personal search for God that had began to grow in the community. The decline could be seen as a turning point for pastoral planning which would be an invitation to interpret deeper spiritual values in the life of the community. The renewal of the Council called for the mass to be experienced as "the source and summit of Christian life", a theological expression of the importance of the sacrament, and at the same time a focus on the personal expression of spiritual values experienced in everyday life. The discernment would involve both the theology and the spiritual values, and this required that those involved would be respected, understood and able to share their experiences. Therefore, the task of renewal required the discernment of the desires of the heart in the "search for a soul". In other words, the discernment of the spiritual encounter led to dialogue and reflection, and subsequently to the renewal of pastoral practice. The discernment would lead to a dialogue between these experiences and the traditional values, and consequently inspire transformation in the lives of all involved. The personal spiritual experiences of people today would provide an opportunity for the renewal of liturgical life of the Church, and become the starting point for a process that constantly discerns the direction and purpose of the renewal.

7.1.3 Discerning the Growth of Catholic Affiliation

The pastoral response to renew Sunday mass among Catholics was confused by the increase in the Catholic population. In the 1960s Mol's initial study indicated that the decline in church attendance at Protestant churches had not affected the census figures for those churches. In the 1980s "nominalism" was used to describe the relationship between those who had ceased to practice their religion, as discussed earlier.[534] By the 1990s the decline in "nominal membership" of non-Catholic churches was similar to the pattern in European countries.[535] However, the decline in Sunday mass attendance in Australia did not lead to a decline in the Catholic population according to the national census.

The majority of Catholics continued to regard themselves as part of the Church even if they did not attend Sunday mass regularly. The classification "lapsed Catholic" as an earlier eras described these people, were those who felt excluded from the sacraments because of "irregular" situations.[536] Since the 1980's this has changed to now include those who ranged from not being able to fit mass into their Sunday schedule, through to those who were hurt by the Church in some way. Malone's *Spirituality Seminars* have examples of the alienation Catholics experienced in relation to the Church.[537]

A general profile of Catholics in Australia developed and can be described in terms of their attendance at major religious ceremonies and family occasions, and in ways other than regular Sunday mass. For example, a growing number send their children to Catholic Schools, or work

[534] Cf. 2.2.2 under "Shape of Belief". Cf. also the earlier work Blomberry, *Nominalism.*

[535] Hughes, "Trends", 1, in the table, "Religious Identification in Australia: 1933-2001".

[536] Data on this group was difficult to obtain because in many cases it was a conscientious response to situations in which the Catholic often judge him or herself not worthy to be a practicing Catholic. This was best described in Mol's *RIA*, and historical works of Campion and O'Farrell.

[537] Cf. 3.1.2; fn. 158; and 4.3.2.

in Catholic social and health care services, or become involved in social justice issues.[538] The hope was expressed that changes in Church law and regulations would encourage reconciliation and heal hurts, and as a consequence people would return to mass and become part of a friendlier, less judgemental Church.[539]

In fact, however, although most dioceses developed roles of lay ministries, and even though there was a significant increase in lay ministers in the Church, the majority of Catholics have failed to appreciate where or how they fit into the life of the church.[540] The characteristics of this profile of Catholic life in Australia can be viewed as either positive or negative. There was an early attempt to respond positively by developing a sociological profile of an inner city parish on which to base pastoral action, but the pilot project was not pursued beyond the initial phase.[541] The positive grasp of the situation sought to explore and expressed other Catholic and Christian values in the lives and the work of the people, and desired to maintain contact with the faith passed on through their family or friends.[542] There was a process of discernment that began by respecting the faith of the other as a given, however great the difference or strange the expression of faith may seem.[543]

The negative response to the decline in mass attendance and lack of involvement described the situation in the Church as a "crisis of faith". This response focused on moral failure, or lack of

---

[538] Michael Brady, *Adelaide Archdiocese Mass Count Report,* (Adelaide: Pastoral Planning Department, private circulation, 2004), 5.

[539] For example, Paul Collins, John Heaps, Michael Whelan and others cited in Chapter Three.

[540] Note the conclusions on the limitations of the *CCLS*'s of 1996 and 2001: Those *at church* on a particular Sunday were surveyed for their opinion and those *who did not attend* were not surveyed, c.f., 2.2.4. At the Nation Pastoral Planers Network Conference, Melbourne 2004, Bob Dixon introduced recent work that has been undertaken by the *Australian Community Survey,* on this issue, which has yet to be published.

[541] Cf. the work of Leavey and Harrington, *Catholic Beliefs,* 19. Most recently a project studying the spirituality of young people has begun by the NCRC and the CRA, which used in depth interviews to help frame a national survey. (Personal discussions with Sharon Bond and Michael Mason at the National Pastoral Planning Network Conference (NPPN), Melbourne, 2004.)

[542] The increase in the Catholic population indicates a continued increase in baptisms. The commitment to "education in the faith" implies the reception of the sacraments of first Holy Communion and Confirmation and there is a greater attempt by parish communities to prepare parents to choose to have their children receive these sacraments.

[543] More recently, the Movement for a Better World has developed a process of diocesan renewal called the Community Animation Service. It is based on the Council's principles that encourage all people to take personal responsibility for their baptism and were enabled to do so in community an environment that inspires them to deepen their commitment.

faith. It was a negative response as it only expressed the failure of people and ignored the inability to relate the desire for the spiritual to the life of the Church. As a response it failed to bring reconciliation as it did not respect or recognise the level of faith present in the lives of the people. This led to efforts in pastoral renewal that ignored the lived experience of the people and their faith, and imposed set of values based on the desire to maintain a standard of religious behaviour.[544]

The desire to be a Catholic led to and involved a journey of faith, and this has been the basis of a positive pastoral response to renewal. This journey has been described in many ways, from St. Paul's "when I was a child", (I Cor. 13) to Fowlers *Stages of Faith and Religious Development: Implications for Church, Education, and Society*.[545] Soon after the Council the Archdiocese of Paris developed a renewal program that was a catechesis based on adult faith development.[546] It set out to respond to the decline in infant and adult baptisms that had come with instability experienced in social and public life prior to the Second World War and manifest in the riots of the 1960s. In Australia adult faith formation began with parish-based courses on scripture, theological discussion and workshops on the nature of the Church. Later, teams were formed to conduct the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults and preparation programs for infant baptisms. As well there were teams to assist with the conduct of parish based sacramental programs, marriage preparation courses, bereavement support and the pastoral care of the sick. These programs encouraged and invited lay people to relate the theological reforms to their life

[544] J. Sommet in Jossua and Geffré *Concillium,* presented a "Draft Analysis" with an overview of the conflict of the 19th Century between religion and reason, the effects of the world wars, the necessity to "rebuild a faith in the importance of the human person" and the influence of technology on an appreciation of the human "soul". He reflected on the complexity that confronted the ordinary person in the 1980s and the difficulty they had to identify and clarify for themselves where they stood. He saw that the authority of past teachings and attitudes to religion was being challenged and questioned at many levels of human behaviour.

[545] Fowler, *Stages of Faith* based his reflections on the development of faith on the principles of adult maturity as discussed above, c.f. fn. 216.

[546] M. Lesne, *Travail pedegogique et formation d'adults: Elements d'analyse,* (Paris: PUF, 1977) examined the guide developed to integrate the Christian faith with the personal interests and questions that arose in daily life. It was to assist those responsible for pastoral care. Key to its method of engaging adults has been: establishing ministry training programs, theological schools, and programs of adult catechesis that focused on the person and on the community.

experiences, and initially the numbers involved were significant.[547] However, these efforts of pastoral involvement have not arrested the decline in the regular attendance at Sunday mass, or the decline in vocations, or the dissatisfaction among the majority of Catholics.

The rituals of birth, marriage and death, and the major feasts of Christmas and Easter, and the Catholic School continue to maintain contact with the majority of Catholics.[548] These encounters provide the pastoral care that accepts the laity at their own particular stage of faith, assists them to understand and to relate their desires and concerns to the traditions of the Church. They provided an opportunity for ministers to interpret the actions and desires expressed by those who come to them as the "signs of the times". Each occasion is an opportunity for the spiritual aspirations of those involved to be recognised and engaged. This response contrasted with those that were imposed as a discipline, judged those involved to be error and demanded conformity to an authority that would not listen.[549]

The "lapsed Catholic" challenged the pastoral response that judged people as such. This nomenclature underscored the negative impact on individuals and could only be reversed when the reasons for their absence from mass or acceptance in the Church were examined more closely. The challenge required discernment rather than correction. The focus of the discernment was on the positive aspect of the faith of those involved. In other words, the Church must find opportunities to express more fully the faith of all involved. This response

[547] Between 1976-1979 programs were held at St. Michael's College, Henley Beach, S.A. with an average attendance of 60-70 people. The courses ranged from four to six weeks and included Scripture, Moral Issues and liturgy.

[548] The Catholic School Systems in Australia are the significant contact point with Catholic life. Its impact on the life of the Church deserves more than this study can allow. However, it involves a large and ongoing number of studies from the sociology of Catholic Schools by Marcellin Flynn, which began in the 1970s and was a pathfinder in this area of study, through to the degree courses presently offered at Universities and Theology Colleges across the nation. Marcellin Flynn, *Some Catholic Schools In Action: A Sociological Study Of Sixth Form Students in Twenty-one Catholic Boys' High Schools, (*Sydney: Catholic Education Office, 1975) and *Catholic Schools And The Communication Of Faith: a Study Of The Mission Of Catholic Schools Today For Parents, Teachers And Students,* (Homebush: St. Paul's, 1979). The work of the Adelaide Catholic Education Office involved religious curriculum development which set out to integrate the experience of young people into the traditions and teaching of the Church as part of the total teaching curriculum and not limited to religious studies.

[549] The practices of judging people as heretics and of excommunication exclude certain of Christ's faithful, but "the wrongs done by those who have borne or bear the name of Christian" have been recognised more recently in the document by the International Theological Commission, *Memory and Reconciliation: The Church and the Faults of the Past,* (Strathfield: St. Paul's Publication, 2000).

would set out to respect and support the faith of those not fulfilling the expectations of authority, or the traditions as they have been expressed.[550]

7.1.4 The Decline and the Increase in the Commitment to Ministry

The decline in those entering priesthood and religious life began in the 1960s and has continued to the present day. The decline has affected the life of the Church in the style and manner of its leadership and ministry. More seriously it has de-valued the commitment of service to the community since it is the tradition of the Church that priests and religious have taken religious vows to live their lives wholly dedicated to God in the service of the mission of the church.[551] They have forsaken marriage and family, personal riches, and individual choices of where, when and how to serve the in the mission of the Church. Thus, the loss of vocations was not only a loss of leadership and resources, but also a loss of the value of life long commitment and dedication in the service of the community. As such, the decline was perceived as negative and the pastoral responses focused on recruiting more candidates as the only means to restore the values of the priesthood and religious life in the Church.

The decline in vocations followed the record number of young people entering seminaries and novitiates up until the 1960s and had another consequence other than the few priests and religious.[552] Along with the decline the responsibility for many of the ministries were offered to lay people that were previously performed by priests and religious. This occurred particularly in the areas of Catholic Education, Health Services and diocesan administration. It was also seen as

---

[550] Further to this was the personal suffering of Yves Congar prior to his pre-eminent work at the Second Vatican Council. Cf. Gabriel Flynn, "Yves Congar", 50.

[551] The Roman Catholic Priest is either diocesan (secular) or religious (regular) clergy. They both vow or promise celibacy as a condition of ordination. Other Catholic Priests in some Eastern Rites, for example in the Ukrainian Catholic Church, have been permitted to marry prior to their ordination. In the Roman Catholic Church there are exceptions, for example Anglican married priests have been ordained as Catholic priests in recent years.

[552] Paul Cashen, *Called to be Priest,* paper given at the Adelaide Vocations Seminar, 7th November, 1995.

a response to the Council's encouragement for the laity to respond to their role in the church's life. These two consequences are now considered.

7.1.5 The Consequence of the "Crisis" in Vocations

The decline in the number of ordained clergy and religious communities has reached crisis point in the Church in Australia as in other parts of the world.[553] Responses to this "crisis" have ranged from promoting the ministry of married deacons, importing priests from other countries, appointing lay men and women as "pastoral associates" to work in parishes to support the priests, the establishment of lay communities of evangelisation to debates concerning married priests and the ordination of women. Since the Council there has been a dramatic increase in lay people taking on ministries that were previously the work of priests and religious. This occurred in visiting and caring for the sick, in parish administration, in liturgy, in prayer groups, and in social services to the poor, the isolated, the elderly, refugees and many others. Each has added their contribution to the diversification of ministries, but they have not influenced the discernment of more vocations to priesthood or religious life.

The laity responded by recognising their involvement in the mission of the church and was a positive sign. Their response to service in the Church, however, was often motivated incorrectly "to help father in his work". This latter phrase reflected poorly on the understanding of the relationship between priests and laity in the life of the Church. It inherently underlay the difficulty of determining the responsibilities for the ministries that laity can offer. Pragmatism reinforced a dependent link between ordained ministry and laity in the mission of the church. This deepened the crisis because it conveyed an attitude and response to mission that ignored the new relationships expressed by the Council. "The baptised, by regeneration and the anointing of the Holy Spirit, are consecrated into a spiritual house and a holy priesthood" which

[553] In 1992 John Paul II linked "the crisis of priestly vocations" to "a crisis that is rooted in and accompanied by even more radical crises of faith". *Pastores*, #37.

was interrelated to "the ministerial or hierarchical priesthood. Each of them in its own special way is a participation in the one priesthood of Christ".[554] The Council and later popes recognised that this relationship was not one of dependence, but of mutual participation in ministry. It acknowledged the dignity and respect due to all. It assessed the importance of the ordained priesthood for the life of the Church in so far as priests brought the presence of Christ into the lives of Catholics as distinct from the functions they perform in ministry. At the same time, the involvement of the laity in the mission of the Church was not solely "to help father". These points of departure were formulated in the documents of the Council.[555]

The influence of Yves Congar on the development of the Council documents drew heavily on the difference he expressed between the "priesthood of all believers associated with their baptism and the Eucharist", and the ordained priesthood. The latter "is at the service of the spiritual sacrifice of the People of God through the Eucharist".[556] This change of emphasis concerned the nature of the relationship of Christ's presence in the life and ministry of his followers, which was to be one of service. This applied to the ordained ministry and was expressed by John XXIII's by his use of the phrase "the servant of the servants of God".[557] As will be discussed below, the relationship between the ordained priesthood and the common priesthood of all of Christ's faithful was subject to cultural and traditional influences. It was expressed in service, and this was fundamental to its pragmatic expression as well as being a charism that inspired its charity and dedication to others. The Council opened new ground in this relationship by its emphasis on the common priesthood of the People of God as the foundation and expression of the role and responsibilities of the laity and clergy within the mission of the church.[558] Consequently, the differences clearly defined in the previous era of

[554] *LG.* #10.

[555] *OT.* #9 and *AA. #10.* Cf. also in the synod document *The Ministerial Priesthood*, November 1971, #5.

[556] Flynn, "Yves Congar", 66.

[557] This was the title used by John XXIII and Paul VI in the Documents of the Second Vatican Council.

[558] *LG.* #10.

church life according to custom, practice and vision, became blurred in the post-council era.[559] The pastoral response for those involved in ministry was one that encouraged priests, religious and people to discern what changes were required in their relationships, as all were called to collaborate with each other in ministry. This response became all the more crucial as the call to ministry demanded a discernment of the distinct abilities and skills required and a redefinition of the role of the laity in all areas of Church life.[560]

7.1.6 Discerning the Call to Ordained or Religious Commitment

The discernment for the ordained and religious commitment has changed emphasis in recent years. It has involved a personal response to live a life in which the mystery of God's presence was manifest in service to the community. The decline in vocations has raised questions concerning the origin of the call:

> Has it been a personal call from God to a life that has become too hard to live?
>
> Has the focus of the personal call moved from a personal choice, to one that is recognised by the community in those with particular gifts and human qualities that are needed today?

The former required a discernment that had been based on an individual participation in a preparation period that identified suitability, recommendation and commitment. The latter question was answered in a dialogue within the Christian community. This dialogue began by identifying the ability of the people to search for God in their lives. It demanded openness to others that encouraged the sharing of experiences of God. The sharing became a scrutiny that would lead to transformation and a commitment to service based on the personal response to the love of God. The values and demands of the Church's mission to bring the gospel to all

[559] Mol's comments in *Religion* 213, point to the link between the higher education standard for Catholics in Australia at the time of the Second Vatican Council and their response to the "increased democratisation of Catholic institutions".

[560] The relationships among clergy, religious and laity have changed markedly, and continue to do so. This has affected their ability to collaborate in ministry and to support each other in their respective roles within the Church and society. The point made here without pursuing it, is that the discernment of the changed roles of clergy and religious in particular will be an important factor in pastoral planning and the future shape of the Church.

were also discerned, as decisions based on pragmatism, or reward for past deeds, or fixed opinion, denied the place of discernment in the call to ministry. There have been examples of parishes falling into discord and disharmony because the good will and hard work of those in ministry did not discern the suitability of others to assist them.

The discernment process will also assist in determining the pastoral implications of fewer priests and religious in ministry. The assessment of the gifts of each individual and the task of determining the relationship they have with the community they serve produces a dilemma for the Church. A pastoral response would begin with a spiritual process that discerned with the ministers a renewal of their appreciation of the call of God, and this would occur in concert with the community they are called to serve. The fewer ministers available the greater the demand for discernment by all involved. The starting point was the most difficult phase, as it required a step into the unknown. It began by encountering the mystery of God in the difficulties and challenges of the everyday. Similar to the "search for a soul" this encounter would take place in an environment that created pressure and threatened fragmentation. It has a lot in common with the fears and frustrations of the "Spirituality Revolution" that has taken place in the lives of many young people in Australia. The discernment was spiritual process, particularly in the "holistic" sense of being part of the struggle to survive and understand the physical, social and intellectual environment in which the relationship with God was encountered. To focus only on the pragmatic and juggle the fewer numbers to cover the demands of ministry would not involve a spiritual discernment that called for a wider view of the life of the Church. The spirit might have been present, but more as a desperate pious thought. The analogy of Cassian described the qualities sought after in the discernment of ministry as being at a crossroads, where one road leads to hope and the other to despair.[561]

[561] Cf. 5.4.3.

Most priests and religious have lived through the implementation of the decrees of the Council in so far as this has taken place in their local church or community. The implementation has involved re-structuring administrative procedures in dioceses, parishes and other ministries and developed new ministries. The clergy and religious have also had to adapt to the new liturgy and the celebration of the sacraments. They have updated their theology and scripture, and engaged in pastoral studies that range from psychology and counselling to social studies and financial management. All this activity has made the commitment to ministry, at least initially, an exciting and busy time and it was the raw data on which to exercise discernment as the situation of their ministry changes again. However, the principal changes in their life and ministry have not been identified. For some the radicalness of the changes has been a recent discovery and suggested the demise of the Church, as they have known it. Many clergy and religious have lost sight of or do not understand their role within the Church, and there have been those who sought a dispensation to return to the lay state.[562] The hard fact has been that the life and ministry of the priest and religious for the past thirty years has not been able to inspire the laity to join the ranks of those who remain. The pragmatic response to "crisis" in priestly and religious life has not been successful. An effective pastoral renewal will discern the challenges that face the community and the individual, lead to personal and communal transformation for the good of all. It will not remain a debate about the structures needed to maintain the *status quo*.

7.1.7 Discerning The Call To Ministry

The call of all the baptised to ministry came in the context of the Council's call for personal renewal for the sake of the mission of the Church. This was fundamental to the inspiration of John XXIII and Paul VI as they held together the factions and contrary opinions and arguments of the bishops of the Council, and encouraged them to realign the direction and focus of the Church. The investigations of Alberigo into the workings of the Council, particularly with the

[562] John Paul II, *Pastores, #11,* "the crisis of identity".

insights of the diary of John XXIII, revealed the pope's personal struggle to insist on dialogue amidst the intrigue, discord and debate during the Council. The personal renewal he called for encouraged the participants to discern their personal preferences and stances and at the same time be faithful to the inspiration to reform the Church and enter into a dialogue with the modern world.[563] Flynn relates how Congar identified the personal struggle of the pope to encourage and involve the Roman Curia in this renewal.[564] At the local level, the Australian bishops during the Council struggled to dialogue in this way, both with each other and with life in Australia, and this struggle continued after the Council.[565] The terms "conservative" or "progressive" were not used on the Council floor, but soon after became the source of division within the church that endured to the present day. It can be argued that the reforms of the Council and the conflicts that arose in their implementation, released the Church from the "old isolationist mentality". Areas of discussion and opinion previously protected by statements of doctrine became centres of debate. The documents of the Council challenged priests and religious, for example, to find new ways of responding to the world as ministers and as people. The uncertainty that developed in the community had its affect on vocations, and as the statistics have shown, the decline began towards the end of the 1960s.[566] Many left their religious commitment and, in subsequent years, with the aging of the clergy and religious they could not be replaced.[567]

The call to ministry and the call to renewal caused conflict during the Council and later when the reforms were being implemented. The uncertainty that this produced has the statistical evidence

---

563 Alberigo, *History I,* 167.

564 Flynn, "Yves Congar", 59.

565 Jeffery J. Murphy, "Developing Perceptions about the Council and the Preparation Phase: 1960-62", ACR 79(2002)1, 75; "Romanita Mark II: Australian Bishops at Vatican II (The Second Session:1963)", ACR 79(2002)3, 341; and "Sane, Advanced Conservatism", ACR 80(2003)2, 219.

566 Cf. Appendix Two, Chart Two.

567 Paul Cashen, *Parish and Pastoral Leadership, (*a paper delivered to the International Rectors Conference, at Leuven, 1998), figure 6. More data has been gathered on the significance of the decline in the number of priests in Europe by Kerkhofs in *Europe*.

in the decline of vocations, and in recent times other factors were also identified.[568] The demand for authenticity in the lives of those dedicated to the church, the inadequate support for personal lives of the priests and religious, and the demands of an expanding ministry were identified but have not been researched in Australia.[569] A recent review of a diocesan lay ministry program revealed the extent of the demands and the expectations in the Church and society on those involved in ministry both clerics and laity.[570] In 1992 the document on seminary formation *Pastores Dabo Vobis*, recognised the "intimate bond between the priest's spiritual life and the exercise of his threefold ministry of word, sacrament and pastoral charity".[571] In order to achieve this, priestly formation involved primarily the discernment of a balanced and integrated personality. Candidates for the priesthood required a personality that engaged the human dimensions of life, deepened and personalised the spiritual life, achieved a high level of intellectual ability, and developed pastoral skills in the service of the people.[572] For the few seminarians in formation today the opportunities for personal growth and the integration of faith into their life of ministry and service hold promise for the future. Attempts have been made to assist lay people with similar formation programs.[573] The place of discernment was seen as essential in the formation of ministers, and its constant focus determined the integration of the life of faith with the human, spiritual, theological and pastoral skills. The critical challenge was the ongoing personal renewal of the minister. In other words, the ministers accepted this challenge when they opened their hearts to the mystery of God present in each person, and began a journey of dialogue with the search for meaning and the experience of mystery, in a process of discernment with others.

---

[568] John Paul II, *Pastores*, #11.

[569] Gerald Gleason, (ed.), *Priesthood: The Hard Questions,* (Newton: EJ Dwyer, 1993), ix. In the introduction Gleason reflects on "a decisive shift in the Catholic understanding of ordained ministry during the latter half of the twentieth Century. No longer is the priest elevated as a more or less isolated mediator *between* God and the Christian people. Rather, the ordained priest finds his identity *within* the community of the church."

[570] Notes of the *Review of the Church Ministry Program*, (Archdiocese of Adelaide, 2001).

[571] John Paul II *Pastores,* #26.

[572] Ibid. #43-59.

[573] The situation with seminaries and lay formation programs today has been difficult to determine. In Australia, the division among the bishops concerning seminary formation programs, and lay programs, has continued to fragment the renewal opportunities in Australia.

The formation for ministry and renewal available to previous generations did not have the same focus or the same context as the present situation. In fact personal and guided reflection on life and ministry was not a high priority as it got in the way of the demands of ministry. The demands of ministry included conflicts of interest in life styles, contradictory attitudes and opinions across age groups, many different approaches to ministerial practice, little regard for physical well being, the demands of developing new pastoral skills, the confusing advice from "head office". These demands and many others impacted on the ability to exercise ministry and to live-up to the commitment expected. The Council's call to renewal was a spiritual call that can only be addressed by discernment and reflection. John XXIII used the language of the time to express hope for the Church:

> Illuminated by the light of this Council, the Church – we confidently trust – will become greater in spiritual riches and gaining the strength of new energies therefrom, she will look to the future without fear. In fact by bringing herself up to date where required, and by the wise organization of mutual co-operation, the Church will make men, families, and peoples really turn their minds to heavenly things.[574]

The challenge for the Church in the decline of the number of priests and religious was to discern their meaning in the context of the renewal called for by the Council and in the reinstatement of the role of the laity in mission and ministry. Therefore, the decline in the number of priests and religious and the increase in lay ministries were interrelated, but one was not necessarily the consequence of the other. As "signs of the times" each has resulted from the renewal undertaken by the Council, which demanded both personal transformation and a focus on service to others. The personal and the ministerial aspects of renewal were based on discernment and involved a continual dialogue with others. This kept the individual spiritual experience of the call to ministry open to a "holistic" appreciation of the situation, circumstance and context in which the call took place. The "search for a soul", as experienced by Australians, opened the way for individuals to experience mystery as the essence of personal growth and

[574] John XXIII, *Opening Speech,* 2.

fullness. Malone's seminars recalled moments of mystery that the participants had experienced and this led to a greater appreciation of mystery in the Australian context.[575] The "search for a soul" also challenged priests and religious to discover their place in society today, that was to identify the mystery of their calling within the context of everyday life.

7.1.8 The Disaffection and Personal Responsibility

The third area of concern arose from the confrontation of Church Authority with the changing culture of the times which it had been developing since the Council. It has been described in terms of a "crisis of faith" since many of the difficulties faced by the Church today had their origin in the confrontative nature of the exercise of authority.[576] The post-modern attitude to authority questioned the ability of authorities to govern and legislate justly in a pluralist society.[577] The exercise of governance by church authority was debated along similar lines, highlighted by the challenges to procedures and processes in its attempt to bring about the renewals of the Council.[578] Concern for the manner and quality of leadership or authority in the Church was amplified by the moral scandals and corruption within the ranks of the clergy. The scandals of paedophilia and sexual misbehaviour and inappropriateness, stolid and unchangeable pastoral practices and financial mismanagement and fraud challenged both the processes of accountability and also the attitudes and presumptions of the people. They affected a range of decisions and situations in Church life, particularly in personal issues. It was difficult to maintain the image of incorruptibility and high standards of previous generations. The traditional

[575] Cf. 3.4 "A More Spiritual Theology"

[576] John Paul II, *Pastores,* #32: "The cultural context which we have just recalled, and which affects Christians themselves and especially young people, helps us to understand the spread of the crisis of priestly vocations, a crisis that is rooted in and accompanied by even more radical crises of faith."

[577] Robert Bellah, et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life,* (San Francisco: University of California, 1986), and Francis Fukuyama, *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order*, (New York: Free Press, 1999).

[578] Edward Schillebeeckx, *Church: The Human Story of God, (*New York: Crossroad, 1995), Chapter 4 was entitled "Towards Democratic Rule of the Church".

response of Australian Catholics had been to recognise the good and distinguish it from the evil that had occurred.[579]

7.2 Events that Led to the "Crisis" with Authority

The significant events and actions that brought disaffection to Catholics in Australia are important to note. The first significant difficulty came as a result of the response by the bishops to the encyclical *Humane Vitae* of 1968.[580] An interpretation of the teaching contained in the document was not made clear by the Australian bishops until 1971. Until then, the varied responses and attitudes of individual bishops gave little respect to the consciences of Catholic married couples, nor to the priests who had the task of assisting them. Another concern for the community was the departure of so many priests and religious from their life of service and commitment to the church.[581] This brought uncertainty to the value of priestly and religious vows, and by inference, the permanence of marriage vows. The uncertainty that arose brought doubt to those who experienced the harshness of religious discipline in their lives, to family and personal relationships and to the value of church leadership as an expression of God's providence.[582] An example that affected many families was the altar-girls "on again off again saga". The uncertainty alienated many mothers as they saw their daughters hurt by the lack of concern and due care with the imposition of rules and regulations in manner that belittled those

---

[579] Mol*, Religion*, 94.

[580] Andrew Greeley, in *The Catholic Revolution: New Wine, Old Wine Skins and the Second Vatican Council,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 36, analyses the change in attitude of the laity to birth control before and after *Humane Vitae* in 1968 and shows the growth of people making their own choice over a five year period. This research has not been done in Australia, but the personal experience of priests recognises this as important turning point for many Catholics here as well.

[581] John Paul II *Fides et Ratio: On the Relationship between Faith and Reason.* (St. Paul's Publications, 2001), #11, "This crisis arose in the years immediately following the Council, expressed this. It was based on an erroneous understanding of—and sometimes even a conscious bias against—the doctrine of the conciliar magisterium. Undoubtedly, herein lies one of the reasons for the great number of defections experienced then by the Church, losses which did serious harm to pastoral ministry and priestly vocations, especially missionary vocations."

[582] This was portrayed in the ABC TV series *Brides of Christ*, first screened in 1992. The International Theological Commission's *Memory and Reconciliation: The Church and the Faults of the Past,* (Strathfield: St. Paul's Publications, 2002) acknowledged the difficulties and the suffering the Church had brought to many people, in "an historical examination of conscience", 53. Included in this publication was the Australian Catholic Bishop's Statement of Repentance, "For our faults and failing, for the hurt and scandal they have caused…", 95.

involved.[583] The women felt prejudiced and patronised by the exercise of church authority, and they were the very ones who contributed so much to pastoral care in the church and beyond.[584]

The most devastating scandal occurred with the uncovering of paedophilia among the clergy and religious and although the perpetrators were few in number the betrayal of trust profoundly affected all. The abuse of the children had further repercussions for church leaders because of the protective manner of some bishops towards the clergy involved. These leaders failed to recognise the gravity of the crimes committed and to provide the compassion and justice required for those abused to rebuild trust and regain their self-worth.[585] The issues of moral failure among the clergy and the inability of church leaders to face the pain and suffering involved, brought further disillusionment to the community and to Catholics in regard to the exercise of authority in the Church.

Other concerns have been expressed such as the appointment of "difficult" bishops and the censuring and removal of other bishops who were regarded as compassionate and caring,[586] together with the pastoral issue of the role of the women in the Church. In some dioceses the general ban on the third rite of the sacrament of reconciliation confirmed for many that the hoped for reforms of Council were not going to happen. Paul Collins' writings provided

---

583 In the International Columns of *The Tablet,* the following comment was made; "The admission of altar girls to serve at Mass was confirmed by the Vatican in 1994. Altar girls were therefore here to stay, according to a press statement released by Cardinal Christopher Schönborn, Archbishop of Vienna. The cardinal said the first draft of the document had already been turned down by the curial cardinals as "too conservative", and there was therefore no reason for concern". *The Tablet* 32(2003)10: available from http://www.thetablet.co.uk/cgi-bin/citw.cgi. Internet accessed 13/09/03.

584 *The Situation of Women in Australia*, (Sydney: Australian Catholic Bishop's Conference, Social Justice Statement, 1976); and *Participation of Women in the Catholic Church in Australia*, (Canberra: The Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference, 1999).

585 Two documents reveal the importance of this issue in the Church: *Towards Healing - December 2000: Principles and procedures in responding to complaints of abuse against personnel of the Catholic Church of Australia,* (Australian Catholic Bishop's Conference & the Australian Conference of Leaders of Religious Institutes, first edition, 1996, revised 2000) and Integrity in Ministry: A Document of Principles and Standards for Catholic Clergy & Religious in Australia, (National Committee for Professional Standards, 1999). Both documents have been revised again, *Towards,* in 2002 and *Integrity,* in 2004.

586 John Heaps, *A Love that Dares to Question: A Bishop Challenges his Church,* (Melbourne: Aurora/David Lovell Publishing, 1998), was a personal response to the experience of resigning as a bishop.

examples that focused on the dissatisfaction and disaffection that people felt with these and other issues.[587]

7.2.1 Discernment and the Exercise of Authority

It would be simplistic to conclude that these issues by themselves have turned people away from the Church or away from God, and the interpretation of the statistics show that this has not happened.[588] However, the manner of the exercise of the three-fold authority of the Church to teach, to sanctify and to govern has raised concerns. These concerns have been responded to as "crises", but could be resolved positively through dialogue and discernment. John XXIII addressed similar situations when he convoked the Council. His purpose was to renew the Church's mission so that it responded to the modern world and the "spiritual needs" of the time. He called for personal renewal, dialogue and reflection to discern and appreciate the presence of God in the lives of all people. The renewal challenged everyone who was baptised, beginning with the leaders of the Church, and their renewal called them to be "servants of the servants of God". This form of renewal demanded a change from the defensive and restrictive attitudes of a triumphal Church, to attitudes that would address the issues of the time with confidence, recognising the presence of God in people's lives. The "manner" of this renewal was to be pastoral and was to involve openness and compassion for others in their situation, and a dialogue with the people that began with listening to their concerns.

The concerns discussed above, the decline in Sunday mass and vocations, were not those of the majority of Catholics in Australia. Their "crisis of faith" had more to do with their disaffection with the manner in which leadership had been exercised in the Church. They felt that they did

[587] Paul Collins, *Mixed Blessings: John Paul II And The Church Of The Eighties*, (Penguin: Ringwood, 1986); *No Set Agenda: Australia's Catholic Church Faces An Uncertain Future* , (David Lovell Publishing: Melbourne, 1991); *God's Earth*; *Papal Power;* and *Between the Rock*.

[588] The number of Catholics in national census indicates that has not happened: cf. Philip Hughes, "Using Data from the Census and *NCLS* in Religious Organizations", *Pointers,* 12(2002)3, 4-7.

not belong or had been excluded.[589] In particular, they were affected by the judgements had been made about their behaviour, rather than attempts made to discern the difficulties they encountered in their lives. The negative attitude indicated that those involved in the exercise of pastoral leadership had failed to recognise the "signs of the times" in the lives of the people. This highlighted the tension that existed in the Church. The tension experienced has been described as between the continuing revelation of the divine presence in the lives of the people, as "the signs of the times", and the efforts to maintain the heritage of the Church's teaching and scripture in the exercise of the *magisterium* of the Church. An effective pastoral response to this tension would begin with a dialogue between the people of God and those who have the responsibility of their pastoral care. The relationship that comes from this dialogue would give expression to the mystical quality or the sacramental nature of pastoral service of Church's ministers. The next section outlines the development of an effective pastoral response that would address the dissatisfaction of the majority of Catholics today.

7.3 The Relationship between Spirituality and Magisterium

Catholic life and practice changed significantly in the past fifty years. As has been demonstrated above, the change in Catholic life in Australia was both a response to the reforms in the Church and the challenges of religious experience in many areas of personal and social life. The latter were also the challenges faced by the Council as it sought to direct the Church's response to the modern world. The Council proposed that a balance be maintained in the life of the Church though a consensus of "the People as a whole". This implied a new direction within the structures of Church administration, one which involved dialogue and discernment:

> Thanks to a supernatural sense of the faith which characterizes the People as a whole, it manifests this unerring quality when, "from the bishops down to the last member of the laity," it shows universal agreement in matters of faith and morals.[590]

[589] Cf. Morris West's response fn. 504.

[590] *GS*. #12. The quotation used is from St. Augustine, and the commentator relates this to Cardinal Newman "who foresaw its importance for the theology of the laity". For a further development of the relationships within the people of God in which the

The disaffection that developed in the Church from that time related to this ideal. It was a product of those attitudes expressed by church authorities that did not engage the majority of the Catholics in Australia. A recent example of this attitude was the *Statement of Conclusions.*[591] This document clearly expressed a lack of appreciation of the culture and growth of the local Catholic community in Australia, nor did it or other documents address the situations that faced the people of the day.[592] The *Statement of Conclusions* reported on the "Ad Limina" visit of the Australian Bishops to Rome 1988. It was introduced with a brief summary of the positive aspects of the social and spiritual life of Australians, and recognised the "search for authenticity and spirituality" as a specific indicator of general community values. The rest of the document, a further twenty pages, was a negative criticism of Catholic life in Australia. This criticism expressed an ignorance of the some of the most distinctive values of the Australian character and culture.[593] The document was based on the principles propounded by the encyclical *Fides et Ratio,* as were the regional synodal documents of the time.[594] In Australia the reaction ranged from disappointment to personal hurt, not over the principles of the relationship between faith and reason, but because of its manner and style. These documents were not regarded as a way forward in the face of the difficulties experienced by the members of the Church.[595] The "crisis

---

respect and acceptance of each member is recognised c.f. Edward Schillebeeckx, *Church: the Human Story of God,*(New York: Crossroads, 1994), 207f.

[591] *Statement of Conclusions: Interdicasterial Meeting with a Representation of the Australian Bishops:* available from http://www.catholic.org.au/whatsnew/1998/ 1998nov_curia.htm. Internet accessed 13/10/2003.

[592] John Paul II, *The Church in Oceania*, 2001, (Strathfield: St. Paul's Publications, 2002)was the principal document with an Australian focus, although the general tenor of its content addressed the difficulties for the Church in the Pacific Island communities. It has been adapted to the Australian situation, but did not recognize the role that the Church in Australia has had within Australian culture itself. This was expressed more fully by David Pasco in "What Sort of Church for What Sort of World?" *ACR,* 79(2002)4, 428f, when he asked further questions of the role of the Synod in the Australian context.

[593] For example, the "egalitarian" Australian has been characterised as a person who has overcome prejudice and adversity and accepted the friendship and companionship of those in like circumstances. It has developed in conjunction with a guarded attitude towards authority, based on the dissatisfaction with British rule from the early days of settlement, and everyday struggle to survive in a harsh environment. Cf. 6.1.1, "The Impact of Terra Australis". The *Statement of Conclusions* criticised this element of the Australian character, "egalitarianism" was in the European context as "having little regard for authority", a judgement that expressed ignorance rather than understanding. *Statement,* 4.

[594] John Paul II, *Fides.* In *Compass* 13(1999)1, 13-23, three Australian theologians summarised the principle themes of this document. In his article Gregory Moses referred to the "complicated balancing act" that understanding the document required, and suggested that it did little to assist Catholics to relate the principles involved to their lives

[595] The principal concern in the public response to the document was the lack of acceptance and understanding of the culture and make-up of the Australian society. The criticism of the egalitarian attitude of Australians to authority continues the misunderstanding

of faith" identified in the documents highlighted the tension among so many Catholics who saw in the attitude expressed by Church authorities a lack of pastoral concern and their failure to understand the reasons for the changed in practice and behaviour in the lives of the people.[596]

In the light of the Council an approach by Church authorities to discern their role and duty in a manner that displayed dialogue and respect to the members of the Church, involved a re-assessment of these pronouncements and subsequent actions. At stake was the validity of their commitment to renew the mission of the whole Church. The dialogue required would in turn provide the data that would lead to this re-assessment and the challenge to discern the values and concerns of those who seek to give expression to their faith and experience of God. The statement from *Gaudium et Spes* cited above, considered two important elements to reflect on in this process. The first was the "supernatural sense of faith which characterises the People as a whole". The second was the duty of the *magisterium* or teaching authority of the bishops to consider their place among the "People as a whole".[597] This latter duty characterised the sacredness of the role of church authority and was based on the awe and respect that each and every human being was due, individually and collectively.[598] The dignity and sacredness of each person was the challenge put forward in *Lumen Gentium* in the statement that addressed the "universal call to holiness".[599] In *Gaudium et Spes* every human person was "made in the image of God" and this was the source of their sacredness and dignity.[600] These two principles, universality of "the call to holiness" and relational overtones of being "made in the image of

---

that Mol identified in 1985, c.f., 2.4.3. The response, in most instances, did not reject the authority of the Vatican Curial Officials to advise and give direction as the documents suggested. Rather it called for a balanced dialogue that would allow the reality of the situation in Australia to be addressed. A public forum organised by *Catalyst for Renewal* in the Sydney Town Hall, the Statement by Cardinal Clancy, and the numerous articles in the press and in *Compass, ACR, Pacifica,* and *The Tablet,* made the point that this misunderstanding was a sign that the balance had not been achieved.

[596] A later *Letter from the Australian Bishops to the Catholic People of Australia,* 14th April, 1999, (Canberra: Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, 1999) tried to alleviate the impact of the *Statement* and recognised that the challenge of the local church was to engage the issues of life in an environment and atmosphere of "constructive dialogue that builds harmony", #11.

[597] Cf. the development of the role of the *magisterium,* 7.5.2.

[598] Schillebeeckx, *Church*, 214, expressed the balance "Speaking with authority and letting oneself be told".

[599] *LG.* #40.

[600] *GS.* #22.

God", were essential in the discernment of the spiritual experiences of the "People as a whole". It was a process that would interpret the spirit of God at work in the lives of the people in the context of scripture and tradition.

John XXIII expressed "predominantly pastoral character" of the role of the *magisterium*:

> The substance of the ancient doctrine of the deposit of faith is one thing, the way in which it is presented is another. And it is the latter that must be taken into great consideration with patience if necessary, everything being measured in the forms and proportions of a Magisterium which is predominantly pastoral in character.

The Council was not required if its task was to reiterate or restate the "fundamental doctrines of the church" for the world today.[601]

The dilemma of dissatisfaction in the Church has its roots in the ineffective pastoral responses to the renewals of the Council. The Church was called to acknowledge the influence of the changed circumstances in which people lived and to interpret the teaching and practice of the Church accordingly, rather than continue to react to the changes that occurred. The latter situation as has been seen, judged that the changes produced a "crisis of faith" that required determined action to repair the damage inflicted. The resolution of the dilemma began by acknowledging the respect due to all people, and required openness to the transformation that this entailed for all involved. It was the road that led to fulfilment and happiness, rather than the one that reacted with judgement and the fear of change.

7.3.1 "Sensus Fidei": Communal Discernment

The *Sensus Fidei,* (the "supernatural sense of faith" of the people) was expressed in *Lumen Gentium* when it referred to the contribution made by Saint Augustine, John Henry Newman and Edward

[601] Alberigo, *History II,* 366-7 recalls the concern at the end of the first session with the numerous "Roman" drafts and that they were "insufficient for the purposes of the *aggiornamento* that was being proclaimed".

Schillebeeckx to the Council's reflections.[602] *Sensus Fidei* had its origin in the doctrinal and liturgical disputes of the early Church and extending to the time of the Fathers. It was a concept that understood God's continued revelation in the life of the Church that interacted with the cultures and situations of the world as the mission of the Church reached out to all people. More recently, Cardinal Walter Kasper explained it as the third dimension in the authoritative expressions of the church: "in decision making one has to take into account the communal dimension, that is one has to listen to the witness of the faithful and their *sensus fidei*".[603] This statement concluded his reflections on the *plurality* of the church and acknowledged the particular situation that the faithful experience in Western Cultures today. Plurality in the social and global environment raised issues and challenged the traditional values and expressions of what had been passed down from previous generations. On the one hand, this situation expressed a creative energy in the positive responses to human challenges. On the other, the complexity of modern life could dissipate this energy into individualistic and self-centred abandonment of the dignity and respect due to others. Kasper focused on the dialogue called for by the Council: a dialogue that took place between the Church and other religions, between religion and science, among Christian churches, and within the Catholic Church itself.[604]

For Kasper, the *Sensus Fidei* also reflected the democratic principles enshrined in forms of contemporary government institutions. These were based on dignity and respect for everyone, and the responsibility of each individual to maintain and promote the common good. Maintaining a balance between individualism and totalitarianism was the duty of good government, the servant of the community by whom it was appointed. In a pluralist society, the common bond was established by respect for the dignity of the other and concern for the

---

[602] *LG. #12,* in Walter Abbot's edition of *The Documents of Vatican II,* (London-Dulbin: Geoffrey Chapman, 1956), 29, fn. 29 and 30.

[603] Walter Kasper, *The Future of Christianity: Truth and Dialogue in a Post-Modern Era,* (a paper delivered at Bonython Hall, Adelaide University, July 4th, 2003), 13.

[604] Cf. the *Ecumenical* character of the Council from the announcement by John XXIII's and the hope and the concern that it caused at the time, Alberigo *History I,* 18f.

common good.[605] The democratic system was the process that ensured this in such a society and gave expression to the differences of culture, religion, and creed. It was a system that constantly reviewed its laws and attitudes by a process of discernment and aimed to achieve a way of life that was fulfilling for and respectful of all its citizens.

However, the government of Church differed from government institutions because of the different relationships within its membership. All Christians were called by their baptism to fidelity to Christ and were committed to "love God with your whole heart, mind and soul, and your neighbour as yourself" (Lk 10:27). The authority of the Church was derived from this relationship with Christ in that its interaction with the lives of Christ's Faithful was based on this commitment. The authority of Church expressed itself in the service of all, faithfulness to the mission and the message of Christ, and by process of reflection and discernment with the members, the transmission of the message of the gospel from age to age and culture to culture. As such the personal experience of the love of God was the source of the continuing dialogue between the authority of the Church in its tradition and the interpretation of scripture, and the living of the command of love in the individual and changing circumstances of the world. As the Council and subsequent statements from the popes have stated, the "Church in the Modern World" was called to renew and reform its appreciation and presentation of the message of Christ in order to fulfil its mission to bring Christ's presence to all people.[606]

Thus, the task of interpreting the tradition belonged to the *magisterium* in dialogue with the "People as a whole". The ordained priesthood continued the traditions of leadership in the church. Those ordained exercised this office as a personal responsibility in communion with those who held similar authority, and "with regard to the communal dimension, to listen to the

[605] Bellah, *Habits*, for example, writes of the importance of the "commonwealth" in the socio-political dimension of community life.

[606] *G.S.* #40.

witness of the faithful and their *sensus fidei".*[607] The first task of the pope, bishops and clergy was to listen to the people. This involved a personal relationship that respected the dignity and faithfulness of the members of the Church. The faithfulness of the people was not determined by conformity to practices or teaching, or by uniformity of behaviour, but by their commitment to the service of others in love.[608] In times of difficulties or when disagreements arose within the Church, the challenge for authority was to establish a process of discernment that would hold all in communion. Thus, the pastoral response that judged changed attitudes as "crises" in Christian relationships, failed to enter a process of discernment, or to have the ability to respond to the "signs of the times". The consensus that results from discernment reflected a spirit of acceptance and peace, and hence the continued expression of love for the other.[609]

The experiences explored by the reflections on Australian Spirituality have provided a starting point for the discernment of change in Catholic life in Australia. They have assisted members of the Church to respond positively to the challenge to engage the world of today within the context of the mysteries of life and of faith. The "signs of the times" as expressed in Australian culture were discerned in the initial "search for a soul". By adhering to the principles of discernment these experiences guided the lives of many to a deeper appreciation of the presence of God. In terms of the *Sensus Fidei,* the pastoral ministry of the Church has been given the opportunity to respond to the spiritual experiences of its people and therefore inspire the many Australian Catholics to belong more closely to the life of the Church, especially those who feel themselves on the fringe.

---

[607] Kasper, *The Future,* identifies the relationship between the exercise of authority and the duty of care towards those within the church and also those of other Christians and other people in general. It is a pastoral care that was significantly developed over the life of the Second Vatican Council, with a focus on dialogue between those involved. "This dialogue is not just an external method or even a strategy of ecclesial politics; but rather it is an expression of the dialogical structure of human existence and of the perception of truth", 3.

[608] This has its origin in the role and dignity of the laity both in the mission and ministry of the Church brought to them by their baptism. John Paul II *Christifideles Laici: Lay Members of Christ's Faithful People,* (Vatican City: Liberia Editrice Vaticana, 1998), #8, "Only from inside the Church's mystery of communion is the "identity" of the lay faithful made known and their fundamental dignity revealed. Only within the context of this dignity can their vocation and mission in the Church and in the world be defined."

[609] Cf. Chapter Five, the recognition of the signs of a true discernment.

7.3.2 The "Magisterium" and the Exercise of Authority in the Church

Magisterium has traditionally referred to the teaching, sanctifying and governing function of the Church and therefore has been central to the life of the Church. Its role or ministry has been to unite and bind together the members of the Church in the following of Christ. If the church was suffering, or in crisis, Christ himself recognised that the cause was either persecution from outside or division from within. In each case his command was to "forgive your enemies, do good to those who persecute you" and "turn the other cheek".[610] The ability of the early Christian community to resolve its disputes became more complex as the Church grew and expanded. The task of continuing the tradition and maintaining the faith from one generation or one community to the next became the role of ordained ministers and they developed structures and disciplines to do this. The disputes between the traditions, or the interpretation of traditions in response to circumstances and situations were settled in a variety of ways.[611] An example of the resolution of a dispute from the middle ages was the subject of Ogliari's comparison of the teachings of Augustine and those of the Massilians on the effects of "original sin". Both protagonists had the same obligations: "it belongs to the essence of the Church Tradition that the *depositum fidei…"* be not only "preserved", but that an equally vital aspect was to respect its living "development". The two opinions differed in the interpretation of "original sin" in Scripture and Tradition and disputed the relationship that this doctrine expressed between God and human beings. In order to appreciate their arguments today it was important to recognise the "historical context in which theology is done". In other words, to be able to identify the "*et-et"* that could be achieved by valuing each argument and to recognise how each influenced the development of the tradition as it was interpreted in the light of the circumstances and situations

[610] The tenor of these scriptural references put into perspective the confusion that has come to many Catholics as they have endeavoured relate their personal experiences to the demands of authority. John Heaps in his book *A Love* expressed this concern more fully.

[611] Donato Ogliari, "Between *Traditio* and *Progressio:* Some Remarks on Augustinianism, Pelagianism, Massilianism and the Challenges of an *et-et* Theology", *Louvain Studies,* 28(2003)1, 26-27.

of the time.[612] Thus, the debate about "original sin", as Ogliari concluded, "although accepted by the Church and handed down to us as a dogma of faith, (it) is far from closed".[613]

The role of the *magisterium* in exercising its authority in the Church was expressed in a particular way from the time of the Council of Trent to the recent Council. John XXIII determined that the task of the Council was to develop the traditions, doctrines and laws of the church in a way that enabled the renewal of its mission in the world:

> The salient point of this Council is not, therefore, a discussion of one article or another of the fundamental doctrine of the Church which has repeatedly been taught by the Fathers and by ancient and modern theologians, and which is presumed to be well known and familiar to all.
>
> For this a Council was not necessary. But from the renewed, serene, and tranquil adherence to all the teaching of the Church in its entirety and preciseness, as it still shines forth in the Acts of the Council of Trent and First Vatican Council, the Christian, Catholic, and apostolic spirit of the whole world expects a step forward toward a doctrinal penetration and a formation of consciousness in faithful and perfect conformity to the authentic doctrine, which, however, should be studied and expounded through the methods of research and through the literary forms of modern thought. The substance of the ancient doctrine of the deposit of faith is one thing, and the way in which it is presented is another. And it is the latter that must be taken into great consideration with patience if necessary, everything being measured in the forms and proportions of a Magisterium which is predominantly pastoral in character. [614]

The decrees of the Council and subsequent documents recognised that, based on the dignity of every human being, all people were responsible to each other, since they were created in the image and likeness of God. Therefore, all members of the Church have the responsibility to exercise their own unique gifts and to use them to develop the Church's life and mission, especially to the "poor". The development of the doctrines of salvation and evangelisation indicated a significant change in the relationship between the *magisterium* and Christ's Faithful as a whole.[615] From an attitude that was defensive and prescriptive in its interpretation of issues of

---

[612] Ibid. 28.

[613] Ibid. 31.

[614] John XXIII, *Opening Address,* 4.

[615] Schillebeeckx, *Church,* 258, concludes his chapter on "Listening to the complaints of the people", by referring to the "authoritarian way of exercising authority" when those involved do not listen to the pastoral situation that existed at the time. The examples that he

faith, morals, doctrine and liturgy, the *magisterium* was challenged to examine the structures it used to relate to all of Christ's Faithful. In particular, the relationship between the *magisterium* and the people it serves relied on re-assessing its methods and styles of communication to enhance the respect and dignity of all. This could only be achieved through a renewal and openness that enabled those in authority to "listen to" the expressions of the presence of God in the lives of the people of today.

The disaffection among Australians (and presumably among other communities of Catholics) challenged the Church authorities to provide a pastoral response that recognised their concerns. A response based on the principles used in a discernment process would focus on the situations that generated the dissatisfaction in the lives of so many people. It would address the many perspectives and situations that have arisen within and outside the Church since the Council. Discernment would begin with openness and acceptance which, in turn, provide a balance in the exercise of authority by a concern for all involved. When hurt and suspicion were present the onus was on everyone to be caring and respectful of the other. This was the first step required for a pastoral response to be effective. The discernment would take into account the degree of alienation in the Church and efforts make to restore trust and respect. This discernment does not call into question the authority given by Christ to the Church and the transmission of that authority through succeeding generations. Rather it recognised that it was in the manner of exercising authority that the human dimension of the *magisterium* has caused disaffection. The structures and methods of expressing the authority brought misunderstanding and hurt to a people who had been promised a new experience of the mystery of the Church.

---

uses relate to the Synod of Rome in 1971 and the way in which the exercise of pastoral care by priests was controlled, as were the debates on priestly celibacy and the role of women in the church.

7.4 Conclusion: Resolving the Dilemma

This chapter set out to resolve the pastoral dilemma facing the Catholic Church in Australia. The dilemma expressed the breakdown in the traditional practices and beliefs in everyday Catholic life and the ineffectiveness of the pastoral renewals required to maintain the Church's life and mission. Three considerations were studied to resolve the dilemma: the holistic context of the spiritual experience, the discernment of areas of concern in Catholic life and the dialogue necessary for the personal spiritual experience to engage the heritage of scripture and tradition to bring harmony to the community of believers.

The first consideration was those areas of concern highlighted in PART ONE: the decline in Sunday mass attendance, fewer vocations to the priesthood and religious life and the dissatisfaction with the exercise of Church authority.[616] However, the sociological research that initially produced a negative view of the life of the Church in Australia brought into focus the positive view that expressed itself in the spirituality phenomenon. The responses to these aspects of Catholic life were indicating either a "crisis of faith" or the "signs of the times". The dilemma that these responses brought to Church life led to the second consideration: the discernment of the areas of concern to identify both the positive and negative effects that the changes have brought to Catholic life. This discernment revealed that the positive effect was the search for spirituality. A discernment process also determined the authenticity of the spiritual search by its positive influence on personal and communal transformation. It recalled the Council's call for personal renewal and concluded that this would occur if it embraced an engagement with spirituality. The third consideration related the spiritual experiences through a dialogue with the heritage of scripture and tradition, and in this way brought harmony to the community in an environment of change and transformation. This transformation could engage both the negative and positive aspects of the areas of concern and expressed itself in a spirituality

[616] Cf. Chapter Two and the conclusions of the sociologists.

that could hold together differing attitudes and practices. Thus this consideration entailed a dialogue between the everyday life experiences of God, or spirituality, and the experience of God found in Scripture and the tradition of the Church. In practice, this dialogue has identified the two sides of the dilemma and thus the ongoing tension that can only be resolved by a commitment that respects the sacredness in the experience of all involved, not just those on one side of the dilemma.

A more extensive study of the disaffection among Australian Catholics revealed an underlying search for the spiritual, albeit a search which had been confused by the changes that had taken place to traditional religious belief and practice. It was shown that the search for the spiritual provided an opportunity for the members of the Church to resolve their differences by developing confidence and trust in each other, whatever their stance or position concerning the changes. Ultimately, the recognition of a deeper spiritual reality was expressed in the relationship that held together the *sensus fidei* and the *magisterium* in the life of the Church. This relationship was also inspired by the call of the Council to revisit the spirit of personal renewal. Personal renewal was also shown to be of particular importance in the exercise of authority. The exercise of authority in the Church had been a contentious issue since the First Vatican Council. The debates generated over the doctrine of infallibility emphasised the authority of *magisterium* in the effort to maintain the traditions and teachings of the Church.[617] The Second Vatican Council called for personal renewal and moved the focus of the exercise of the *magisterium* to its service dimension, in that it called those who exercised authority to be "servants of the servants of God". The authenticity of the *magisterium* was also found in the manner with which it exercised its authority. Therefore, the conclusion of this study was that the exercise of authority by the *magisterium* was based on a spiritual response that required the discernment of the presence of God in the everyday as well as the defence of the traditions of the Church. The personal experience of God in the day-to-day led to discernment and dialogue and thus authenticated the

[617] Alberigo, *History I,* 65.

value of experience for the good of the community. Consequently, the spiritual reality that underlay the changes in Catholic life in Australia, and elsewhere, challenged the *magisterium* to engage those it served in a way that would enhance the appreciation of the presence of God in their lives. An acknowledgement of the underlying spiritual reality in everyday life was necessary if the exercise of authority by the *magisterium* was to become an interpreter of scripture and tradition and a partner in the *sensus fidei.*

The research in this chapter has shown that the *magisterium* expressed the difficulties facing the Church as a "crisis of faith" for the people. It has also shown that there has been a crisis in the exercise of leadership and this had a part in developing the dilemma that impeded a successful pastoral response from the Church in Australia. The identification of the search for the presence of God was a positive side of the dilemma as it engaged the personal encounter with mystery in everyday experiences as the source of personal renewal. The conclusion reached was that the dilemma of the Church in Australia was resolved when the importance of spirituality in the daily lives of the people was acknowledged as the first step in a pastoral response. The discernment of these spiritual experiences and the dialogue that engaged them with the mysteries of faith contained in the Scriptures and the traditions of the Church were further steps. Therefore, spiritual experiences located in the everyday context of life were the basis for ongoing reflection and dialogue between the *sensus fidei* and the *magisterium.* An effective pastoral renewal would flow from this dialogue as the human encounter with other cultures and environments was acknowledged and recognised in its planning and execution.

7.5 General Conclusion: From the Sacred Heart to the Heart of the Sacred

This final section brings together the conclusions presented in the thesis. These conclusions have supported the contention that the spiritual journey of Australian Catholics has moved from an emphasis on the devotional expression of religious beliefs to an inner search that encounters

God (or the spiritual) in the everyday circumstances and experiences of life. The first conclusion came from the initial responses of sociology and theology to the changes to Catholic life and recognised their failure to explain or provide the pastoral means to address these changes. The second conclusion was more positive in that it identified the importance of the "Spiritual Revolution" as another consequence of the changed attitudes to religious belief and practice. The third conclusion came from the examination of "spirituality" in the Christian tradition. It concluded that the "search for a soul" or the personal experience of the spiritual had enhanced the life of the Church from early times. This conclusion was the turning point in the thesis. It addressed the difficulties that change brought to Catholic life in Australia at its source which was the personal experience of the spiritual. The fourth conclusion was that pastoral renewal in the Church would be effective when it focused on the spirituality of the everyday, which was recognised as a starting point for renewal by both of the *magisterium* and "all those who invoke the name of Christ".

In the initial chapters a study of the efforts of sociological and theological research conducted in Australia has shown that they were not able to understand or give an adequate response to the changes in Catholic life in particular. However, they did identify the significant areas of change as: the decline in religious practice, the shortage of vocations and the disaffection with the leadership of the Church. Further, the efforts Kelly and Malone recognised the need for another way of relating the Church's traditional response to the changes in Catholic life. They, and others, experimented with new ways to express Catholic belief; ways that engaged the changed context of people's lives. Their efforts were to become the prelude to the growing interest in spirituality which ultimately became the "Spiritual Revolution". A detailed analysis of this phenomenon concluded that it had a parallel in spirit of the personal renewal advocated by the Council in the 1960s. In contrast to this conclusion, many assumed that personal spiritual experiences would take the place of the traditional organised religious practice of the churches in society. This assumption separated the personal experience of the spiritual from the mainstream

religious practice, and judged that the enthusiasm generated by spirituality was more in touch with people's lives than the traditional religious beliefs and practices, as their decline had shown.

The second part of the thesis took up the impetus generated by the spirituality phenomenon. It examined the plurality of meaning, method and experience that this phenomenon embraced. Waaijman's categories were used to define spirituality within the Christian tradition and to identify and define the various relationships that exist between spirituality, culture and religious belief and practice. This led to the conclusion that these relationships were based on personal spiritual experiences that had influenced the lives of Catholics in Australia. The study of spirituality at this depth demonstrated that the discernment of individual experiences encourage dialogue and reflection with others. Community harmony authenticated these experiences. The conclusion drawn from this analysis was that the application of the principles of Christian spirituality to everyday spiritual experiences was able to bring stability and direction to personal and community life. Therefore, by recognising personal spirituality the life of the Church would be enhanced rather than threatened in its traditional belief and practice.

John Paul II applied the principles of spirituality to the Australian experience, which he saw as distinctive and at times unique when he identified Australians as a 'new people". This recognised the new context in which the spiritual was experienced. Through a process of discernment and dialogue the experience of the spiritual in Australia could not only be authenticated within the religious traditions of the Church, but brought a new understanding to the traditions. From this incentive the new context was further explored highlighting the impact of the "land", the presence of the indigenous people and the consequences of sectarian division on the life of the "new people". These and other influences were identified as providing spiritual encounters that brought difference and change to individuals and the community. Thus, the colloquial "search for a soul" was consequent on the uncertainties encountered in daily life. It gave expression to the desire for something more spiritually appropriate than the beliefs and practices that had come

from other times and places. The recognition that Australians were a "new people" became the turning point for the thesis. It provided the impetus to look to the spiritual dimension that underlay the changes that had taken place in Catholic religious life since the Council.

The early chapters concluded that the pastoral renewals immediately following the Council had encouraged people to encounter God in the changing circumstances of time and place and in the differing social and cultural environments. This was identified by the way in which the renewals advocated by the Council deepened the personal relationship with God, in the spiritual encounters in the everyday, and engaged the "signs of the times".[618] However, as time passed this initial interest and involvement began to fade, and the reality for most Catholics was a growing dissatisfaction and confusion with the management and direction of subsequent renewal programs. By the turn of the millennium the renewals were focused on past expressions of belief and practice as the authentic means to understand the changes, whether they were encountered personally or by society. Hence the thesis concluded that a pastoral dilemma had developed in the life of the Church, and was the challenge that faced further pastoral renewal. The pastoral reactions that were based on conformity to the past and the rejection of change presented the dilemma as a "crisis of faith" and predicated more "doom and gloom" in people's lives. On the other hand, positive pastoral responses initiated a dialogue between personal experiences of the spiritual encountered in the uncertainty of change and the sacred traditions of the Church. The authenticity of these experiences was discerned in the transformation that occurred in the life of the individual and the community, and involved "all who invoked the name of Christ".[619] Therefore, pastoral renewal based on discerning the experiences that encounter the mystery of God enabled the personal and communal spiritual journey to begin in response to the changed

[618] Mol's two studies in 1971 and 1985 demonstrated the difference in Catholic life in Australia in the intervening years. He rightly predicted that the Church leadership would have to respond to the strengthening demands of lay involvement. Cf. 2.1.4.

[619] James Kelly, "Religions: Towards a Different Paradigm", *Louvain Studies,* 27(2002)3, 310, explores this in the context of the split between faith and reason, comparing the documents of Vatican Council II, with *Ratio et Fides* and *Dominus Jesus,* two recent documents that reflect the magisterial expression of its authority.

circumstances of life. It was a spiritual journey that through discernment and dialogue transformed the Church in and through the lives of all its members.

This thesis began with the Council principle that all people were called to holiness. This principle respected the "sacredness" of each person, that is, the dignity due to every person created in the image of God.[620] The consequence of this principle in the life of the Church today has been that this "sacredness" was the gift that enabled individuals to experience the presence of God in the everyday situations of life. Applied to the Australian situation the gift found expression in the experience described as the "search for a soul", a "sea change", or "Australian spirituality". As has been shown, these spiritual experiences once discerned, engaged the person in dialogue with the community and with scripture and tradition, and led to an authentic expression of God's presence. This process was the beginning of personal and communal renewal or transformation as it responded to and embraced the changed circumstances and situations of life, the "signs of the times".

Therefore, Australian Catholics from the time of the Council have begun a spiritual journey that moved them from the experiences of God's presence that were centred on devotions and practices that had been passed down from succeeding generations. One such devotion was the "Sacred Heart of Jesus" and this devotion expressed itself in practices and rituals that maintained the personal relationship with God for most Catholics. The journey entered a new phase for most Catholics as they were encouraged after the Council to seek to engage God's sacredness in the heart of everyday life. The changes in religious belief and practice of Catholic life reflected the movement in the lives of many on this journey. It has been a movement that emphasised the change that came to the human situation with the graciousness of the love of Christ for all people. Christ's love was focused on the sacredness within each person, whom he encouraged

[620] *GS. #11.*

to "walk in his way".[621] The Christian journey began with uncertainty, as the disciples faced the "signs of the times" in their day and continued through further encounters in which they discerned the presence of God, or the spiritual experiences in everyday life. At certain stages on the journey pastoral dilemmas have arisen and these times of hesitation and confusion led to discernment. From the discernment of the spiritual experiences an authentic pastoral renewal engaged the changed circumstances and situations that either inspired its members and brought life and fullness to the Church, or threatened and belittled the movement of the Spirit.

This thesis has shown that those on the 'way' are called to engage in a process of discernment. This process will assist them to authentically express the experience of the spiritual in ways that reflect their life and times. Further dialogue with others and with the traditions and teachings of the Church will identify these expressions as the "signs of the times" and bring harmony to the community. The 'heart of the sacred' expresses the personal encounter that takes place as Australians 'search for a soul'. Those on this journey will discover the sacred presence of a loving God as they discern the spiritual experiences of the everyday. The journey will be an encounter with the sacred that transforms the lives of those on the way, so that personally and communally they reveal the love of Christ to all who knowingly or unknowingly are searching for him.

[621] Waaijman, *Spirituality,* 340. The 'way' was the first description of the Christian life. It was used to convey the message that the disciple of Jesus was always on a journey, which was one of companionship and mission to bring the presence of Christ to others.

APPENDICES

Appendix One: Tables

Table One: P. Bentley, *Australian Religious Studies: A Bibliography of Post-Graduate Theses 1922-1986.*

Bentley presented the theses in categories and sub-categories. This table combines these categories, excludes some lesser categories (in terms of frequency) such as Jewish studies, Architecture and Law and added five features to help further analysis. The features categorised are:

Years: which records the first and last of the theses presented;
Frequency: indicated the number of theses put into each category;
Catholic: those specified as such by title or origin;
to 1970: the era these theses were presented;
to 1986: theses up until the research was completed.
Total which shows the quantitative pattern of interest.

Category	Year	Frequency		Total	Catholic	
		>1970	>1986		>1970	>1986
Aboriginal Studies	1951-84	13	21	34	1	1
Education	1963-85	5	52	57	4	29
Education and History	1929-85	41	46	87	12	17
Church and State Issues	1960-85	9	15	24	1	4
Independent Schools	1957-85	2	7	9		
Religious Education	1932-86	7	29	36	1	8
History of Religious Education	1969-81		8	8		1
Education and Science	1961-86	1	4	5	1	
Sociological Studies in Schools	1957-85	5	24	29	5	19
Teacher Training	1963-83	2	3	5	2	3
History of Religions	1928-86	45	81	106	14	26
Literature	1961-85	7	24	31		1
Migrant Studies	1947-86	9	3	12		1
Ministry in Church	1961-86	1	23	24		3
Political Involvement	1954-85	13	15	28	10	5
Religious Faiths and Movements	1966-86	1	20	21	1	
Sociology of Religion	1947-85	7	28	35		2
Welfare and Health	1948-85	5	10	15		3
Totals		**164**	**422**	**545**	**52**	**123**

Table Two: Categories Selected for the Review

The following categories were selected for the review.

1. **Aboriginal studies** – Aboriginal customs and religion, etc
2. **Biography** – about persons or groups involved in religious activity.
3. **Ethics** – religion belief and issues of mores or social conflict
4. **History** – studies and works that dealt with religious history
5. **Migration** – issues of religion and migrants
6. **Ministry** – practical response to religious belief
7. **Politics** – church and state issues
8. **Religious Education** – for children, parents, and communities
9. **Social Justice** – religion and issues of social concern and welfare
10. **Sociology of Religion** – surveys of religious belief and practice
11. **Spirituality** – the response to the experience of God or mystery
12. **Theology** – the study of beliefs and practices.

Table Three: Mol's bibliography in *Religion in Australia*, 1971.

Mol referred to historical publications to support his interpretation of issues and events identified in the data he gathered from his surveys and other sources. As he used his European and American experience to make comparisons with the Australian situation there are many references to publications and journal articles from sources outside Australia and they have been omitted from the review, unless they related directly to Australia or were written by Australians.

Categories	Books	Articles		>1960	>1970	
Aboriginal Studies	0	0	0	0	0	f)
Biography	8	0	8	7	1	
Ethics	2	10	12	4	8	
History	46	10	56	32	24	a)
Migrants	0	4	4	1	3	
Ministry	1	6	7	0	7	
Politics	11	13	24	5	19	d)
Religious Education	8	19	27	4	23	b)
Social Justice	5	9	14	2	12	
Spirituality	4	1	5	2	3	e)
Sociology Of Religion	13	13	26	2	24	c)
Theology	0	2	2	0	2	
TOTALS	**98**	**87**	**185**	**59**	**126**	**g)**

(mol-72-bib-anal-050702)

The categories identified the significant interests:

a) **History:** Mol his conclusion was that this had been the dominant form of research and commentary on religious matters in Australia.

b) **Religious education:** The increase reflected the influence of the Second Vatican Council on the teaching of religion in Catholic schools.

c) **Sociology of Religion:** increased interest in the study of the changed attitudes to religious practice, both in response to social pressures, and, for Catholics, the effects the Second Vatican Council, and the controversy surrounding Paul VI's *Humane Vitae* in 1968.

d) **Politics:** the Labor Party Split in the 1950s and State Aid in 1960s are reflected in this category.

e) **Spirituality** was not considered a separate category at that time.

f) **Aboriginal** religious beliefs and practices had little interest.

g) Factors that influenced this increase were improved printing technology.

Table Four: D. Hynd "Christianity in Australia: a Bibliography",1982.

This bibliography specifically excluded a number of areas such as newspaper articles, biographies, and works on specialised subjects such as church agencies, religious orders, individual parishes, Christian education in general, general Australian history and sociology, and Church involvement with political parties. For the purposes of the review further restrictions have excluded specific Protestant and Anglican works from the history category. The large and comprehensive number of publications or items from journals and essay collections evens out this latter consideration.

Categories	Books	Art's	Total	>60	>70	>80	
Aboriginal Studs	0	2	2	0	0	2	h)
Biography	0	3	3	1	1	1	
Ethics	1	13	14	0	2	12	g)
History	14	48	62	0	17	45	a)
Migrants	3	24	27	0	3	24	e)
Ministry	5	24	29	0	5	24	f)
Politics	2	4	6	0	0	6	
Religious Educ.	3	27	30	0	9	21	g)
Social Justice	3	9	12	0	2	10	g)
Spirituality	1	34	35	0	8	27	c)
Sociology of Rel.	10	31	41	0	10	31	b)
Theology	0	8	8	0	0	8	d)
TOTALS	**42**	**227**	**269**	**1**	**57**	**211**	

shape-bib-anal-050702

The following comments identify the descending priorities and interests:

a) **History**: the category that most interests researchers and commentators on Church life.
b) **Sociology of Religion:** interest increased significantly from 1970 to1980.
c) **Spirituality:** as distinct from religion in general, began to register an interest.
d) **Theology:** after 1970 focus on 'Australian Theology', also a link to spirituality.
e) **Migrants:** reflect two concerns: the difficulties of translating religion into a new country, and the impact on religion in Australia of the migration program.
f) **Pastoral Practice:** categories focused on the questions raised about church practice and belief and the influence of the new environment.
g) **Ethics, Social Justice, and Religious Education:** responded to issues such as abortion, birth control, the Vietnam War, poverty, and civil rights.
h) **Aboriginal** customs and religion has its first items.

Table Five: Books and Articles – Hynd

	>70	>80	Total
Books	10	30	40
Articles	56	163	219
Total	**66**	**193**	**259**

Table Six: Goosen, *Australian Theologies*: 2000

Categories	Total	Books	Art	B>80	A>80	B>90	A>90	B>00	A>00	
Aboriginal Studies	47	20	25	1	9	11	15	7	4	**e)**
Biography	5	3	2	0	1			3	1	
Ethics	24	16	8	2	0	8	3	6	6	**d)**
History	4	3	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	
Migrants	7	4	3	1	0	3	1	0	2	
Ministry	11	10	1	3	0	3	0	4	1	
Politics	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
Religious Education	5	1	4	0	1	0	3	1	0	
Social Justice	45	27	18	4	4	14	8	9	6	**d)**
Spirituality	40	18	22	2	0	9	16	8	5	**c)**
Socio. of Religion	57	27	30	1	9	20	16	6	5	**b)**
Theology	82	49	33	11	12	21	16	16	5	**a)**
Totals	**329**	**180**	**147**	**27**	**36**	**91**	**79**	**61**	**35**	

The following comments from Table Six add further reflections on the changing response to church life.

a) The predominance of theological publications reflected Goosen's subject matter, and indicated that more was available in this category than in previous studies.

b) Interest in Spirituality increased in the 1990s.

c) The Sociology of Religion category peaked in the 1980s, and is the focus of the next chapter.

d) Issues of Social Justice and ethics came to the fore as the challenge to traditional religious responses came from medical and scientific experimentation. Also in the late 1980s and 1990s the end of the "Cold War", and the first Iraq War led to the emergence of ethnic tensions and conflict.

e) The increased interest in Aboriginal studies is significant in the 1980s the era of the Bi-Centenary and the Mabo High Court decision.

f) The number of books increased by comparison to the articles cited.

Table Seven: Combined Bibliographies: Mol 71, Hynd 82, Goosen 00.

Categories	Books	Art	T>60	T>70	T>80	T>90	T>00	Total	
Aboriginal Studies	45	27	0	0	5	26	16	72	
Biography	14	5	9	2	1	1	4	19	c)
Ethics	27	31	4	10	14	11	12	58	
History	64	59	32	41	46	2	1	123	c)
Migrants	10	31	1	6	25	4	2	41	
Ministry	25	33	0	15	26	2	6	58	
Politics	15	17	5	19	7	1	0	32	
Religious Education	15	50	3	31	22	3	1	65	
Social Justice	53	36	2	15	16	21	18	89	
Spirituality	45	57	2	12	27	23	15	102	d)
Socio. Of Religion	77	75	2	33	39	34	12	152	a)
Theology	82	43	0	3	24	39	27	125	b)
TOTALS	**472**	**464**	**60**	**187**	**252**	**167**	**114**	**936**	

Mol-shape-goosen-bib-anal-050702

The combination of the three bibliographies confirmed the individual findings, namely that over the whole period four categories that stood out as of the greatest interest, and these varied according particular eras within that period.

a) **Sociology of Religion**: its importance grew through the 1970s and 1980s.
b) **Theology:** increased as the discussion of 'Australian Theology' began to take hold. [622]
c) **History and Biography:** changed from reinforcing traditional religious attitudes and practices in the face of new experiences, to researching the past so as to assist an understanding of the present situations.
d) **Spirituality:** gathered more interest towards the end of the 1970s, and was as it expressed the desire to understand religious attitudes in ways that were different from and less traditional the mainline Christian Churches.

[622] Hayes, Victor, (ed.), *Toward Theology in an Australian Context*, (Bedford Park: AASR Publications, 1979).

Table Eight: St. Mary's Library Listing

Categories	Total	>1970	>1980	>1990	>2000	
Aboriginal Studies	6			2	4	b)
Biography	32	7	5	10	10	a)
Ethics	6	1	1	1	3	b)
History	36	11	8	8	9	a)
Migrants	8	0	3	1	4	
Ministry	7		1	4	2	b)
Politics	8	2	2	2	2	
Religious Education	12	3	4	1	4	
Social Justice	20	1	1	8	10	
Spirituality	4				4	b)
Sociology Of Religion	17	1	2	5	9	
Theology	5	1	1	3	0	c)
Totals	**161**	**27**	**26**	**45**	**61**	

Acu-bib-anal-cat-060702

An analysis of the frequency and date of publication of books across the categories are similar to those made of the bibliographies with the following observations:

a) **History and Biography:** the sustained and high ratio of publications in the categories.
b) **Aboriginal studies, Ethics, Ministry, and Spirituality:** publications in these categories of are more frequent after 1990.
c) **Theology** The low number of publications in the category of occurred because commentaries on the actual practice and adherence to church teaching were placed in the category of Sociology of Religion - an example, Paul Collin's two books that reflect on Catholic life in Australia[623].

Unless the title, the author, or the summary on the listing had within them a reference to Australia or Catholic the search engine would not have considered them. Thus, general titles on theology would not have been considered. This supports the opinion that until a particular date **Theology in general** did not focus on religious belief and practice in the Australian context.

[623] Paul Collins, *Mixed Blessings*, in 1986 and *No Fixed Agenda* in 1991.

Table Nine: Sacred Heart Monastery Library Listing

Categories	Totals	>1970	>1980	>1990	>2000	
Aboriginal Studies	64	18	23	14	9	**a)**
Biography	14	7	2	2	3	
Ethics	10	4		2	4	
History	21	7		10	4	
Migrants	9	1		5	3	
Ministry	18	3	3	10	2	
Politics	8	2	4	1	1	
Religious Education	14	4	2		8	
Social Justice	28	0	5	11	12	
Spirituality	19	0	1	6	12	**d)**
Sociology Of Religion	55	6	11	23	15	**b)**
Theology	30	2	4	13	11	**c)**
TOTALS	**290**	**54**	**55**	**97**	**84**	

SHM-bib-cat-anal-060702

The following comments explain the differences that occurred in this analysis.

a) **Aboriginal Studies:** This was the significant difference from the other sources because of the age of library and the missionary nature of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart and their ministry with Indigenous people. Its comprehensiveness indicated the paucity of this category in mainstream research.
b) **Sociology of religion:** Had a greater interest in the 1980s, similar to the bibliographies.
c) **Theology and Social Justice:** were categories that reflect the seminary interest.
d) **Spirituality:** This interest grew significantly in the 1980s and 1990s, which reflected the interest of Missionaries of the Sacred Heart in "Heart Spirituality", a response to attempts to renew the live and practice of the Catholic Church.

Table Ten: Combined Library Listings

Categories	Total	>1970	>1980	>1990	>2000	
Aboriginal Studies	70	18	23	16	13	a)
Biography	46	14	7	12	13	
Ethics	16	5	1	3	7	
History	57	18	8	18	13	
Migrants	17	1	3	6	7	
Ministry	25	3	4	14	4	
Politics	16	4	6	3	3	
Religious Education	26	7	6	1	12	
Social Justice	48	1	6	19	22	
Spirituality	23	0	1	6	16	c)
Sociology Of Religion	72	7	11	28	24	b)
Theology	35	3	5	16	11	c)
TOTALS	**451**	**81**	**81**	**142**	**145**	

SHM-StMarys-bib-cat-anal-061202

a) Aboriginal studies was a feature of the missionary work of the MSC congregation.

b) The sociology of religion peaked in 1990s as pastoral studies became a significant part of the seminary program and the ACU began its theological school.

c) Spirituality and Australian Theology were not as important as the dogmatic, biblical and moral studies at the time in either establishment.

Table Eleven: Australasian Periodic Journals

The same twelve **categories** used in analysing the bibliographies and library listings were used to classify the major theme or type, and the date and origin of each periodical. Two periods were identified as prior to **1989** and prior to **2000,** with the **total** number of periodicals published in those years. Those that **expired,** indicate those that ceased publication in the eleven-year period to 2000 and **new** publications, those that began after 1989. **Catholic** publications were also identified.

Category	1989 Total	Catholic	Expired	2000 Total	Catholic	New	
Aboriginal Studies	2	2	0	7	2	5	
Biography	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Ethics	2	0	1	4	1	3	
History	10	1	2	12	1	4	**c)**
Migration	1	0	1	3	0	3	
Ministry	6	1	1	13	2	8	**b)**
Politics	5	1	4	1	0	0	
Religious Education	10	1	4	11	4	5	
Social Justice	1	0	0	2	0	1	
Sociology of Religion	5	0	1	6	0	2	
Spirituality	2	0	1	2	0	1	
Theology	13	4	2	22	4	11	**a)**
Totals	**57**	**10**	**17**	**83**	**14**	**43**	

The analysis of the periodic journals produced the following points:

a) Interest in the category of theology almost doubled over the two periods, as did those that focused on the category of ministry. Of the periodicals in the Theology category, it is to be noted that eight in 1989 and fourteen in 2000 are linked to various churches or theological colleges as "official" publications. Thus editorial policy maybe influenced by particular denominational or religious persuasions.
b) The increase in the category of ministry in 1990s parallels the increase in the affiliation of ministry training programs with Colleges of Divinity and the influence that this had on government recognition of their educational standards. This raised the standard of research and scrutiny into the material in these publications. By comparison the static number of Catholic periodicals in this category occurs at the same time as the demise of a number of seminaries run or sponsored by religious orders in 1990s.
c) Historical research into religion has used periodicals to reflect the critical approach to the origin of religious belief in Australia.
d) The category religious education increased in attempts to explain the doctrines and teachings of the church to an increasing number of lay teachers in church schools. The periodicals respond to the pastoral concerns of church life and the struggle that ministers had to interpret the changing times. This is particularly evident in Catholic periodicals: they either provided explanation and insight into the teachings of the church, or in some instances returned to a catechesis in use prior to the Second Vatican Council[624].

[624] For example the monthly *Annals of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart*, (Kensington: Chevalier Press), in the 1970s provided a catechetical supplement to be used in schools to assist teachers interpret the teaching of the Second Vatican Council. However, in the 1990s it changed a "Journal of Catholic Culture" that focused on devotional and traditional statements concerning prayer and moral behaviour that better suited the period prior to the Second Vatican Council.

Appendix Two: Charts

Chart One: Comparison Total Catholics/Mass Attendance

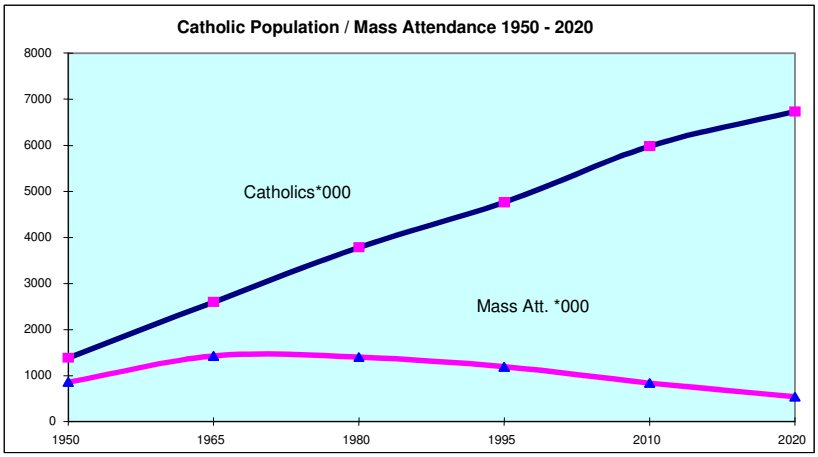
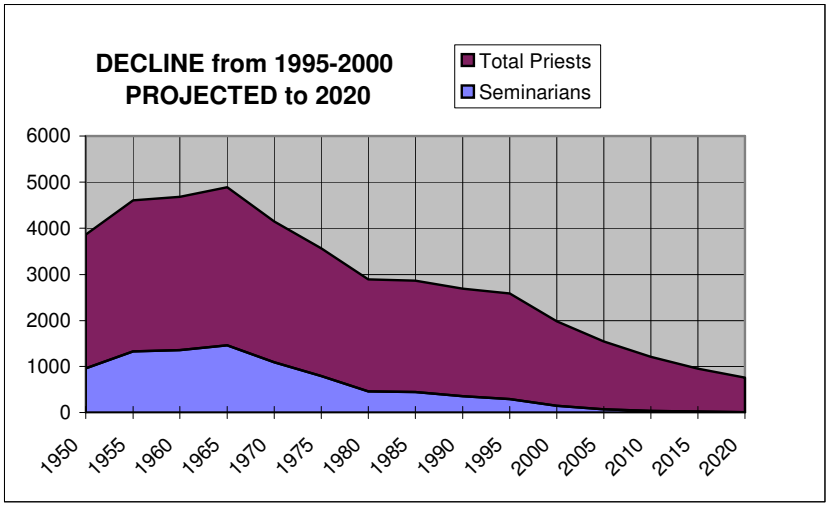


Chart Two: Priests and Seminarians in Australia



Appendix Three: Spirituality Outline

A Course outline for *Classical Approaches to Spirituality* CSA 324, 1996. St. Paul's National Seminary of the Sydney College of Divinity.

1. Introduction: "What is Spirituality?"
2. Spirituality in the New Testament
3. St. Paul: "The Interior life"
4. Asceticism: "Flight from the Cities"
5. Augustine: "Confessions"
6. Fathers of the Church: Council of Nicea
7. Mystics of the Middle Ages
8. Italian Renaissance: Catherine and Francis
9. The Counter Reformation:
    a. Theresa Of Avila: "Interior Castle".
    b. Ignatius Loyola: "The Spiritual Exercises"
10. Modern World:
    a. Teilhard De Chardin: "Le Divine Milleur"
    b. Mary Mckillop: "An Australian Classic?"
11. Contemporary World: The search for an Interior Life

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

CHURCH DOCUMENTS

Throughout the thesis Church Documents have been cited from *Church Documents on CD-Rom*, Boston: Pauline Software, 8th Edition, 2002, unless otherwise stated

Second Vatican Council

Second Vatican Council, *Apostolicam Actuositatem: Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity*, 1965.

Second Vatican Council, *Dei Verbum: Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation,* 1965.

Second Vatican Council, *Gaudium et Spes: The Constitution of the Second Vatican Council on the Church in the Modern World,* 1965.

Second Vatican Council, *Lumen Gentium: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church,* 1964.

Second Vatican Council, *Optatam Totius: Decree on Priestly Training,* 1965.

Second Vatican Council, *Perfectae Caritatis: Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life,* 1965.

Second Vatican Council, *Unitatis Redintegratio: Decree on Ecumenism,* 1964.

Papal Documents

John XXIII, "Announcement of Ecumenical Council and Roman Synod", *Pope Speaks* 5(1959)4, 396-401.

John XXIII, *Gaudet Mater Eccelsia: Opening Speech for the Council of Vatican II,* October 11, 1962: available from http://www.ourladyswarriors.org/teach/v2open.htm. Internet accessed 7/09/2003.

Paul VI, *Evangelii Nuntiandi: Announcing the Gospel,* 1975.

Paul VI, *Humanae Vitae: On Human Life,* 1968.

John Paul II, *Ad Tuendam Fidem: By Which Certain Norms Are Inserted into the Code of Canon Law and into the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches,* 1998.

John Paul II, *Apostolos Suos: On the Theological and Juridical Nature of Episcopal Conferences,* 1998.

John Paul II, *Christifideles Laici, Lay Members of Christ's Faithful People,* 1998.

John Paul II, *Dies Domini: On Keeping the Lord's Day Holy,* 1998.

John Paul II, *Ecclesia De Eucharisti,* Strathfield: St.Pauls Publications, 2003.

John Paul II, *Ecclesia in Oceania: The Church in Oceania,* Strathfield: St.Pauls Publications, 2001.

John Paul II, *Fides et Ratio: On the Relationship between Faith and Reason,* 1998.

John Paul II, *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis: On Reserving Priestly Ordination to Men Alone,* 1994.

JohnPaul II, *Pastores Dabo Vobis,* 1992.

John Paul II, *Tertio Millennio Adveniente: On Preparation for the Jubilee of the Year 2000,* 1994.

John Paul II, *The Pope in Australia: Collected Homilies and Talks,* Homebush: St. Paul's Publications, 1986.

John Paul II, *Ut Unum Sint: On Commitment to Ecumenism,* 1995.

Curial Documents

Developments in Vocational Pastoral Ministry, Congregation for Catholic Education and Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life, 1992.

Directives Concerning the Preparation of Seminary Educators, Congregation for Catholic Education, 1993.

Directory for the Application of the Principles and Norms of Ecumenism, Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, 1993.

*Dominus Iesus: On the Unicity and Salvific Universality of Jesus Christ and the Church***,** Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Strathfield: St. Paul's Publications, 2000.

Donum Veritatis: Instruction on the Ecclesial Vocation of the Theologian, Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, 1990.

Incarnationis Mysterium: The Mystery of the Incarnation, Bull of Indiction of the Great Jubilee of the Year 2000, 1998.

Jesus Christ the Bearer of the Water of Life, Pontifical Council for Culture and Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue.: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2003.

Memory and Reconciliation: The Church and the Faults of the Past, International Theological Commission, 2000.

On Certain Questions Regarding the Collaboration of the Non-Ordained Faithful in the Sacred Ministry of Priest, Congregation for the Clergy, 1997

Redemptionis Sacramentum: On certain matters to be observed or to be avoided regarding the Most Holy Eucharist: Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments. Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2004.

Some Aspects of the Church Understood as Communion, Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, 1992.

The Catechism of the Catholic Church, Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1992.

The Ministerial Priesthood, Synod of Bishops, 1971.

The Priest and the Third Christian Millennium: Teacher of the Word, Minister of the Sacraments, and Leader of the Community, Congregation for the Clergy, 1999.

Australian Catholic Bishops Conference Documents

Statement of Conclusions: The Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, Interdicasterial Meeting with a Representation of the Australian Bishops: available from http://www.catholic.org.au/whatsnew/1998/ 1998nov.curia.html. Internet accessed 13/10/2003.

The Situation of Women in Australia: Social Justice Statement. Sydney: *ACBC*, 1976.

Woman and Man: One in Christ Jesus: Report on the Participation of Women in the Catholic Church in Australia. Canberra: ACBC, 1999.

Towards Healing - December 2000: Principles and Procedures in Responding to Complaints of Abuse Against Personnel of the Catholic Church of Australia. Hectorville: *ACBC* and *ACRL*, first edition, 1996, revised 2000.

Christians and Their Duty Towards Nature: Occasional Paper. Sydney: Australian Bishops Committee for Justice, Peace and Development, 1991.

Integrity in Ministry: A Document of Principles and Standards for Catholic Clergy and Religious in Australia. Hectorville: National Committee for Professional Standards, 1999.

BOOKS

Alberigo, Giuseppe and Komonchak, Joseph (eds.), *History of Vatican II, Vol. I: Announcing and Preparing Vatican Council II, Toward a New Era in Catholicism*. Leuven: Peters, 1995.

Alberigo, Giuseppe and Komonchak, Joseph (eds.), *History of Vatican II, Vol. II: The Formation of the Council's Identity, First Period and Intercession October 1962 – September 1963*. Leuven: Peeters, 1997.

Begley, John et al., *Faith in Australia: Studies in Belief in God, And Unbelief*. Melbourne: Jesuits, 1990.

Bellah, Robert et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life.* San Francisco: University of California, 1986.

Bellamy, John et al., *Why People Don't Go to Church.* Adelaide: Open Books, 2002.

Bentley, Peter and Blomberry, Tricia *Nominalism in Australian Christianity.* Melbourne: Christian Research Association, 1992.

Bentley, Peter and Blombery, Tricia *Faith Without the Church.* Melbourne: Christian Research Association, 1992.

Bentley, Peter and Hughes, Philip *Australia Life and the Christian Faith; Facts and Figures.* Melbourne: Christian Research Association, 1998.

Bentley, Peter *Australian Religious Studies, A Bibliography of Post-Graduate Theses 1922-1986*. Melbourne: National Catholic Research Council, 1988.

Berndt, R.M. and C.H., *The World of the First Australians*. Sydney: Landsdowne, 1964/77.

Bessant, Judith and Watts, Rob *Sociology Australia: Second Edition*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2002.

Bevans, Stephen *Models of Contextual Theology*. Maryknoll, Orbis Books, rev. ed. 2002.

Black, Alan and Glasner, Peter (eds.), *Practice and Belief, Studies in the Sociology of Australian Religion.* Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1983.

Black, Alan (ed.), *Religion in Australia, Sociological Perspectives*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1991.

Blainey, Geoffrey *A Shorter History of Australia.* Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1994.

Blainey, Geoffrey *The Tyranny of Distance.* Melbourne: Sun Books, 1966.

Blombery, Tricia *Faith Alive; an Australian Picture.* Melbourne: Christian Research Association, 1993.

Blombery, Tricia *Religious Broadcasting in Australia: Report from the Combined Churches Survey for Faith and Mission*. Melbourne: Christian Research Association, 1988.

Blomberry, Tricia *Nominalism in Australian Christianity*. Melbourne: Christian Research Association, 1988.

Blombery, Tricia and Hughes, Philip *Combined Churches Survey for Faith and Mission, Preliminary Report.* Melbourne: Christian Research Association, 1987.

Blombery, Tricia *God through Human Eyes: Report from the Combined Churches Survey for Faith and Mission*. Melbourne: Christian Research Association, 1989.

Blombery, Tricia *Tomorrow's Church Today, Young People in the Australian Church.* Melbourne: Christian Research Association, 1989.

Bouma, Garry (ed.), *Many Religions, All Australians: Religious Settlement, Identity and Cultural Diversity*. Adelaide: Open Book, 1996.

Bouma, Gary and Dixon, Beverly *The Religious Factor In Australian Life*. Australia: Marc, 1986.

Bourke, Christine *Review of the Pastoral Associates Program.* Adelaide: Catholic Theology College, 2001, private copy.

Boyer, Louis *Introduction D La Vie Spirituelle.* Paris-Tournai: Desclee, 1960.

Brady, Veronica *Can These Bones Live?* Sydney: Federation Press, 1996.

Brennan, Damian (ed.), *Evangelisation in an Australian Context; What Does Evangelisation Mean for Catholics Today?* Melbourne: CollinsDove, 1992.

Brennan, Frank *A Spirituality of Catholic Aborigines and the Struggle for Justice.* Brisbane: Catholic Education Office, 1993.

Brennan, Frank *Land Rights: the Religious Factor.* Kings Cross: Uniya, 1992.

Brennan, Frank *Reconciling Our Differences: A Christian Approach To Recognising Aboriginal Land Rights*. Richmond: Aurora Books, 1992.

Brennan, Frank *Recognition: the Way Forward*. Melbourne: CollinsDove, 1993.

Brennan, Niall *The Politics of Catholics*. Melbourne: Hill Publishing, 1972.

Breward, Ian *A History of the Australian Churches*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993.

Breward, Ian *Australia: The Most Godless Place Under Heaven*. Melbourne: Beacon Books, 1988.

Brown, Neil *Confronting the Future Australia and the World, the Next Hundred Years*. Ringwood: Penguin, 1976.

Brown, Neil *Faith, Science and the Future*. Geneva: World Council of Churches Publications, 1978.

Brown, Neil *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*. Homebush: St. Paul's Publications, 1990.

Brown, Neil (ed.), *Faith and Culture: Faith and Culture Series, vol. 1*. Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1978.

Brown, Neil (ed.), *Faith and Culture, Faith and Culture Series, vol. 3*. Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1979.

Brown, Neil (ed.), *Faith and Culture: Faith and Culture Series, vol. 4*. Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1980.

Brown, Neil (ed.), *Reflections on Faith and Culture, Faith and Culture Series, vol. 5*. Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1981.

Brown, Neil (ed.), *Faith and Culture: Issues for the Australian Church, Faith and Culture Series, vol. 6*. Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1982.

Brown, Neil (ed.), *The Worth of Persons: A Study in Christian Ethics, Faith and Culture Series, vol. 7*. Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1983.

Brown, Neil (ed.), *Faith and Culture: Focus on ministry, Faith and Culture Series, vol. 10*. Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, no date.

Brown, Neil (ed.), *Christians in a Pluralist Society, Faith and Culture Series, vol. 12*. Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1986.

Brown, Neil (ed.), *Challenge to Ministry, Faith and Culture Series, vol. 15*. Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1989.

Brown, Neil (ed.), *Spirit in the World: The Moral Basis of Christian Spirituality*. Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1990.

Brown, Neil and Press, Marie (eds.), *Faith and Culture: A Pastoral Perspective, Faith and Culture Series, vol. 8*, Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1984.

Bennett, Bruce and Strauss, Jennifer (eds.), *The Oxford Literary History of Australia*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Campion, Edmund *The Rockchoppers*. Ringwood: Penguin, 1982.

Campion, Edmund *Australian Catholics*. Melbourne: Penguin, 1988.

Caputo, J.D., *Heidegger and Aquinas*. New York: Fordham, 1982.

Carmondy, John and Denise *Catholic Spirituality and the History of Religions*. New York: Paulist Press, 1991.

Carmondy, John and Denise *Christian Uniqueness and Catholic Spirituality*. New York: Paulist Press, 1990.

Cashen, Paul *Classical Approaches to Spirituality, CSA 324*. Kensington: St. Paul's National Seminary Student Directory, 1996.

Cassian, John *The Conferences I, 20-22*. New York: OSB, 1997. Also available from http://www.osb.org/lectio/cassian/index.html. Internet accessed 24/8/2003.

Catholic Enquiry Centre, *Program for Inactive Catholics*. Sydney: Catholic Enquiry Centre Publication, 1985.

Chapman, Don *1788 The People of the First Fleet*. Sydney: Double Day, 1986.

Charlesworth, Maxwell, et al. (eds.), *Religion in Aboriginal Australia*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1986.

Charlesworth, Max et al., *Ancestor Spirits: Aspects of Australian Aboriginal Life and Spirituality*. Melbourne: Deacin University Press, 1990.

Charlesworth, Maxwell (ed.), *Religious Business: Essays on Australian Aboriginal Spirituality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Chauvet, Louise-Marie *From Symbol to Sacrament*. Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1995.

Chittester, Joan *Scarred by Struggle, Transformed by Hope*. Ottawa: Novalis, 2003.

Clark, Manning A *Short History of Australia.* New York: Mentor Book, 2nd ed., 1980.

Clark, Marcus For *the Term of His Natural Life.* London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Coffey, David *Grace the Gift of the Holy Spirit.* Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1979.

Coffey, David (ed.), *Believer, Christian, Catholic, Three Essays in Fundamental Theology; Faith and Culture Series, vol. 11.* Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1986.

Coffey, David (ed.), *The Resurrection of Jesus and Catholic Orthodoxy, Studies in Faith and Culture, vol. 4.* Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1980.

Collins, John *Are All Christians Ministers?* Newtown: EJ Dwyer, 1992.

Collins, Paul *God's Earth: Religion as if Matter Really Mattered.* Melbourne: HarperCollins, 1995.

Collins, Paul *Mixed Blessings: John Paul II and the Church of the Eighties.* Penguin: Ringwood, 1986.

Collins, Paul *No Fixed Agenda: Australia's Catholic Church Faces an Uncertain Future.* Melbourne: David Lovell Publishing, 1991.

Collins, Paul *Papal Power: A Proposal for Change in Catholicism's Third Millennium.* Melbourne: Fount, 1997.

Collins, Paul *Between the Rock and A Hard Place: Being Catholic Today.* Melbourne: ABC Books, 2004.

Cozzens, Donald *Sacred Silence: Denial and the Crisis in the Church.* Mulgrave: JohnGarratt Publishing, 2002.

Cuskelly, E.J. (Jim) *Jules Chevalier: Man with a Mission.* Roma: Casa Generaliizia Missionari Del Sacro Coure, 1975.

Cuskelly, E.J. (Jim) *Walking the Way of Jesus: An Essay on Christian Spirituality.* Strathfield: St. Paul's Publications, 1999.

Cuskelly, E.J. (Jim) (ed.), *With a Human Heart.* Kensington: Chevalier Press, no date.

Davie, Grace *Believing without Belonging.* Blackwell, 1994.

Davie, Grace *Europe: the Exceptional Case.* New York: Orbis, 2002.

Davie, Grace *The Sociology of Relgion: New Horizons in Sociology.* New York: Sage, 2004.

Davies, Paul *Superforce: The Search for a Grand Unified Theory of Nature.* London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1986.

De Hennezel, M., *De Intieme Dood. Levenslessen Van Stervenden.* Haarlem: 1996.

Derrida, Jacques *Of Spirit: Heidegger and the Question.* trans., Bennington G. and Bowlby, R. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989.

Dixon, Robert *The Catholics In Australia, Religious Community Profiles.* Melbourne: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996.

Dorr, Donal *Intergral Spirituality: Resources for Community, Justice, Peace and the Earth.* Melbourne: CollinsDove, 1990.

Dwyer, Barry and English, Graham *Faith of Our Fathers and Mothers: A Catholic Story.* Burwood, CollinsDove, 1992.

Edwards, Denis *The Human Experience of God.* New York: Paulist Press, 1983.

Edwards, Denis *What are They Saying About Salvation?* New York: Paulist Press, 1986.

Edwards, Denis *Called to be Church in Australia.* Homebush, St.Paul's Publications, 1989.

Edwards, Denis *Jesus and the Cosmos.* Homebush: St Paul's Publications, 1991.

Edwards, Denis *Made from Stardust: Exploring the place of human beings within creation.* Blackburn: CollinsDove, 1992.

Edwards, Denis *Jesus the Wisdom of God: An Ecological Theology.* Homebush: St Paul's Publications, 1995.

Edwards, Denis The *God of Evolution: A Trinitarian Theology.* New York: Paulist Press, 1999.

Edwards, Denis (ed.), *Earth Revealing, Earth Healing: Ecology and Christian Theology.* Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2001.

Edwards, Denis *Breath of Life: A Theology of the Creator Spirit.* New York: Orbis, 2004.

Egan, Harvey *An Anthology Of Christian Mysticism.* Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991.

Engel, Frank *Australian Christians in Conflict and Unity.* Melbourne: The Joint Board of Christian Education, 1984.

Facey, Albert B., *Fortunate Life.* Melbourne: Penguin, 1988.

Faulkner, Leonard *The Vision of Leadership for the People of Our Local Church:* available from http://www.adelaide.catholic.org.au/service/bec/. Internet accessed 24/08/02.

Fitzpatrick, Geraldine and Mason, Michael (eds.), *Religion in Australian life: a Bibliography of Australian Social Research.* Melbourne: NCRC and the AASR, 1982.

Flemming, David *Draw Me Into Your Friendship: A literal Translation and a Contemporary Reading of the Spiritual Exercises*. St.Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996.

Flood, Geraldine *Archaeology of the Dreamtime*. Melbourne: HarperCollins, rev. ed. 1992.

Flynn, Marcellin *Catholic Schools and The Communication Of Faith: a Study Of The Mission Of Catholic Schools Today For Parents, Teachers And Students*. Homebush: St. Paul's Publications, 1979.

Flynn, Marcellin *Some Catholic Schools In Action: A Sociological Study Of Sixth Form Students In Twenty-One Catholic Boys' High Schools*. Sydney: Catholic Education Office, 1975.

Foale, Marie Therese *The Josephite Story: The Sisters Of St. Joseph Their Foundation And Early History 1866-1893,* Sydney: Josephite Generalate, 1989.

Fowler, James et al. (eds.), *Stages of Faith and Religious Development: Implications for Church, Education, and Society*. London: SCM Press, 1992.

Fox, Matthew (ed.), *Western Spirituality: Historical Roots - Ecumenical Routes*. Santa Fe: Bear & Co., 1981.

Fox, Matthew *Creation Spirituality*. San Francisco: Bear & Co., 1991.

Fukuyama, Francis *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order*. New York: Free Press, 1999.

Fullerton, Jan (ed.), *The World Upside Down: Australia 1788-1830*. Canberra: Australian National Library, 2000.

Gallagher, Brian (ed.), *A New Heart for a New World*. Homebush: St.Paul's Publications, 1986.

Gardiner, Paul *Mary MacKillop: An Extraordinary Australian*. Alexandria: E.J.Dwyer, 1994.

Gleason, Gerald (ed.), *Priesthood: The Hard Questions*. Newton: EJ Dwyer, 1993.

Goonan, Michael *A Community of Exiles: An Exploration of Australian Spirituality*. Homebush: St Paul's Publications, 1995.

Goosen, Gideon Australian *Theologies: Themes and Methodologies into the Third Millennium*. Strathfield: St Paul's Publications, 2000.

Goosen, Gideon *Religion in Australian Culture: An Anthropological Viewpoint*. Strathfield: St Paul's Publications, 1997.

Greeley, Andrew *The Catholic Revolution: New Wine, Old Wine Skins and the Second Vatican Council*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Hammond, Catherine (ed.), *Creation Spirituality and the Dreamtime*. Newtown: Millennium Books, 1991.

Harris, Dorothy et al. (ed.), *The Shape Of Belief In Australia*. Homebush West: Lancer, 1982.

Harris, Maria *Dance of the Spirit: The Seven Steps of Women's Spirituality*. New York: Batman Books, 1991.

Hawkes, Val et al., *Birth, Death And Marriage, In Multicultural Australia,* CollinsDove, 1988.

Hayes, Victor (ed.), *Toward Theology in an Australian Context*. Bedford Park: *AASR* Publications, 1979.

Heaps, John *A Love That Dares to Question: A Bishop Challenges His Church*. Melbourne: Aurora/David Lovell Publishing, 1998.

Hearn, Peter *The Catholic Church in the Northern Territory*. Kensington: Nelen Yubu, 2003.

Horne, Donald *The Lucky Country*. Melbourne: Penguin, 1956.

Houghton, Rosemary *There Is Hope For A Tree: A Study Paper On The Emerging Church*. Sydney: Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, 1984.

Houston, Jim (ed.), *The Cultured Pearl: Australian Readings in Cross-Cultural Theology and Mission*. Melbourne: Victorian Council of Churches, 1986.

How to Survive Being Married to a Catholic. Brighton: Majellan Publications, 1986.

Hughes, Philip (ed.), *Australia's Religious Communities: A Multimedia Exploration*. Melbourne: CRA, 2000.

Hughes, Philip *Religion in Australia; Facts and Figures*. Melbourne: CRA, 1997.

Hughes, Philip *The Australian Clergy*. Melbourne: CRA, 1987.

Hughes, Philip *The Church's Mission: Report from the Combined Churches Survey for Faith and Mission*. Melbourne: CRA, 1988.

Hughes, Philip *Patterns of Faith in Australian Churches,* Melbourne: *CRA*, 1990.

Hughes, Philip *Religion: a View from the Australian Census*. Melbourne: *CRA*, 1993.

Hughes, Robert *The Fatal Shore*. London: Collins Harvill, 1987.

Hynd, Douglas et al. (eds.), *Australian Christianity in Outline; a Statistical Analysis and Directory*. Homebush West: Lancer, 1984.

Jones, Cheslyn et al. (eds.), *A Study of Spirituality*. London: SPCK, 1986.

Jones, Caroline *The Search for Meaning*. Crows Nest: ABC and CollinsDove, 1989.

Jones, Caroline *An Authentic Life: Finding Meaning and Spirituality in Everyday Life*, Crows Nest: ABC Books, 1998.

Jossua, M., and Geffre, P., (eds.), *Concilium: Indifference to Religion*. New York: Seabury, 1983.

Kaldor, Peter *Who Goes Where? Going to Church in Australia*. Homebush West: Lancer Books, 1987.

Kaldor, Peter et al. (eds.), *Build My Church: Trends and Possibilities for Australian Churches*. Adelaide: Open Books, 1999.

Kaldor, Peter et al. (eds.), *Taking Stock: A Profile of Australian Church Attenders*. Adelaide: Open Books, 1999.

Kaldor, Peter et al. (eds.), *Why People Don't Go to Church*. Adelaide: Open Books, 2002.

Kaldor, Peter et al. W*inds of Change; The Experience of Church in a Changing Australia*. Homebush West; Lancer Books, 1994.

Kaldor, Peter and Susan W*here the River Flows*. Homebush West: Lancer Books, 1988.

Keely, Vivienne *Adult Faith Education, A National Report*. Canberra: National Catholic Education Commission, 1993.

Kasper, Walter *Leadership in the Church: How Traditional Roles Can Serve the Christian Community Today*. New York: Herder & Herder, 2003.

Kelly, Tony *An Expanding Theology: Faith In A World Of Connections*. Newtown: EJ Dwyer, 1993.

Kelly, Tony *A New Imagining: Towards an Australian Spirituality*. Blackburn: CollinsDove, 1990.

Kelly, Tony *Consuming Passions: Christianity and the Consumer Society*. North Sydney: Australian Catholic Social Justice Council, 1995.

Kelly, *Tony Seasons of Hope*. Blackburn: Dove, 1984.

Kelly, Tony *The Bread of God: Nurturing a Eucharistic Imagination*. Sydney: HaperCollins, 2001.

Kelly, Tony *The Range of Faith: Basic Questions for a Living Theology*. Homebush: St Paul's Publications, 1986.

Kelly, Tony *Touching on the Infinite: Explorations in Christian Hope*. Melbourne: CollinsDove, 1991.

Kelly, Tony and MacGinley, Mary Rose *The Church's Mission in Australia*. Melbourne: Pastoral Investigations of Contemporary Trends, CollinsDove, 1988.

Kerkhofs, Jan (ed.), *Europe Without Priests?* London: SCM Press, 1995.

Kerr, Fergus *Theology after Wittgenstein*. Basil: Blackwell, 1986.

Kizilos, Katherine *The Olive Grove: Travels in Greece*. Melbourne: Lonely Planet Publications, 1997.

Knowles, David *Christian Monasticism*. London: World University Library, 1969.

Kossua and Geffré, "Indifference to Religion" in Provost L. and Wlaf M., (eds.), *Concilium*: *"Power in the Church"*. Edinburgh: Clarke, 1988.

Lane, Dermot (ed.), *Religion and Culture in Dialogue: A Challenge for the Next Millennium*. Dublin: Columba Press, 1993.

Leavey, Carmel and Hetherton, Margaret *Catholic Beliefs and Practices*. CollinsDove: Melbourne, 1988.

Lennan, Richard *The Ecclesiology of Karl Rahner*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Lesne, Travail M., *Pedegogique et Formation D'adults: Elements D'analyse*. Paris: PUF, 1977.

Liturgy Review and Evaluation for all Parishes. Adelaide: Catholic Church Office, 2003.

Livingston, K., *Australian Catholic Church History: The Polding Era*. Sydney: Polding Centenary Committee, 1978.

Livingston, K., *The Emergence Of An Australian Catholic Priesthood, 1835-1915*. Sydney: Catholic Theological Faculty, 1977.

London, H.I., Non-White Immigrations and the "White Australia" Policy. Sydney: Sydney Uni. Press, 1970.

Luttrell, John *Worth The Struggle: Sydney Catholic Schools, 1820-1995*. Sydney: Catholic Education Office, 1996.

Luzbetak, Louis *The Church and Cultures: New Perspectives in Missiological Anthropology*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991.

Kohn, Rachael *The New Believers: Re-Imagining God*. Sydney: HarperCollins, 2003.

Macquarrie, John *Heidegger and Christianity*. London: SCM, 1994.

Malone, Peter (ed.), *Discovering An Australian Theology*. Homebush: St. Paul's Publications, 1981.

Malone, Peter (ed.), *Developing An Australian Theology*. Strathfield: St. Paul's Publications, 1999.

Malony, John *The Roman Mould of the Australian Catholic Church*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969.

Manne, Robert (ed.), *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History*. Melbourne: Blackinc Books, 2003.

Marion, Jean-Luc *God Without Being: Hors Texte*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Marmion, Declan *Spirituality of Everyday Faith*. Leuven: Peeters Press, 1998.

Mason, Michael *The Fruits of the Catholic Church Life Survey, 1996*. Strathfield: Australian Catholic University, December 1998, private notes.

Massam, Katharine *Sacred Threads: Catholic Spirituality in Australia 1922-1962*. Sydney: University of NSW Press, 1996.

McConville, Chris *Croppies, Celts and Catholics: The Irish in Australia*. East Caulfield: Edward Arnold, 1987.

McGillion, Chris (ed.), *A Long Way from Rome: Why the Australian Catholic Church is in Crisis*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2003.

Merrigan, Terrance and Robinson, Denis (eds.), *Religious Imagination and the Pluralist Theology of Religions,* Louvain: Faculty of Theology, 2002.

Millikan, David *The Sunburnt Soul: Christianity in search of an Australian identity*. Sydney: Lancer Books, 1981.

Mol, J.J. (Hans) (ed.), *Western Religions*. The Hague, Mouton, 1972.

Mol, J.J. (Hans) *Christianity In Chains*. Melbourne: Nelson, 1969.

Mol, J.J. (Hans) *Identity Of The Sacred*. Blackwell: Oxford, 1976.

Mol, J.J. (Hans) *Religion In Australia*. Melbourne: Nelson, 1971.

Mol, J.J. (Hans) *The Faith of Australians*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1985.

Mol, J.J. (Hans) The Firm And The Formless; Religion And Identity In Aboriginal Australia. Ontario, Wildrid Laurier University Press, 1982.

Moran, Patrick Cardinal *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*. Sydney: Oceanic Publishing Co., 1896.

Morgan, Sally *My Place*. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1987.

Morwood, Michael *Tomorrow's Catholic,* Melbourne: HarperCollins, 1993.

Murray, Les (ed.), *Anthology of Australian Religious Poetry*. Melbourne: CollinsDove, 1986.

Murray, Les *The Quality of Sprawl: Thoughts about Australia*. Sydney: Duffy & Shellgrove, 1999.

O'Farrell, Patrick *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History*. Kensington: University of NSW Press, 1992.

O'Donoghue, Frances *The Bishop Of Botany Bay: The Life Of John Bede Polding, Australia's First Catholic Archbishop*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1982.

Pagonini, Anthony *Valiant Struggles and Benign Neglect: Italians, Church and Religious Societies in Diaspora; The Australian Experience from 1950 to 2000*. New York: Centre for Migrant Studies, 2003.

Pickard Stephen and Press Gordon, (eds.), *Starting With the Spirit*. Adelaide: Open Books, 2001.

Phillips, Walter *Defending "A Christian Country": Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and After*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981.

Polding, John Bede *The Eye Of Faith: The Pastoral Letters Of John Bede Polding*. Kilmore: Lowden Publication, 1977.

Polding, John Bede *The Letters Of John Bede Polding OSB*. Glebe Point: Sisters of the Good Samaritan, 1994.

Porter, Muriel *Land of the Spirit?* Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1990.

Powell, Mark *The Jesus Debate: Modern Historians Investigate the Life of Christ*. Oxford: Lion Publishing, 1998.

Provost, L. and Wlaf, M. (eds.), *Concilium: Power In The Church*. Edinburgh: Clarke, 1988.

Rahner, Karl *Faith and Mystery: Theological Investigations Volume Nineteen*. London: Darton, Longman, Todd, 1985.

Ransom, David *Across the Great Divide: Bridging Spirituality and Religion Today*. Strathfield: St.Paul's Publications, 2002.

Sawer, Geoffrey *The Australian Constitution.* Australian Government Publication, 1975.

Schillebeeckx, Edward *Church: The Human Story of God.* New York: Crossroad, 1995.

Schreiter, Robert *Constructing Local Theologies.* New York: Orbis Books, 1997.

Schreiter, Robert *The New Catholicity: Theology between the Global and the Local.* Maryknoll: Orbis, 1998.

Shoemaker, Adam (ed.), *A Sea Change: Australian Writing and Photography.* Sydney: Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games, 1998.

Stenhouse, Paul *Catholic Answers to "Bible" Christians.* Kensington: Chevalier Press, 1988.

Stenhouse, Paul *Why do Catholics...?* Kensington: Chevalier Press, 1986.

Stockton, Eugene (ed.), *Blue Mountain Dreaming.* Katoomba: Three Sisters Publication, 1993.

Tacey, David *Edge of the Sacred.* Melbourne: HaperCollins, 1995.

Tacey, David *Jung and the New Age.* London: Routledge, 2001.

Tacey, David *Re-Enchantment: The New Australian Spirituality.* Melbourne: HaperCollins, 2000.

Tacey, David *The Spiritual Revolution- The Emergence Of Contemporary Spirituality.* Pymble: HaperCollins, 2003.

Tanquerey, A., *The Spiritual Life: A Treatise on Ascetical and Mystical Theology,* New York: Tournai, 1930.

Thornhill, John *Christian Mystery In The Secular Age: The Foundation And Task Of Theology.* Westminster: Christian Classics, 1991.

Thornhill, John *Making Australia: Exploring Our National Conversation.* Newtown: Millennium, 1992.

Thornhill, John *Sign And Promise: A Theology Of Church For A Changing World.* London: Collins Liturgical, 1988.

Ullathorne, William Bernard *The Devil Is A Jackass: Being The Dying Words Of The Autobiographer William Bernard Ullathorne 1806-1889.* London: Downside Abbey Publications, 1995.

Waaijman, Kees *Spirituality: Forms, Foundations, Methods.* Leuven: Peeters, 2002.

Ward and Robertson, (eds.), *Such was Life: Selected Documents in Australian Social History.* Sydney: Ure Smith, 1970.

Wertheim, Margaret *The Pearly Gates of Cyberspace: a History of Space from Dante to the Internet.* Sydney: DoubleDay, 1999.

West, Morris *A View from the Ridge.* Sydney: HarperCollins, 1996.

Wilson, Martin *New, Old and Timeless, Pointers towards Indigenous Theology.* Kensington: Chevalier Press, 1979.

Windschuttle, Keith *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History: Volume One, Van Dieman's Land 1803-1847.* Sydney: MacLay, 2002.

Worgul, George *From Magic to Metaphor.* New York: Paulist Press, 1980.

Worms, E.A., *Australian Indigenous Religions.* Melbourne: Spectrum, 1988.

PERIODICAL ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

'From the Heart of Australia - Mary MacKillop: A Life and Legacy", *CathInt* 6(1995)5, 216-219.

Arrupe, Pedro "The Heart of Christ, Centre of the Christian Mystery and Key to the Universe", in Cuskelly, E.J. (Jim) (ed.), *With a Human Heart.* Kensington: Chevalier Press, nodate, 92.

Bevans, Stephen "Preface", in Goosen, Gideon Australian *Theologies: Themes and Methodologies into the Third Millennium*. Strathfield: St Paul's Publications, 2000*,* 9.

Brady, Veronica "Discovering an Australian Theology - A Review", *Pacifica* 3(1990)1, 87-92.

Brown, Neil "Falling Mass Attendance – a Pastoral Response", *ACR* 77(2000)1, 34-39.

Brundell, Barry "Australian Secularism and its Challenge", *Compass* 22(1988)3, 21-27.

Brundell, Barry "Religion in Australia", *Compass* 36(2002)4, 2-8.

Burke, Christine "Ministry as a Barometer of Change", in Malone (ed.), *Discovering an Australian Theology.* Strathfield: St. Paul's Publications, 1989, 89-94.

Canning, Raymond "Notes on Annual Conference of the Australian Catholic Theological Association", *ACR* 62(1985)4, 431-438.

Canning, Raymond "Notes on Annual Conference of the Australian Catholic Theological Association", *ACR* 63(1986)3, 420-423.

Canning, Raymond "Notes on Annual Conference of the Australian Catholic Theological Association", *ACR* 64(1987)4, 441-444.

Canning, Raymond "Sharpening the Questions" in Malone (ed.), *Discovering*, 73-82.

Casey, Michael "Adding Depth to Our Response to Local Culture" in Malone (ed.), *Discovering*, 121-126.

Cashen, Paul "Called to be Priest", A paper given at the Archdiocese of Adelaide Vocations Seminar, 1995.

Cashen, Paul "Different Necessary Conversations", *Mix* 8(2003)5, 4-5.

Cashen, Paul "From the Divine Comedy to the X-Files: A Conversation with the Beyond", A paper given at the LEST III Conference, Katholic Universite Leuven, 2001.

Cashen, Paul "Parish and Pastoral Leadership", A paper given at the International Rectors Conference, American College, Leuven, 1998.

Cashen, Paul "Pastoral Leadership", *Compass* 31(1997)2, 34-40.

Chaplin, Jan "With God's Help", *Compass* 16(1982)1, 5-7.

"Church-going in Australia", *Current Affairs Bulletin* 22(1958)4, 16-19.

Confoy, Maryanne "Women's Impact on Theological Education" in Malone (ed.), *Discovering*, 190-198.

Cross, Lawrence "The Precipice: An Image for Contemporary Australian Theology?", in Malone (ed.), *Discovering*, 150-157.

Curti, Eleanor "Who are the Neo-Cats?", *Tablet* (2001)1: available from http://www.thetablet.co.uk/cgi-bin/archive. Internet accessed 09/10/2003.

Cuskelly, E.J. (Jim), "Revival of a Devotion or Rebirth of a Spirituality", in Cuskelly, (ed.), *Human Heart*, 193-197.

D'Arcy, Eric "Religious Belief in Australia", *ACR,* 65(1988)3, 388-397.

Dawe, Bruce "My Experience of God", *Compass* 16(1982)1, 16.

Djiniyini, Gondarra "Aboriginal Christianity: Based on Indigenous Theology"*, NY* 24(1986), 30-36.

Djiniyini, Gondarra "Father, You Gave us the Dreaming", *Compass* 22(1988)1/2, 6-8.

Dodson, Patrick "The Land Our Mother, The Church Our Mother", *Compass* 22(1988)1/2, 1-3.

Dodson, Patrick "The Land, Our Mother", in Malone (ed.), *Discovering*, 83-85.

Doyle, E, "Women in the Church Today - Christifideles Laici", *ACR* 64(1989)4, 400-405.

Edwards Denis, "Sin and Salvation in the Land of the Holy Spirit", in Malone (ed.), *Discovering*, 175-187.

Edwards, Denis "Apprentices in Faith to the Indigenous View of the Land", *Compass* 20(1986)1, 23-29.

Fletcher, Frank "Australian Spirituality and Mary MacKillop", *Compass* 29(1995)1, 1-5.

Fletcher, Frank "Drink from the Wells of Oz", in Malone (ed.), *Discovering*, 59-73.

Fletcher, Frank "Aboriginals and White Structures", *NO* 12(1990)10, 30-31.

Fletcher, Frank "An Alternative Approach to the Wealth Inquiry", *Compass* 23(1989)2 and 3, 10-12.

Fletcher, Frank "Culture and Social Theology Within the Australian Context", *Compass* 22(1988)3, 28-37.

Fletcher, Frank "Experiencing Aboriginal Theology", *NO* 12(1990)6, 23-25.

Fletcher, Frank "Gospel and Australian Culture", *Compass* 21(1987)1, 2-6.

Fletcher, Frank "Striking the Rock", *Compass* 25(1991)4, 10-12.

Fletcher, Frank "The Church, the Council and the Politics of Reconciliation", *NO* 13(1991)9, 26-8.

Fletcher, Frank "The Struggle of Aboriginal People within Australian Society", *Compass* 26(1992)2, 46-8.

Flynn, Gabriel "Mon journal du Concile: Yves Congar and the Battle for a Renewed Ecclesiology at the Second Vatican Council", *Louvain Studies,* 28 (2003)1, 59-99.

Fraser, Morag and Reid, Duncan "Citizenship: Public life - Private Faith", *Interface: A Forum for Theology in the World,* 3(2000)1, 20-31.

Freeman, Laurence "A Sunburnt Soul", *Tablet* (1992)10, 1357-60.

Gallagher, J., "The New Agenda of Unbelief and Faith", in *Religion and Culture in Dialogue: A Challenge for the Next Millenium.* Dermot Lane (ed.), Dublin: Columba Press, 1993, 134-175.

Goosen, Gideon "Boomerang Theology: Reflection", *ACR,* 64(1987)3, 308-312.

Goosen, Gideon "Boomerang Theology on Materialism", *Compass* 17(1984)4, 16-26.

Hally, Cyril "Growth Patterns in the Catholic Church", Harris, Dorothy et al., (ed.), *The Shape Of Belief In Australia.* Homebush West: Lancer, 1982, 86-98.

Harris, Dorothy, "Counting Christians", Harris, et al., (eds.), *Shape*, 229-235.

Hasluck, Paul "Does Australian Have a Soul?" *Quadrant* (1990)2, 5.

Hegarty, K., "Faith Of Our Children", *Tablet* (1998)5, 344-345.

Hearity, Patricia "Evangelism and Culture" in Malone (ed.), *Discovering*, 197-209.

Hill, John "Introduction: An Australian theology?" in Neil Brown (ed.), *Reflections on Faith and Church, Faith and Culture Series.* Manly: Catholic Institute of Sydney, 1981, 1-4.

Hughes, Philip "Trends in Religious Identification", *Pointers* 12(2002)3, 1-3.

Hughes, Philip "Using Data from the Census and *NCLS* in Religious Organizations", *Pointers,* 12(2002)3, 4-7.

Insole, Christopher "A Wittgensteinian Philosphy Of Religion", *HJ* 39(1998)2-23.

John XXIII, "Announcement of Ecumenical Council and Roman Synod", *Pope Speaks* 5(1959)4, 398-401.

Kasper, Walter "The Future of Christianity: Truth and Dialogue in a Post-Modern Era", a paper delivered at Bonython Hall: Adelaide University, 4 July 2003.

Kelly, James "Religions: Towards a Different Paradigm", *LS* 27(2002)3, 310-61.

Kelly, Tony "Approaches to a Theology of the Holy Spirit", *Compass* 17(1984)1, 29-41.

Kelly, Tony "Experience and Theology", *Compass* 17(1984)4, 11-15.

Kelly, Tony "Functional Specialities in Theology", *Compass* 20(1986)1, 39-41.

Kelly, Tony "Lonergan's Dialectic: The Study of Conflicts", *Compass* 20(1986)1, 11-16.

Kelly, Tony "Theology in an Australian Context" in Malone (ed.), *Discovering*, 49-62.

Kelly, Tony "Whither 'Australian Theology'?: A response to Geoffrey Lilburne", *Pacifica* 12(1999)2, 192-101.

Kelly, Tony "From Cultural Images to Historical Reality", in Malone (ed.), *Developing*, 65-78.

Kelly, Tony "Poetry and the Language of Faith in Australia", *Compass* 35(2001)2, 3-9.

Kelly, Tony "Praxis and Pragmatism in an Australian Theology", *ACR* 17(1994)3, 261-73.

Kelly, Tony "Reflection on Spirituality and the Church", ACR 78 (2001)3, 309-315.

Kelly, Tony "Spirituality: An Australian Accent", *Way* 73(1992)2, 87-96.

Kelly, Tony "The Consumer *Does* Pay", *Compass* 36(2002)4, 17-23.

Kelly, Tony "Theology in an Australian Context: Towards a Framework of Collaborative Creativity", in V.C. Hayes (ed.), *Towards Theology in an Australian context.* Bedford Park: *AASR*, 1979 , 29-37.

Kelly, Tony "Theology in an Australian Context", *Compass* 12(1978)2, 1-7.

Kelly, Tony "The Distribution of Wealth in Australia", *Compass* 23(1989)2/3, 6-9.

Kelly, Tony "Wholeness: Ecological and Catholic", *Pacifica* 3(1990)2, 201-210.

Kirkwood, Patrick "Two Australian Poets as Theologians; Les Murray and Bruce Dawe", in Malone (ed.), *Discovering*, 183-95.

Litvack, Lean "Songs and Hymns of Irish Immigrants", in O'Sullivan, Patrick (ed.), *Religion and Identity: The Irish World Wide Vol. Five,* London: Leicester University Press, 1996, 85-99.

Maggiolini, A., "Magesterial Teaching on experience in the 20th Century", *Concilium* 33(1996)225-243.

Malone, Peter "Discovering an Australian Spirituality - III: The Desert", *Compass* 18(1984)4, 2-7.

Malone, Peter "Discovering an Australian Spirituality – IV", *Compass* 19(1985)2, 37-41.

Malone, Peter "Afterword", *Compass* 16(1982)1, 38-41.

Malone, Peter "Discovering an Australian Spirituality - an ongoing seminar II", *Compass* 18(1984)2, 41-45.

Malone, Peter "Discovering an Australian Spirituality - V: Australian Sinfulness", *Compass* 20(1986)2, 21-24.

Malone, Peter "Discovering an Australian Spirituality", *Compass* 17(1983)4, 27-38.

Malone, Peter "Discovering an Australian Spirituality", in Malone (ed.), *Discovering*, 1-7.

Marmion, D., "The Notion of Spirituality In The Theology Of Karl Rahner", *LS* 21(1996)1-56.

Martini, W., Cardinal "My dreams for the Church", *Tablet* (1999)10: available from http://www.thetablet.co.uk/cgi-bin/archive. Internet accessed 09/10/2003.

Matta, Irene "Coming to Australia", *Compass* 16(1982)1, 17-21.

Millikan, D., "Understanding an Australian Identity", in Harris et al. (eds.), *Shape*, 29-46.

McGregor, Russell "The Doomed Race: A Scientific Axiom of the Late Nineteenth Century", *Australian Journal for Politics and History,* 39(1993)1, 14-26.

Mol, J.J. (Hans), "Collation of Data about Religion in Australia", *Sociology and Culture* 14(1967)2, 20-31.

Moloney, Francis J., "A Theology of Multiculturalism", in Malone (ed.), *Discovering*, 46-59.

Moses, Gregory "The Pope Says Faith *and* Reason", *Compass* 13(1999)1, 13-16.

Murphy, Jeffery J., "Developing Perceptions about the Council and the Preparation Phase: 1960-62", *ACR* 79(2002) 1, 75-90.

Murphy, Jeffery J., "Romanita Mark II: Australian Bishops at Vatican II The Second Session:1963 ", *ACR* 79(2002)3, 341-60.

Murphy, Jeffery J., "Sane, Advanced Conservatism: Australian Bishops at Vatican II (The Third Session Continues: 1964)", *ACR* 80(2003)2, 219-38.

O'Farrell, Patrick "Foreword", in Harris et al. (eds.), *Shape*, viii.

Ogliari, Donato "Between *Traditio* and *Progressio:* Some Remarks on Augustinianism, Pelagianism, Massilianism and the Challenges of an *et-et* Theology", *LS,* 28(2003)1, 26-27.

O'Neil, Michele "God Always Loves, No Matter What", *Compass* 16(1982)1, 22-25.

Pasco, David "What Sort of Church for What Sort of World?" *ACR,* 79(2002)4, 428-443.

Pittarello, Adrian "Migrants and the Catholic Church in Australia", *ACR* 65(1988) 2, 147-158.

Powell, Allan "A Perception and Experience of God", *Compass* 16(1982)1, 25-29.

Pryor, Robin "Population Changes and Religious Allegiance", in Harris et al. (eds.), *Shape*, 76-80.

Putney, Michael "The Catechism of the Catholic Church in the Australian Context", *ACR* 71(1994)2, 387-399.

Rorty, Richard "Is Diderra a Transcendental Philosopher?" in Gary Madison (ed.), *Working Through Derrida.* Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993, 137-150.

Russell, Anthony "Sociology of Spirituality" in Jones, Cheslyn et al. (eds.), *A Study of Spirituality*. London: SPCK, 1986, 36-48.

Schneiders Sandra "Theology and Spirituality", *Horizons* 13(1986)76-82.

Shoemaker, Adam "Introduction: The Power of Transformation" in Adam Shoemaker (ed.), *A Sea Change: Australian Writing and Photography,* Sydney: Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games, 1998, 9-12.

Stockton, Eugene "Their Blackened Stump" *Compass* 22(1988)1/2, 19-25.

Taylor, Eugene "Desperately Seeking Spirituality", *Psychology Today*, (1994) 11, 1: available from http://www.elibrary.com/s/edumarkau/getdoc.cgi. Internet accessed 2/04/2003.

Thomas, Guboo "The Land is Sacred: Renewing the Dreaming in modern Australia", in Trompf, C., (ed.), *The Gospel is Not Western: Black theologies from the Southwest Pacific*, New York: Orbis Books, 1987, 90-4.

Thornhill, John "The Australasian Scene: A Parable of the Officers on the Crowed Ship", *ACR* 74(1997)1, 99-109.

Thornhill, John "Understanding the Church's present Difficulties and the Reactions they are Producing", *ACR* 76(1999)1, 3-10.

Thornhill, John "Creative Fidelity in a time of Transition", *ACR* 79(2002)1, 3-10.

Thornhill, John "Effective Pastoral Leadership: Forming the Disciples of the Lord?", *ACR* 76(1999)2 , 144-153.

Toohey, Peter "A Business Man and God", *Compass* 16(1982)1, 1-4.

Ungermerr, Miriam-Rose "Dadirri", *Compass* 22(1988) 1/2, 9-11.

Ungermerr, Miriam-Rose "Teaching and being Taught ", *Compass* 16(1982)1, 7-10.

Urquhart, Gordon "A Dead Man's Tale" *Tablet* (1997)3: available from http://www.thetablet.co.uk/cgi-bin/archive. Internet accessed 09/10/2003.

Woolnough, W., and Franzmann, M., "Interpreting Christ in an Australian Context", *Compass* 20(1986)1, 2-7.

White, Patrick "A Sense of Integrity", *Arena* 84(1988)103-105.

Wilson, Bruce "The Church in a Secular Society", in Harris et al. (ed.), *Shape*, 4-7.

Wilson, Martin "Indigenous Religion", *Compass* 12(1978)2, 8-13.

Zikmund, B.B., "What Is The Spirit Saying To The Churches", *ET* 25(1996)1-6.