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Australian Catholic University. <https://doi.org/10.26199/acu.8yyyy>

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The Reception of the Second Vatican Council's Vision of the Lay Apostolate within the Archdiocese of Hobart, Australia (1955–99)

By

Callum Dawson MA

A Thesis submitted in total fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

Research Institute of Religion and Critical Inquiry

Faculty of Theology and Philosophy

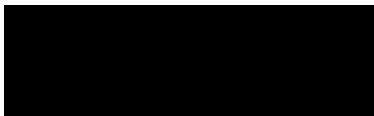
Australian Catholic University

Submitted 9th October 2022

Declaration of Authorship and Sources

This thesis contains no material that has been extracted in whole or in part from a thesis that I have submitted towards the award of any other degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis. All research procedures reported in the thesis received the approval of the relevant Ethics/Safety Committees (where required). I acknowledge the assistance of archivists who assisted me in the process of archival research: Eloise Armstrong, Dr. Pru Francis, Dr. Nick Brodie, Rachel Naughton, and Annie Pawley. I acknowledge the assistance of Archbishop Adrian Doyle, Maureen Cooper, Bev Voss, Neville Behrens, David Freeman, and Dr. Pru Francis, who allowed me to interview them for the purposes of research. I acknowledge the assistance of Professor Neil Ormerod, who provided a peer review which contributed to my successful application for ethical clearance conducting interviews.

Signature:

A solid black rectangular box used to redact the author's signature.

Conferences

On Thursday 17 March 2022, alongside Dr. Antonia Pizzey, I spoke on the topic of pre-conciliar approaches to ecclesiological renewal in Australia at an academic conference entitled “Vatican II after 60 Years: Developments and Expectations Prior to the Council” held at the Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium.

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to explore, synthesize, and reflect ecclesialogically upon the history of the reception and implementation of the Second Vatican Council's vision of the lay apostolate within the Archdiocese of Hobart, Australia, focusing on the episcopacies of Archbishops Guilford Young and Eric D'Arcy (1955–99). Young became Archbishop of Hobart in 1955. He attended the Council and was an active member of the International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL) and the *Consilium* responsible for the implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. For Young, this text promulgated a principle of adaptation applicable to areas of church life and mission beyond worship, including the lay apostolate. After Vatican II, he promoted a renewed appreciation for the dignity, equality, and shared responsibilities of the laity within the Archdiocese of Hobart. Amongst other conciliar documents, he was directly inspired by the Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, and the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes*. During Young's episcopacy, the reception and implementation of the Second Vatican Council's teachings unfolded in two stages: 1) a period of structural reform which expanded opportunities for lay participation within the life and mission of the Archdiocese of Hobart (1964–81); 2) and a period of research and consultation in response to pastoral concerns (1981–88), which resulted in the calling together of a Priests' Assembly (1984) and Diocesan Assembly (1986), and ended with the death of Young in 1988. Eric D'Arcy became Archbishop of Hobart in 1988. He sought to address the desire for renewal built-up in the previous decade by implementing a pastoral programme entitled "Renew" (1990–92), which encouraged lay Catholics to meet in groups amongst parishes and discuss their faith. During his episcopacy (1988–99), two movements emerged which promoted ecclesial paradigms and practices inspired by nostalgia for a pre-conciliar church of the past. 1) Catholics from Victoria organised protests against "Renew," seemingly dissatisfied with the status of the Catholic Church in Australia since the implementation of post-conciliar reforms. 2) The reintroduction of the Latin rite during the 1990s became a point of tension within the Archdiocese of Hobart. Tensions and divisions between priests and laity continued to develop. A report drafted after dialogue groups were held amongst parishioners at the end of D'Arcy's episcopacy (1999), recorded concerns that the archdiocese had moved away from conciliar teachings which envisioned the church as a pilgrim people. In conclusion, Young's openness to adaptation inspired by post-conciliar liturgical reform impacted many areas of the Archdiocese of Hobart, including the lay apostolate. By contrast, D'Arcy's episcopacy witnessed the emergence of two movements

which either downplayed or directly opposed liturgical innovation and lay participation. In these instances, the concept of adaptation was either ignored or rejected.

Abbreviations

Ad Gentes (AG)

Apostolicam Actuositatem (AA)

Australasian Catholic Record (A.C.R.)

Australian Catholic Social Justice Council
(A.C.S.J.C.)

Australian Labor Party (A.L.P.)

Australian Latin Mass Society (L.M.S.)

Australian National Secretariat of Catholic
Action (A.N.S.C.A.)

Christian Family Movement (C.F.M.)

Catholic Commission for Justice and
Peace (C.C.J.P.)

Catholic Social Studies Movement
(C.S.S.M.)

Catholic Social Teachings (C.S.T.)

Catholic Womens' League (C.W.L.)

Catholic Young Men's Societies
(C.Y.M.S.)

Christus Dominus (CD)

Democratic Labor Party (D.P.C.)

Diocesan Liturgical Commission (D.L.C.)

Diocesan Pastoral Council (D.P.C.)

Diocesan Senate of Priests (D.S.P.)

Ecclesiae Sanctae (ES)

Evangelii Nuntiandi (EN)

Familiaris Consortio (FC)

Gaudium et Spes (GS)

International Commission on English in
the Liturgy (ICEL)

Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne (J.O.C.)

Lumen Gentium (LG)

Mediator Dei (MD)

Melbourne Diocesan Historical
Commission (M.D.H.C.)

Mystici corporis Christi (MC)

National Catholic Rural Movement
(N.C.R.M.)

National Civic Council (N.C.C.)

Preparatory Committee for International
Lay Apostolate Congresses
(C.O.P.E.C.I.A.L.)

Presbyterorum Ordinis (PO)

Redemptor Hominis (RH)

Sacrosanctum Concilium (SC)

Society of St. Pius X (S.S.P.X.)

Young Christian Students (Y.C.S.)

Young Christian Workers (Y.C.W.)

Acknowledgments

It was my great privilege to travel to Hobart during the drafting of this thesis and interview a number of key individuals who worked diligently alongside Archbishops Guilford Young and Eric D’Arcy. With gratitude, I would like to extend my thanks to the following people for their willingness to be interviewed: Archbishop Adrian Doyle, Maureen Cooper, Bev Voss, Neville Behrens, David Freeman, and Dr. Pru Francis. The opportunity to speak with those who lived and breathed the excitement of the immediate post-conciliar era is a rapidly closing window and without their input this thesis would have remained impoverished. I would also like to extend my thanks to the archivists of the Catholic Archdiocese of Hobart for their collaboration in this project, including Dr. Pru Francis, Dr. Nick Brodie, and particularly Eloise Armstrong who is responsible for the enormous task of organizing Archbishop Guilford Young’s papers. I am particularly grateful that she was able to send me so many archival documents via email throughout the two-year lockdown in Melbourne (2019–21) prompted by the spread of Covid–19. Without her help, completing this thesis on time would not have been possible. I would also like to thank Rachel Naughton of the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission and Annie Pawley, archivist of the Archdiocese of Sale, who provided me with information essential for understanding Archbishop Eric D’Arcy’s Victorian background. Finally, I would not have been able to complete this project without the patience and wisdom of my supervisor Rev. Associate Professor Ormond Rush and my co-supervisors Dr. Christiaan Jacobs-Vandegeer and Professor Peter De Mey. Thank you to Dr. Antonia Pizzey for your support, advice, and assistance throughout the drafting of this thesis. Finally, I would like to thank my partner Alexandria Somirs, mother Jacqui Dawson, father Brian Dawson, and sister Caitlin Dawson. Your love and support made this journey possible and I am forever grateful.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1. Aim

The aim of this project is to reconstruct and reflect ecclesialogically upon the history of the reception and implementation of the Second Vatican Council's vision of the lay apostolate within the Archdiocese of Hobart, Australia, throughout the episcopacies of Archbishops Guilford Young (1955–88) and Eric D'Arcy (1988–99).¹ Gilles Routhier has observed that it was the life of churches which brought questions surrounding the reception of Vatican II to the forefront of theological discourse.² A historical study of the life of local churches has the potential to produce stimulating insights relevant to this field of study.

What was the Second Vatican Council? It was an ecumenical council convoked by Pope John XXIII on 25 December 1961. On 2 February 1962, the pope announced that the Council would open on 11 October.³ Preparatory commissions requested bishops, the heads of male religious orders and congregations, and Catholic universities to contribute suggestions regarding what should be discussed. The Council opened on 11 October 1962 and closed on 8 December 1965. It took place over four sessions, with progress being made between sessions. After the death of Pope John XXIII (3 June 1963) the work of the Council was continued by Paul VI (elevated on 21 June 1963). This event saw episcopal leaders, clerical, and religious theologians, and even lay auditors address the global Catholic Church on subjects of faith, church, revelation, and the modern world (amongst others). Observers included the heads of Catholic lay organizations, as well as journalists, and non-Catholics from Protestant and Orthodox traditions. Bishops conducted addresses and launched interventions in an attempt to persuade others to their viewpoint. Signing the interventions of others was another way to show support. In light of these discussions, commissions drafted (and re-drafted) texts concerned with fundamental themes of theology and ecclesiology. Bishops were able to vote whether to

¹ Ecclesiology is defined as the discipline concerned with critical reflection on the dominant paradigms of the identity of the church. See Paul Avis, "Introduction to Ecclesiology," ed. Paul Avis, Online ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Ecclesiology* (10 July 2018), Oxford Handbooks Online. 3.

² Gilles Routhier, "Reception in the Current Theological Debate," *The Jurist* 57, no. 1 (1997): 52. HeinOnline.

³ Joseph Komonchak, "The Struggle for the Council during the Preparation of Vatican II (1960–1962)," in *History of Vatican II: Announcing and Preparing Vatican Council II Toward a new Era in Catholicism*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak, vol. 1 (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1995), 336.

accept or reject them. By the Council's conclusion, sixteen documents had been promulgated, including four constitutions, nine decrees, and three declarations.

What do I mean when I use the term "Catholic lay apostolate"? In the broadest sense, I am referring to the contributions of baptized, non-ordained members of the Roman Catholic Church within the mission of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, carried out by the church.⁴ Note that due to the limitations of this project, I am not focused on the apostolate of lay religious brothers and nuns. Broadly, what do I mean when I refer to the "reception of doctrine"? According to Yves Congar, the reception of doctrine is a process by which a local church takes over as its own and acknowledges as a rule applicable to its own life a resolution that it did not originate. The reception of doctrine is a phenomenon of greater complexity than submission to episcopal authority.⁵

2. The Archdiocese of Hobart: A Case Study?

An Opportunity

For Routhier, the study of reception focuses on the agents of this process, the stages of its deployment, and the cultural space in which it occurred.⁶ For my own study, I have chosen to focus upon Young and D'Arcy (two central agents) and their episcopacies (encompassing multiple stages of deployment) within the Archdiocese of Hobart (a distinctly Australian cultural space). Why? First, there is a wealth of archival material available (including diocesan reports, episcopal speeches and lectures, the minutes of diocesan commissions, and media statements) and I have also had the opportunity to interview individuals who lived and worked alongside both Young and D'Arcy. Second, very little has actually been written about the lives and careers of either archbishop and pursuing this field of enquiry will result in the furtherance of knowledge. Not much literature has been published about Young's life or career, but what does exist is meaningful. In 1974, Richard Davis published a book on the campaign to acquire

⁴ See the entry for "*apostolatus*" in Leo Stelten, *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin* (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 294.

⁵ Yves Congar, "Reception as an Ecclesiological Reality," in *Readings in Church Authority*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Anton Weiler, Concilium (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), 317.

⁶ Gilles Routhier, *Vatican II: Herméneutique et réception* (Saint-Laurent, Québec: Fides, 2006), 88.

state funding for Catholic education in Tasmania.⁷ This was a story in which Young was a key player. A book published in 1975 by the Australian diplomat Alfred Stirling sets down personal recollections of relations between Australia and the Vatican, beginning with the appointment of the first Apostolic Delegate to Australia in April 1914.⁸ A high church Anglican fascinated with the possibility of closer relations with Rome, Stirling attended Vatican II and was very familiar with Young. “An auxiliary at thirty-one, Archbishop at thirty-eight, he had been at the time of his first consecration the youngest Bishop in Australia and probably the world. Still in his mid forties, he looked less - a Queenslander, tall, slight, with striking features. He was trained in Rome, he had as a very young priest been attached to the Vatican secretary to the then Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Panico.”⁹ Stirling hosted Young and other Australian bishops as guests during the Council multiple times. His book provides a window into dinner conversations and personal encounters between Australian bishops and others at the Council. Further, it reveals that Young’s efforts to promote the Council’s ecumenical message made a deep impression on Australian Christians of other denominations. In 1983, the Tasmanian chronicler Fr. Terrence W. Southerwood completed a short work on Young’s contributions to the development of Catholic education within the Archdiocese of Hobart.¹⁰ A year after Young’s death in 1988, the archbishop became the subject of a biography by Southerwood entitled *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*. The purpose of *Wisdom* is to commemorate Young’s life and legacy, ensuring that he would be remembered as a towering personality and energetic conciliar reformer.¹¹ There is an honesty in Southerwood’s reflections on Young’s personality which make the epilogue a worthwhile read. This is the only place I have found where anyone

⁷ Richard Davis, *A Guide to the State Aid Tangle in Tasmania* (Hobart: Cat & Fiddle Press, 1974).

⁸ Alfred Stirling, *A Distant View of the Vatican* (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1975), i.

⁹ Stirling, *A Distant View of the Vatican*, 68.

¹⁰ Terrence W. Southerwood, *Guilford Young, A Great Endeavour: Archbishop Sir Guilford Young’s Work for Education in Australia* (George Town, Tasmania: Stella Maris Books, 1983).

¹¹ Terrence W. Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young* (George Town, Tasmania: Stella Maris Books, 1989), 7. Southerwood remains the expert on Young’s life and history, having provided an entry on the archbishop for the Australian Dictionary of Biography. “Young, Sir Guilford Clyde (1916–1988),” Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 2012, accessed 23 April 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/young-sir-guilford-clyde-15816/text27015>.

articulates a suspicion that Young had *tampered* with his own legacy; with Southerwood professing his belief that: “some intimate material, has, at Dr. Young’s request, already been destroyed”.¹² It is hard not to compare this speculation with the reality of Archbishop Daniel Mannix of Melbourne, who famously had compromising documents burned.¹³ While Young had mostly been free in allowing Southerwood to publish his speeches, after 1985 he became increasingly reluctant.¹⁴ It is possible that those documents Southerwood believed destroyed were sermons or public outbursts which Young had come to regret. In an interview, David Freeman recalls some of the strange sermons given by Young (known as “Gillie” to his friends) in the late 1980s: “And he gave a strange sermon about how a priest’s vocation is worth that much more than a nun’s, just as a nun’s is worth that much more than a lay-person. Which is such a pity [. . .]. His mind wasn’t what it was. Because the Vatican II ‘Gillie’ [. . .] would never have said anything like that.”¹⁵ The archbishop was possessed of the same fallibilities that age and time dispense to all. It is a testament to the wisdom of his younger self that so much of ecclesial renewal in the 1980s had been placed in the hands of others. Writing on the contributions of Australian bishops to Vatican II, William Ryder observed that amongst the small handful of propositions regarding lay people, Young was the only one to recommend that a doctrine of the lay state be developed.¹⁶ He also examined how Young had followed up on concerns expressed within his *votum* (recommendation) during the Council’s sessions.¹⁷ A paper by Frederick McManus on the first years of the conciliar International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL), written with the assistance of living members of the original

¹² Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 705.

¹³ “Mannix, Daniel (1864–1963),” Australian Dictionary of Biography, Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 2006, accessed 23 April 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mannix-daniel-7478/text13033>.

¹⁴ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 706.

¹⁵ David Freeman, “Interview Transcript,” interview by Callum Dawson, 13 July 2021, 23.

¹⁶ William Ryder, “The Australian Bishops’ Proposals for Vatican II,” *Australasian Catholic Record* 65 (January 1988): 67.

¹⁷ See William Ryder, “Contribution of Bishop Goody and Archbishop Young to the Ecclesiology of Vatican II,” *Australasian Catholic Record* 65 (1988): 211–21. I draw my translation of the Latin term *votum* and its plural *vota* from Stelten, *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin*, 289.

Chapter One: Introduction

episcopal and advisory committees, bears witness to Young's passion for liturgical reform at Vatican II. As a vice-chairman of ICEL, Young provided great pastoral experience and knowledge of the liturgical movement. McManus traces Young's "liturgical strengths" to his pilgrimage to Saint John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota ("the heart and head of such renewal in North America"), and tutelage under Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B.¹⁸ In his thesis on the contributions of Australian bishops to Vatican II, Murphy portrays the archbishop as someone who "bridged the old and modern eras" of the Catholic Church, embracing conciliar reform but also occasionally manifesting views at variance with his "liberal credentials".¹⁹ To commemorate one-hundred years since his birth, the Archives of the Archdiocese of Hobart conducted interviews and created a documentary entitled: *Guilford Young: Beacon of Light* (2016).²⁰ These interviews reveal the love and fondness that many still feel for Young and his efforts to renew the archdiocese.

As for D'Arcy, very little has been written about his life. As a notable Australian philosopher, he warranted a mention in James Franklin's book on the history of philosophy in Australia.²¹ He was described as "an admirer of linguistic philosophy, but conservative in theology and politics".²² Catholic media sources (especially the *Melbourne Advocate*) followed his burgeoning career with great enthusiasm. As an academic, D'Arcy's book and journal publications constitute an opportunity to appreciate his rigorous mind.²³ At the same time, he

¹⁸ Frederick McManus, "ICEL: The First Years," in *Shaping of the English Liturgy*, ed. Peter Finn and James Schellman (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1990), 441.

¹⁹ Jeffrey Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II: 1959–1965" (PhD diss., Griffith University, 2001), 108, footnote 8.

²⁰ "Guilford Young: A Beacon of Light," (Tasmania, Australia: Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection, 2016).

²¹ James Franklin, *Corrupting the Youth: A History of Philosophy in Australia* (Paddington, NSW: Macleay Press, 2003), 151.

²² Franklin, *Corrupting the Youth*, 151.

²³ See for example: Eric D'Arcy, *Conscience and its Right to Freedom* (London, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961); Eric D'Arcy, *Human Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963); Eric D'Arcy, "Religious Belief in Australia: Roman Secretariat for Non-Believers - Bishop D'Arcy's Address to Plenary Assembly," *Australasian Catholic*

remains bereft of any official biography and left behind few personal papers. However, an unpublished autobiography of the Archbishop of Hobart Arian Doyle's own life and career bears testimony to both Young and D'Arcy's leadership in a chapter entitled: "Bishops in my Life".²⁴

A Comparative Case Study

Further, the stories of Young and D'Arcy constitute an opportunity for a comparative historical case study within a single diocese. After the Council, a vision of the church as the people of God rose to prominence. This ecclesiology is articulated by the second chapter on the Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, and emphasizes a shared sense of "dignity and responsibility" (LG 37) amongst the faithful, imparted by baptism, which exists prior to the allotment of rank or station.²⁵ This vision relativizes the primacy of the hierarchy in light of baptismal identity, running counter to an established understanding which often conflated clergy with the church. After Vatican II, the laity were no longer defined over against the hierarchy. Rather, both were set within the broader context of the church as the people of God. The prominence of this vision was summarised by Yves Congar: "The starting point now is the idea of the People of God, the whole of it active, the whole of it consecrated, the whole a witness and sign of the purpose of God's grace for the imparting of that purpose to the world. The whole living People has a structure [. . .] thus the hierarchical fact is set within this whole People of God".²⁶ This resulted in a renewed appreciation for the importance of lay ministries amongst many dioceses, including Hobart. While Young drew upon a plurality of ecclesial imagery in his own writings and reflections, a case will be made that the people of God

Record 65, no. 4 (October 1988): 387–95. Informit; Eric D'Arcy, "Towards the First Golden Age?,"

Australasian Catholic Record 74, no. 3 (01 July 1997): 294–306. Informit.

²⁴ Adrian Doyle, *The First 80 Years*, Series No. 15.01, Office of the Emeritus Archbishop: Adrian Doyle - Memoirs, 74–80, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection, Unpublished.

²⁵ Within chapters one, two, and three English quotes from the Vatican II documents are drawn from: Austin Flannery, ed., *Vatican Council II, Constitutions Decrees Declarations: A Completely Revised Translation in Inclusive Language*, (New York, Dublin: Costello Publishing Company, Dominican Publications, 1996).

²⁶ Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church: A Study for a Theology of Laity*, trans. Donald Attwater (London, Dublin: Geoffrey Chapman, 1965), 25.

ecclesiology was important for his renewed understanding of the lay apostolate after Vatican II.

The Extraordinary Synod of 1985 marked twenty years since the end of the Council. It was an occasion for the international college of bishops to reflect on how conciliar teachings might continue to be received in new circumstances. The Synod has been accused of reducing the importance of the people of God ecclesiology, with the term appearing only once in the Synod's *Final Report* amongst a list of other images of the church and in the title of its *Message to the People of God*.²⁷ Writing on the Synod not long after its conclusion, Avery Dulles observed that: "The Synod has been particularly reproved for having practically suppressed the theme of the People of God in its final documents. It is indeed surprising that the Synod, which purported to be reaffirming the Vatican II ecclesiology, should have so distanced itself from what many regard as the dominant ecclesial image of the Council."²⁸ Dulles wrote that the Synod's reticence toward using this term was grounded in the amount of confusion it had generated. Reports from Dutch, Belgian, and French bishops stated that the people of God image had encouraged an illegitimate proliferation of democratic thinking within the church. German speakers reported their desire to protect this ecclesiology from, "socio-political deformations". An African archbishop believed it had encouraged confusion regarding the distinction between the common priesthood of all the faithful and ministerial priesthood of the ordained.²⁹ The Synod's secretary, Walter Kasper, maintained that this image had been misunderstood as denoting purely political associations.³⁰ Dulles identified two schools of thought active at the Synod. The first is described as "neo-Augustinian," while the second was characterized by the humanitarian tendencies of Pope John XXIII. While the former claimed

²⁷ "Message to the People of God," in *Documents of the Extraordinary Synod of Bishops: November 28 – December 8, 1985* (Australia: St. Paul Publications, 1986); "Final Report," in *Documents of the Extraordinary Synod of Bishops: November 28 – December 8, 1985* (Australia: St. Paul Publications, 1986), 26.

²⁸ Avery Dulles, "The Reception of Vatican II at the Extraordinary Synod of 1985," in *The Reception of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo, Jean-Pierre Jossua, and Joseph Komonchak (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1987), 352.

²⁹ Dulles, "The Reception of Vatican II at the Extraordinary Synod of 1985," 352–53.

³⁰ Walter Kasper, "The Church as Communion: Reflection on the Guiding Ecclesiological Idea of the Second Vatican Council," in *Theology and Church* (New York: Crossroad, 1989), 162.

that the church had contaminated itself by responding to the Council's call to dialogue with a world ultimately wrought with sin, the latter believed that if the state of the church was dire it was because leadership had failed to receive the reforms of Vatican II. The neo-Augustinians believed it would be a mistake to continue in the post-conciliar project of reforming and modernizing church structures. An over-abundance of committees and agencies had rendered bishops ineffectual as an evangelical sign of Christ's love.³¹ Thus, they called the church to take a "sharper stance against the world and seek to arouse the sense of God's holy mystery".³² The neo-Augustinian suspicion of the world and reform of church structures is reflected in a discussion with one of its advocates, Joseph Ratzinger (future Pope Benedict XVI). Since 1981, he had been Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and tasked with defending and affirming Catholic doctrine. In an interview with the journalist Vittorio Messori, Ratzinger insisted that ecclesial reform should be characterized by the renewal of a person's holy life, rather than church structures.³³ The *Final Report* argues that the reception of Vatican II thus far has put too much stress on an institutional understanding of the church, devoid of mystery.³⁴ Instead, the report articulates a preference for the term "communion" as "the central and fundamental idea of the Council's documents".³⁵ Kasper came to value the communion-ecclesiology during his preparations for the Synod and was responsible for introducing it as a central theme.³⁶ In the first instance, this concept is not concerned with church structures, but rather its nature in relationship with the divine communion of Trinitarian persons. As Kasper acknowledges, the vision of communion expresses the "mystery" of the church. "The term *communio* does not initially have anything to do with questions about the church's structure. The word points rather to 'the real thing' (*res*) from which the church comes and for which it lives. *Communio* is not a description of the church's structure. It describes its nature or, as the

³¹ Dulles, "The Reception of Vatican II at the Extraordinary Synod of 1985," 353–54.

³² Dulles, "The Reception of Vatican II at the Extraordinary Synod of 1985," 354.

³³ Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger with Vittorio Messori, *The Ratzinger Report: An Exclusive Interview on the State of the Church*, trans. Salvator Attanasio and Graham Harrison (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1985), 53.

³⁴ "Final Report," 21.

³⁵ "Final Report," 35.

³⁶ Walter Kasper, *The Catholic Church: Nature, Reality and Mission* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 21, ProQuest.

council puts it, its ‘mystery.’”³⁷ In opting for the language of communion and mystery, the Synod focused upon a highly idealized vision of the church.³⁸ By emphasizing the supernatural nature of the church (communion) and practically suppressing its sociological dimensions (the people of God), was the Synod promoting an unbalance vision of the church? As Peter De Mey observes, many commentators have speculated, “whether the appeal to ‘Church as Mystery’ in the Synod’s Final Report does not function as an ideological weapon to stop ‘legitimate questions from the people of God.’ Because emphasis is laid on the ‘eschatological character’ and ‘universal vocation to holiness’ of the Church, this mystery seems to refer to an almost unrealisable ideal.”³⁹ Is it possible that the language of communion may (intentionally or not) elevate hierarchical structures beyond the reach of legitimate criticisms by focusing on the supernatural nature of the church and de-emphasizing a vision which had focused upon the people? The *Final Report* suggests that the church becomes more credible when it speaks less about itself and more about Christ.⁴⁰ However, when abuses within the community emerge, the church would be at serious fault if it did not continue to speak about itself and interrogate its own systems of power.

The Archdiocese of Hobart presents itself as a unique case study amongst local churches. The transition between Young and D’Arcy’s episcopacies constitutes a relatively clear delineation between two periods of post-conciliar reception history: one where the people of God ecclesiology was promoted by Vatican II (Young was archbishop from 1955–88) and another where this same ecclesiology had been de-emphasized by the Extraordinary Synod of 1985 in favour of an ecclesiology of communion (D’Arcy was archbishop from 1988–99). This was not the only significant difference between their episcopacies, however. While Young had promoted the spread of the new English liturgy after Vatican II, D’Arcy allowed the return of Latin worship in the form of the Tridentine Mass approved by Pope John XXIII in 1960. Further, while resistance to post-conciliar reform during Young’s episcopacy had been

³⁷ Kasper, “The Church as Communion,” 151.

³⁸ “Final Report,” 36.

³⁹ Peter De Mey, “Church as Sacrament: A Conciliar Concept and its Reception in Contemporary Theology,” in *The Presence of Transcendence: Thinking ‘Sacrament’ in a Postmodern Age*, ed. Lieven Boeve and John C. Ries (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 187.

⁴⁰ “Final Report,” 26.

minimal, D'Arcy's era witnessed one of the earliest organized protests against ecclesial renewal within the Archdiocese of Hobart. Comparing and contrasting the episcopacies of these two archbishops presents an opportunity to dissect historical moments of reception and resistance to Vatican II teachings in Australia.

3. Conclusion

In conclusion, the episcopacies of Young and D'Arcy within the Archdiocese of Hobart present a valuable case study. The transition from one to the other represents a relatively neat delineation between two periods of church history. During Young's episcopacy (1955–88) an ecclesiology of the people of God was greatly influential. By contrast, D'Arcy became archbishop of Hobart after the Extraordinary Synod of 1985 had practically repressed the idea of the people of God in favour of an ecclesiology of communion. Further, while Young's episcopacy was a time of enthusiastic conciliar reception, serious examples of resistance to the Council became more evident during D'Arcy's episcopacy. The Archdiocese of Hobart presents a novel case study of Australian Catholics receiving and resisting the teachings of Vatican II.

Chapter Two: State of the Question

1. First Reactions to the Council

What has been written so far about the history of local churches in Australia receiving and implementing the teachings of Vatican II? After the Council, newspapers such as the *Melbourne Advocate* and *Tasmanian Standard* played an important role in the initial dissemination of new teachings, as well as connecting Australian Catholics to important events happening on the other side of the world. Journalists were significant intermediaries between the people and Vatican II as it unfolded. Australia's Michael Costigan, former priest-journalist and editor of the *Advocate*, played an important role in this process by attending the second session of the Council and reporting on the ground. Costigan credits Young with the commission which allowed him to attend the Council, after a speech given at an annual convention of the Australian Catholic Press (1963) urging greater representation of the Australian media at the second session.⁴¹

Australians published theological and philosophical commentaries on conciliar documents and themes early after the Council's close (1965). For the Walter Abbott English translation of the documents of Vatican II (1966), Young contributed an introduction to the Decree on Priests, *Presbyterorum Ordinis*.⁴² There he stressed that the Council envisioned the priest "as a brother among brothers' vis-a-vis the laity".⁴³ In 1973, the Melbourne Catholic philosopher Max Charlesworth (D'Arcy's former academic promoter) published a collection of essays on church, state, and freedom of conscience. Amongst other things, he lamented that the Council had not further elaborated upon the doctrine establishing the infallibility of the whole believing community.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Michael Costigan, "Vatican II as I Experienced it," *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society* 33 (2012): 85. Informit.

⁴² Guilford Young, "Priests," in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter Abbott (London, Dublin: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), 526–31.

⁴³ Young, "Priests," 528.

⁴⁴ Max Charlesworth, *Church, State and Conscience: Collected Essays* (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1973), 92.

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The motivations of authors ranged from deep suspicion to immense enthusiasm in the face of reform. At Vatican II there had been both “conservative” and “progressive” Australian bishops; though as the previous Pope Benedict XVI notes, it might be more accurate to identify the former party with an established juridical mode of thought and the latter with an emerging receptivity to historical thinking.⁴⁵ Australia was no exception, both during and after the Council. For example, compare the Bishop of Sandhurst Bernard Stewart’s catechetical treatise for religious educators (1970) on Vatican II, with a book by Fr. Charles Mayne, S. J. (a professor and rector of the Victorian diocesan seminaries at Werribee and Glen Waverley, Melbourne), on lay ministries and parish renewal (1979). Stewart insisted that the Council had changed nothing within the deposit of doctrine.⁴⁶ By contrast, Mayne reflected on the possibility of reform for the sake of healthy parishes.⁴⁷ Notably, both relied upon post-conciliar resources to interpret texts. Suspicious of false interpretations of the Council, Stewart granted Pope Paul VI’s *Creed of the People of God* (1968) primacy over the conciliar documents themselves when drawing up a list of authoritative texts for teachers to follow.⁴⁸ Mayne, however, owed his understanding of lay ministry to Léon Joseph Cardinal Suenens’ principle of co-responsibility. “The old model was vertical ministry. Everything passed from the Pope to the bishops, from bishops to priests, from priests down to the faithful. The idea since the Vatican Council has been lateral ministry. Another word for that is collegiality or co-responsibility. Collegiality is spoken of in the context of the universal Church. But it can be applied to the parish too.”⁴⁹ Mayne believed that Vatican II had brought about significant change. Though divergent in orientation to the possibility of development, both authors needed to go beyond Vatican II in order to interpret the content of its teachings.

⁴⁵ Joseph Ratzinger, *Theological Highlights of Vatican II* (New York: Paulist Press, 2009), 171–72.

⁴⁶ Bernard Stewart, *The Catholic Religion: With Peter and Under Peter*, 2nd ed. (Melbourne: Campion Press, 1970), 3.

⁴⁷ Bob Wilkinson and Charles Mayne, *Parish and Lay Renewal*, ed. Charles Mayne (Scoresby, Victoria: Society of St. Paul, 1979).

⁴⁸ Stewart, *The Catholic Religion*, 7.

⁴⁹ Wilkinson and Mayne, *Parish and Lay Renewal*, 45.

2. Histories of the Catholic Church in Australia

Changes wrought in the 1960s and 70s kick-started a “nostalgia industry” (a term borrowed from the Australian historian Patrick O’Farrell) in the 1980s which extended into the 90s and early 2000s, as Catholics sought to commemorate and understand all that had occurred both before and after the Council.⁵⁰ Four forms of historical writing came into vogue. The first were histories of the Catholic Church in Australia. In this field two scholars made their mark: Patrick O’Farrell and Fr. Edmund Campion. Both present nuanced and detailed histories of the church; beginning with its earliest days clinging to existence in harsh bush country, and concluding with speculations on the community’s uncertain future projected beyond the 1980s. Both recognize the rich panoply of creativity and confusion brought about in Australia by Vatican II. However, O’Farrell tends to stress the *fragmentation* of Catholic identity in the face of change; while Campion seems more willing to recognize the value of post-conciliar *pluralism*.⁵¹ This is a useful dialectic for understanding Australian reactions to the Council; where some mourned the loss of an established monolithic identity, others sought to embrace a future church characterized by increasing diversity. Since this thesis is focused upon Young, it is also worth mentioning that his biographer, Fr. Terrence Southerwood, published a time-line of the Catholic Church in Australia (1993), a project which reflected his skill set as a chronicler.⁵²

3. Diocesan Histories

The second genre of historical literature focuses on changes within specific dioceses before, during, and after the Council. These are a useful resource for understanding the particular histories of Catholic lay organizations. In 1986, Colin Jory published a history of the Campion Society, one of the most influential lay intellectual groups in Australia. His work primarily

⁵⁰ Patrick James O’Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History*, third rev. ed. (Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1992), 438. This text was revised from previous editions, including: *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History*, rev. ed. (Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1985); *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia: A History*, rev. ed. (West Melbourne, Victoria: Thomas Nelson Australia, 1977); *The Catholic Church in Australia: A Short History, 1788-1967* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia, 1968). I will rely upon the 1992 edition.

⁵¹ O’Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 427; Edmund Campion, *Australian Catholics* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1988), 248.

⁵² Terrence W. Southerwood, *A Time-Line of Catholic Australia* (Sandy Bay: Stella Maris Books, 1993).

focused on their activities within the archdioceses of Melbourne and Sydney.⁵³ The same year, a history of the Catholic Womens' League in Tasmania authored by Anne Rushton Nuss was published.⁵⁴ Scholarship in the 1990s witnessed an emerging recognition of the contributions made by young Catholics to the history of the church in Australia. Val Noone recovered a sense of social responsibility and rebelliousness which had characterized young Melbourne Catholics and Young Christian Worker members of the 1960s.⁵⁵ Geraldine Crane contributed to a wider knowledge of Australian Catholic youth movements by writing a history of the Brisbane N.C.G.M./Y.C.W. girls' organization.⁵⁶ A collection of memoirs and talks from former students of Melbourne University was published to honour the life of Newman Society chaplain, Fr. Jerry Golden.⁵⁷ On the subject of the post-conciliar reform of Catholic education, Anne O'Brien has written on the history of Catholic educational reform in Victoria and Fr. Terrence Southerwood has recorded Young's contributions to the development of Catholic education within the Archdiocese of Hobart.⁵⁸

4. Autobiographies

Witnesses to Reform

Third, autobiographies provide a witness to changes brought about by the Council. In his own autobiography, David Shinnick, a participant in the credit union movement, ecumenical activities, and the broader post-conciliar evolution of organizational structures within the

⁵³ Colin Jory, *The Champion Society and Catholic Social Militancy in Australia 1929–1939* (Sydney: Harpham, 1986).

⁵⁴ Anne Rushton Nuss, *Women of Faith and Action: History of the Catholic Women's League, Tasmania (1941–1986)* (Hobart, Tasmania: Southern Holdings Pty. Ltd., 1986).

⁵⁵ Val Noone, *Disturbing the War: Melbourne Catholics and Vietnam* (Richmond, Victoria: Spectrum Publications, 1993).

⁵⁶ Geraldine Crane, *Ordinary Young Women Doing Extraordinary Things: The Brisbane NCGM/YCW (Girls) Story 1945–1970* (Brisbane: YCW Past Members Association Brisbane, 1999).

⁵⁷ Val Noone et al., eds., *Golden Years Grounds for Hope: Father Golden and the Newman Society 1950–1966* (Melbourne: Golden Project, 2008).

⁵⁸ Anne O'Brien, *Blazing a Trail: Catholic Education in Victoria 1963–1980* (Ringwood, Victoria: David Lovell Publishing, 1999); Terrence W. Southerwood, *Guilford Young, A Great Endeavour: Archbishop Sir Guilford Young's Work for Education in Australia* (George Town, Tasmania: Stella Maris Books, 1983).

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Archdiocese of Adelaide, positively recognized the “considerable plurality” which the Council had brought to the church in Australia.⁵⁹ Shinnick had spent most of his life concerned with political and social issues. In 1942 he entered into St. Francis Xavier’s Seminary in Adelaide and completed his secondary education, as well as three years of scholastic philosophy where he found himself attracted to the study of social ethics. In 1949 he studied theology at *Corpus Christi* College in Werribee, Victoria. Encouraged by the Rector, Fr. Mayne, he acquired a deeper understanding of Catholic Social teachings, the lay apostolate, and the role of the laity in society. At that time, Shinnick was exposed to the literature of the priest worker movement in France including *Revolution in a City Parish* by Abbe Michonneau and *France Pagan* by Maisie Ward, Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin’s *American Catholic Worker*, and the liturgical journal *Orate Fratres*. He was also influenced by local publications, including those produced by the Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action such as *Fundamental Principles of Catholic Action*, *Studies in Catholic Action*, the bishops Social Justice Statements, *Pattern for Peace*, and *Self-Government for Industry*. He also drew inspiration from the *Melbourne Catholic Worker*. At the end of his third year in 1951 he began to have doubts about ordination and after taking a year off due to ill-health decided not to become a priest. Between 1952–55 he became involved in the Adelaide branch of the Y.C.W., the Newman Institute for Christian Studies and the Movement.⁶⁰ The post-conciliar period saw Shinnick immersed in a number of developments that mirrored those occurring in the Archdiocese of Hobart at the time. He joined both the Adelaide diocesan pastoral council (in 1968) and the diocesan liturgical commission.⁶¹ In 1972, he was invited by the bishops to become a member of the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace.⁶² His career was characterized by a deep commitment to the promotion of social justice, adult education, and the lay apostolate within the Archdiocese of Adelaide. He

⁵⁹ David Shinnick, *Journey into Justice: A Journey through the Lay Apostolate into Promoting Justice 1951 to 1981 with a Vision and some Guidelines for the Future* (Clovelly Park, South Australia: David Shinnick, 1982), 69.

⁶⁰ Shinnick, *Journey into Justice*, 17–20.

⁶¹ Shinnick, *Journey into Justice*, 27–28.

⁶² Shinnick, *Journey into Justice*, 36.

believed his approach had been vindicated by the publication of the Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity, *Apostolicam Actuositatem*.⁶³

Born in Manly, New South Wales, the life of the theologian Rosemary Goldie was greatly intertwined with the history of the Council's understanding of the lay apostolate. The French Sorbonne's first Australian student, she joined the Permanent Committee for International Congresses of the Lay Apostolate, assisted in preparations for the second and third world congresses of the lay apostolate (1955 and 1967), participated as a lay-auditor at Vatican II, and became under-secretary to the Council on the Laity (later the Pontifical Council for the Laity) created in 1967 by Pope Paul VI's Apostolic Letter, *Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*.⁶⁴ Her autobiography is both a detailed account of her life and a well-researched essay on the history in which she participated.⁶⁵

Post-Conciliar Critics

The genre of autobiography has also allowed authors to level criticisms at hierarchical leadership as a dimension of their personal reflections. Amongst those who have done so, there are few figures more divisive in the history of the Catholic Church in Australia than B. A. Santamaria. He was the *de facto* leader of Australian Catholic Action in the 1940s and 50s and the head of two powerful lay organizations: the National Catholic Rural Movement and Catholic Social Studies Movement, also known simply as the "Movement" by Australian political historians. He was also a former member of the Campion Society, director of the Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action (A.N.S.C.A.), and close friend with the body's episcopal president Archbishop Daniel Mannix of Melbourne. Santamaria marshalled his resources in a failed political takeover of the Australian Labor Party (one of two major political parties within Australia), which split the party in the 1950s and kept it from re-election until the 1970s. Literature about Santamaria lies at the intersection between studies on the

⁶³ Shinnick, *Journey into Justice*, 26.

⁶⁴ "Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam (6 January 1967): Apostolic Letter of Pope Paul VI," Vatican, accessed 9 September 2022, https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/la/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-vi_motu-proprio_19670106_catholicam-christi-ecclesiam.html.

⁶⁵ Rosemary Goldie, *From a Roman Window: The World, the Church and the Catholic Laity* (Victoria: Harper Collins Religious, 1998).

modern history of the Catholic Church in Australia and the evolution of Australian politics.⁶⁶ Santamaria accepted the Council's legitimacy, but also claimed its implementation had been high-jacked by "theologians-turned-propagandists" who sought to empty the church of all supernatural content.⁶⁷ Rather than rejecting Vatican II, it might be said that Santamaria held an exaggerated vision of its implementation, exasperated by the immense cultural changes which followed. As Ross Fitzgerald observes, these changes contributed to a crisis of authority amongst the laity, who no longer gathered unquestioningly around their episcopal leaders. This phenomenon is best exemplified by the attitude of many Australians toward Pope Paul VI's encyclical on birth control, *Humane Vitae* (1968). Many lay Catholics simply ignored its edicts, unwilling to endure the poverty which overshadowed large families. It is likely that nothing any bishop might have said could reverse this situation, which had more to do with broader cultural changes and the economic ascension of Catholics into the middle class. Notably, this meant that the Democratic Labor Party (D.L.P.) and Santamaria's National Civic Council (N.C.C.), an organisation formed after the dissolution of the Movement in the late 1950s, could no longer reliably mobilise a disciplined voting block amongst Catholic communities.⁶⁸ Any issues Santamaria may have had with Vatican II seemingly had more to do with the formation of a new cultural landscape, an event which the Council had not caused but occurred simultaneously.

⁶⁶ See for example: Gerard Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria and the Bishops* (Sydney: St. Patrick's College, 1982); Edmund Campion, *The Santamaria Movement: A Question of Loyalties*, Working Papers in Australian Studies; no. 83, (London: Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1993); Bruce Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy: Catholics and the Anti-Communist Struggle in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2001); Ross Fitzgerald, Adam Carr, and William Dealy, *The Pope's Battalions: Santamaria, Catholicism* (Australia: University of Queensland Press, 2003); Race Mathews, "Collateral Damage: B. A. Santamaria and the Marginalising of Social Catholicism," *Labour History* 92 (May 2007). JSTOR; Patrick Morgan, ed., *B. A. Santamaria: Your Most Obedient Servant - Selected Letters: 1938–1996* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press and the State Library of Victoria, 2007); Michael Costigan, "B. A. Santamaria Remembered by One Who Knew Him a Little," *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*, no. 36 (2015). Informit; Gerard Henderson, *Santamaria: A Most Unusual Man* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 2015). For literature on the Labor party split see: Robert Murray, *The Split: Australian Labor in the Fifties* (Melbourne: Cheshire Publishing, 1972); Brian Costar, Peter Love, and Paul Strangio, eds., *The Great Labor Schism: A Retrospective* (Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2005).

⁶⁷ Bartholomew Santamaria, *Against the Tide* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1981), 334.

⁶⁸ Fitzgerald, *The Pope's Battalions*, 218.

A lay Catholic academic and poet based in Melbourne, Vincent Buckley had been responsible for reconstructing, editing, and publishing a series of lectures by various Australian academics (both lay and clerical) on the “intellectual apostolate” within the university.⁶⁹ Amid his autobiographical reflections on Vatican II, Buckley accused Australian Catholics of long suffering from a “heart attack of the imagination” which hindered them from creatively internalizing doctrine in a way that could survive radical adaptation. In the aftermath of the Council, they did not receive its teachings but rather the “contradictory self-images of church leaders” many of whom were unprepared for change.⁷⁰ In the 1990s, novelist and journalist Morris West criticized Pope John Paul II’s leadership within his own autobiographical reflections. Though brimming with sympathy, Morris accused the pope and magisterium of suffering from a lack of compassion; claiming that shutting down debate around key issues within the church only served to make the gap between laity and hierarchy wider.⁷¹ Even Goldie ended her analysis of John Paul’s desire for a women’s dialogue (*Letter to Women*, 29 June 1995) with the observation that true dialogue is always predicated upon partners being able to meet each other equally.⁷² There were not many opportunities where women’s voices were allowed an authentic platform for engagement.

5. Episcopal Biographies

Finally, episcopal biographies were a battleground for the memory of the Council. If Australian Catholics had received Vatican II through the “contradictory self-images of church leaders” then an episcopal perspective might serve to support or down-play its historical importance. Santamaria contributed a book on the life of the Archbishop of Melbourne Daniel Mannix, in which he characterized his former patron as being generally uninterested in conciliar proceedings.⁷³ Yet, this was contradicted by the historian Tom Boland in his biography of the

⁶⁹ Vincent Buckley, *The Incarnation in the University: Studies in the University Apostolate* (Great Britain: St. Anne’s Press, 1957).

⁷⁰ Vincent Buckley, *Cutting Green Hay: Friendships, Movements and Cultural Conflicts in Australia’s Great Decades* (Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin, 1983), 291.

⁷¹ Morris West, *A View from the Ridge: The Testimony of a Pilgrim* (Australia: Harper Collins, 1996), 127.

⁷² Goldie, *From a Roman Window*, 235.

⁷³ Bartholomew Santamaria, *Daniel Mannix: the Quality of Leadership* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1984), 246. Mannix’s life and career have attracted a great deal of scholarship amongst Australian historians,

Archbishop of Queensland, James Duhig. Both men were of a similar age and passed away during the Council, however Boland maintained Mannix had kept an interested eye on events. Both Mannix and Duhig remained at home during the Council and both died before it was completed. According to Boland, Duhig left behind no evidence of any interest in the Council's unfolding.⁷⁴ It would take Jeffrey Murphy's discovery of the lost (and last) animadversions of Mannix to dispel any notion of apathy.⁷⁵ Kevin Lawlor's thesis on Bishop Stewart contextualizes his resistance to the Council within the sphere of educational reform.⁷⁶ In a biography, John Luttrell gives an account of the Archbishop of Sydney Cardinal Norman Gilroy's participation at Vatican II. As a member of the Council's central preparatory commission and one of ten members of the council of presidents, he played a significant public role during the Council. "He had to travel to Rome in October 1961 and again in February 1962 to assist the Central Preparatory Commission prepare the agenda – the only Australian bishop so involved. In the discussions he early revealed his conservatism by rejecting the suggestion that lay people be consulted, arguing that the many bishops and clerical experts already invited gave a sufficient representation of the official teaching Church."⁷⁷ Gilroy took a generally conservative position throughout the Council, however, he was not a member of the lobby group which opposed many of the changes approved by Vatican II known as the International

including: Edmund Campion, *The Meaning of Dr. Mannix* (Brisbane: Aquinas Library, 1983); Colm Kiernan, *Daniel Mannix and Ireland* (Morwell, Vic.: Allella Books, 1984); Griffin, "Mannix, Daniel (1864–1963)."; James Griffin, *Daniel Mannix: Beyond the Myths*, ed. Paul Ormonde (Mulgrave: Garratt Publishing, 2012); Val Noone and Rachel Naughton, eds., *Daniel Mannix: His Legacy* (East Melbourne, Victoria: Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission, 2014); Brenda Niall, *Mannix* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2015); Gerard Henderson, "More Pluralist than Thou: How Archbishop Mannix Tolerated Greater Political Disagreement than Cardinal Gilroy," *Australasian Catholic Record* 94, no. 3 (2017). ProQuest.

⁷⁴ Thomas Boland, *James Duhig* (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1986), 367.

⁷⁵ Jeffrey Murphy, "The Lost (and Last) Animadversions of Daniel Mannix," *Australasian Catholic Record* 76, no. 1 (1999). EBSCOhost.

⁷⁶ Kevin Lawlor, "Bishop Bernard D. Stewart and Resistance to the Reform of Religious Education in the Diocese of Sandhurst. 1950–1979" (PhD diss., La Trobe University, 1999); Kevin Lawlor, "Bishop Bernard Stewart and the 'Tiger Pits': Opposition to Catholic School Bureaucracy," *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society* 23 (2002). Informit.

⁷⁷ John Luttrell, *Norman Thomas Gilroy: An Obedient Life* (Australia: St. Pauls Publications, 2017), 307.

Group of Fathers (*Coetus Internationalis Patrum*).⁷⁸ “While the results of the council may not all have been to his liking, there is no suggestion that he was obstructionist, passive or naïve in regard to the process.”⁷⁹ Max Vodola recognized the tragic nature of the Archbishop of Melbourne Justin Simonds’ legacy. Simonds had been a scholar and supporter of Catholic lay activism as A.N.S.C.A.’s former episcopal secretary. He was Archbishop of Hobart (1937–42) before becoming co-adjutor archbishop in Melbourne under Mannix (1963–67). Simonds was sympathetic to the cause of the Y.C.W. who he had encountered during doctoral studies in Louvain, Belgium.⁸⁰ Though he had been a member of two conciliar commissions (Seminaries and Diocesan Government) he had become ill around the time of the Council. It is likely this prevented him from making any significant contributions to Vatican II.⁸¹ Though he inherited leadership of Melbourne after Mannix’s death in 1963, Simonds died shortly afterwards of illness (1967), unable to have much impact on post-conciliar reform.⁸²

Other biographical works highlight the enthusiasm of leaders. Fr. Terrence Southerwood portrayed Archbishop Guilford Young as being profoundly impacted by the Council. “This great event would change his life and that of the whole Church.”⁸³ Josephine Laffin has published a biography detailing the life and career of the Archbishop of Adelaide, Matthew Beovich.⁸⁴ Her research captures an important theme: Australian bishops experienced Vatican II as a conversion event. Drawing from Beovich’s diary of the Council, Laffin reveals his transformation from a position wary of change to one of genuine enthusiasm for conciliar

⁷⁸ Luttrell, *Norman Thomas Gilroy*, 316.

⁷⁹ Luttrell, *Norman Thomas Gilroy*, 316.

⁸⁰ Max Vodola, “Archbishop Justin Simonds and the YCW,” *Footprints* 29, no. 2 (16 2014). Informit.

⁸¹ Max Vodola, *Simonds: A Rewarding Life* (Melbourne: Catholic Education Office, 1997), 85.

⁸² For further reading: Michael Costigan has contributed an article on Simonds to the Australian Dictionary of Biography. See “Simonds, Justin Daniel (1890–1967),” Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 2006, accessed 21 August 2018, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/simonds-justin-daniel-11693/text20897>.

⁸³ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 191.

⁸⁴ Josephine Laffin, *Matthew Beovich: A Biography* (Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2008).

reform.⁸⁵ “My attitude has changed since last year and this is due to the fact that the Pope is keen on reforms [. . .] If he is, so am I; he always has the help of the Holy Spirit” (Monday, 18 November 1963).⁸⁶ The thesis of her student Robert Rice continues the story of Adelaide’s post-conciliar history by synthesizing and analysing the career of Beovich’s successor, Archbishop James Gleeson.⁸⁷ The renewal efforts of the Archdiocese of Adelaide had an important impact on the Archdiocese of Hobart during the 1980s.

6. Studies on the Reception of Vatican II in Australia

Building on historical work conducted in the 1980s, the study of the reception of Vatican II within Australia began to emerge as a serious field of inquiry in the 1990s and early 2000s. In part, this was due to Jeffrey Murphy’s thesis on the contributions of Australian bishops to Vatican II, with a focus on the hierarchy of Queensland.⁸⁸ His work was accompanied by English translations of Latin preparatory *vota* from Australia, Roman preparatory synthetic reports, Australian conciliar interventions, and the interventions of foreign bishops officially signed and supported by Australians, thanks to Russell Davies and Bronwen Neil. In the 1980s, William Ryder had published articles on the contributions of Australian bishops to Vatican II, and the impact of both Young and the Bishop of Bunbury Launcelot Goody on the Council’s ecclesiology.⁸⁹ Yet, it was the work of Murphy, Davies, and Neil which made their contributions more readily accessible to students.⁹⁰ Further, Murphy set the stage for any future

⁸⁵ She has printed his diary in the article: Josephine Laffin, “An Australian Bishop at Vatican II: Matthew Beovich’s Council Diary,” *Australasian Catholic Record* 91, no. 4 (2014): 387–495. EBSCOhost.

⁸⁶ Laffin, “Matthew Beovich’s Council Diary,” 442.

⁸⁷ Robert Rice, “James William Gleeson” (PhD diss., Flinders University, 1 March 2019).

⁸⁸ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II.”

⁸⁹ Ryder, “The Australian Bishops’ Proposals for Vatican II,” 62–77; Ryder, “Contribution of Bishop Goody and Archbishop Young to the Ecclesiology of Vatican II,” 211–21.

⁹⁰ Murphy also published his research in the *Australasian Catholic Record*. See: Murphy, “The Lost (and Last) Animadversions of Daniel Mannix.”; Jeffrey Murphy, “‘Up To Jerusalem’: Australian Bishops’ Suggestions for the Agenda of Vatican II,” *Australasian Catholic Record* 78 no. 1 (2001). Informit; Jeffrey Murphy, “Developing Perceptions about the Council and the Preparatory Phase: 1960–62,” *Australasian Catholic Record* 79, no. 1 (2002). EBSCOhost; Jeffrey Murphy, “Of Pilgrims and Progressives: Australian Bishops at Vatican II (the First Session: 1962),” *Australasian Catholic Record* 79, no. 2 (2002). EBSCOhost; Jeffrey Murphy,

study of the Council's implementation in Australia by articulating the need for a "hermeneutics" or method of interpreting and understanding the phenomenon of doctrinal reception amongst local churches.⁹¹

Another contributor to an emerging Australian interest in the study of reception is Rev. Ormond Rush, who has theologically appropriated Hans Robert Jauss' reception aesthetics and literary hermeneutics for the study of the reception of doctrine.⁹² Rush has devoted a good deal of time to researching the hermeneutics of doctrinal reception.⁹³ In 2012 he contributed to a collection of essays on the reception of Vatican II in Australia, providing context by writing

"Romanità Mark II: Australian Bishops at Vatican II (the Second Session: 1963)," *Australasian Catholic Record* 79, no. 3 (2002), EBSCOhost; Jeffrey Murphy, "On the Threshold of Modernity: Australian Bishops at Vatican II (The Third Session: 1964)," *Australasian Catholic Record* 79, no. 4 (2002). Informit; Jeffrey Murphy, "'Sane, Advanced Conservatism' Australian Bishops at Vatican II (the Third Session Continues: 1964)," *Australasian Catholic Record* 80, no. 2 (2003). EBSCOhost; Jeffrey Murphy, "The Far Milieu Called Home Australian Bishops at Vatican II (the Final Session: 1965)," *Australasian Catholic Record* 80, no. 3 (2003). EBSCOhost.

⁹¹ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 282.

⁹² Ormond Rush, "Reception Hermeneutics and the 'Development' of Doctrine: An Alternative Model," *Pacifica* 6, no. 2 (1993). EBSCOhost; Ormond Rush, *The Reception of Doctrine: An Appropriation of Hans Robert Jauss' Reception Aesthetics and Literary Hermeneutics* (Rome: Gregorian, 1997).

⁹³ See for example: Ormond Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II: Some Hermeneutical Principles* (New York: Paulist Press, 2004); Ormond Rush, "'*Dei Verbum*' Forty Years On: Revelation, Inspiration and the Spirit," *Australasian Catholic Record* 83, no. 4 (2006). ProQuest; Ormond Rush, *The Eyes of Faith: The Sense of the Faithful and the Church's Reception of Revelation* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 2009), ProQuest; Ormond Rush, "The Prophetic Office in the Church: Pneumatological Perspectives on the *Sensus Fidelium*-Theology-Magisterium Relationship," in *When the Magisterium Intervenes: the Magisterium and Theologians in Today's Church* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Michael Glazier, 2012); Ormond Rush, "Toward a Comprehensive Interpretation of the Council and its Documents," *Theological Studies* 73, no. 3 (2012). EBSCOhost; Ormond Rush, "Ecclesial Conversion after Vatican II: Renewing 'the Face of the Church' to Reflect 'the Genuine Face of God'," *Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America* 68 (2013). EBSCOhost; Ormond Rush, "Inverting the Pyramid: The *Sensus Fidelium* in a Synodal Church," *Theological Studies* 78, no. 2 (2017). EBSCOhost; Ormond Rush, "Receptive Ecumenism and Discerning the *Sensus Fidelium*: Expanding the Categories for a Catholic Reception of Revelation," *Theological Studies* 78, no. 3 (2017), EBSCOhost.

on the Australian bishops' participation within and reception of the Council.⁹⁴ In the same collection, Neil Ormerod, Joel Hodge, Bruce Duncan, Sandie Cornish, Vicki Clarke, and Matthew Digges contributed essays on the laity in the Australian church, the post-conciliar experience of Australian youth, reception of the Council's call to renewed social engagement, and Aboriginal people in the church since Vatican II.⁹⁵ These essays provide a rich introduction to different dimensions of the Roman Catholic Church in Australia's reception of the Vatican II vision of the lay apostolate.

In 2019, Rush published a book detailing twenty-four principles (six hermeneutical, five theological, and thirteen ecclesiological) for reading and understanding the documents of Vatican II. Principle six paired together the themes of reception and vision: "The bishops of Vatican II proposed a vision for renewing and reforming the Catholic Church; that vision requires ongoing reception and implementation by the whole people of God for its realization."⁹⁶ For anyone who wishes to understand the teachings of Vatican II, the concordance of reception and vision remedies a singular fixation on the original life situation of the text. One cannot understand the documents of Vatican II without also taking into account

⁹⁴ Ormond Rush, "The Australian Bishops of Vatican II: Participation and Reception," in *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, ed. Neil Ormerod et al. (Mulgrave: Garratt Publishing, 2012), 4–19.

⁹⁵ Neil Ormerod, "The Laity in the Australian Church," in *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, ed. Neil Ormerod et al. (Mulgrave: Garratt Publishing, 2012), 62–75; Joel Hodge, "The Post-Vatican II Experience of Youth," in *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, ed. Neil Ormerod et al. (Mulgrave: Garratt Publishing, 2012), 76–96; Bruce Duncan, CSsR, and Sandie Cornish, "The Council's Call to Renewed Social Engagement," in *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, ed. Neil Ormerod et al. (Mulgrave: Garratt Publishing, 2012), 97–116; Vicki Clark and Matthew Digges, "Joyfully Giving and Receiving: Aboriginal People and the Church in Australia since Vatican II," in *Vatican II: Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, ed. Neil Ormerod et al. (Mulgrave: Garratt Publishing, 2012), 117–36.

⁹⁶ Ormond Rush, *The Vision of Vatican II: Its Fundamental Principles* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2019), 31, ProQuest.

their history of reception in the lives of the faithful. These documents were written to be received.⁹⁷

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, significant work has been accomplished synthesizing and analysing movements and trends within the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Australia after Vatican II. However, little research has been performed in light of a functional hermeneutics of reception describing how local churches receive and implement novel teachings drafted and promulgated by the Roman pontiff and episcopal college of bishops. Through the synthesis and application of this methodological tool to the history of the Archdiocese of Hobart, this thesis intends to make one small contribution to a much larger field of study which presents many opportunities for further development: the history of the reception of the Second Vatican Council's teachings within the Roman Catholic Church in Australia.

⁹⁷ For another contemporary example of an Australian writing on the reception of Vatican documents see Raymond Canning, "*Nostra Aetate* (1965): Historical Genesis, Key Elements, and Reception by the Church in Australia," *Australasian Catholic Record* 93, no. 4 (2016). EBSCOhost.

Chapter Three: Methodology

1. The Study of the Reception of Doctrine

Amongst Catholic circles the recovery of *receptio* (reception) as an ecclesiological category has been dependent upon the emergence of historical and ecumenical sensitivities. Jean-Marie Tillard credits the emergence of the post-conciliar ecumenical movement as a decisive factor in re-emphasizing the need for a study of reception in Catholic thought.⁹⁸ A more developed understanding of reception has been accompanied by both an increasing consciousness of the human person as a historical being, as well as an awareness that the Roman Catholic Church receives and is enriched by authentic teachings from other Christian traditions. Common to both is an increasing awareness of the complexity of theological and sociological relationships that reception depends upon. In a sense, the development of reception studies is analogous with the evolution that took place in Catholic circles regarding the role of the laity within the Roman Catholic Church. Both benefited from the emergence of ecumenism. In the 1950s, Gérard Philips observed that a recognition of the full spiritual importance of the laity was predicated upon “our less antagonistic attitude toward Protestantism”.⁹⁹

In the early church, *receptio* and the lay apostolate were endowed with a certain pluriformity. According to Wolfgang Beinert, the church of the first millennium was envisioned as *communio*, a community of the faithful united in the Spirit and manifest in local churches. Bishops acted as witnesses to the faith in their own dioceses and before the entire church, during synods and councils. The community was communicative and occasions for reception were manifold.¹⁰⁰ Yves Congar saw reception taking place in the life of the ancient church within different spheres of activity, including councils, the liturgy, laws, and disciplines.¹⁰¹ Historical studies have also revealed that the reception of decisions made by

⁹⁸ Jean-Marie Tillard, *Church of Churches: The Ecclesiology of Communion*, trans. O. Praem R.C. De Peaux (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), 119.

⁹⁹ Gérard Philips, *The Role of the Laity in the Church* (Chicago: Fides Publishers, 1956), 12.

¹⁰⁰ Wolfgang Beinert, “The Subjects of Ecclesial Reception,” *The Jurist* 57 (1997): 329. HeinOnline.

¹⁰¹ Congar, “Reception as an Ecclesiological Reality,” 318–23.

councils within the ancient church was a gradual process, often extending over generations.¹⁰² As Congar notes, it took the Nicæan creed fifty-six years to be properly received.¹⁰³ For the church of the Counter-Reformation, however, the dissemination of traditions became synonymous with obedience to papal authority thanks to the success of ultramontanistism. As Hermann Pottmeyer makes clear, during Trent and the First Vatican Council the focus was on *submission* rather than *reception*.¹⁰⁴ The laity were called to obedience, rather than creative discernment. The implementation of historical studies within Catholic theology driven by *nouvelle théologie* in the 1940s and 1950s and the diffusion of teachings after Vatican II provided an opportunity for scholars to return to reception as a significant ecclesiological paradigm.¹⁰⁵ Ecumenist and conciliar *peritus* (expert) Yves Congar, who represented an appreciation for history characteristic of the Council's progressive wing, was an early contributor to both the study of the reception of doctrine and the lay apostolate.¹⁰⁶ The Council itself, however, did not necessarily depart from previous thinking. While the Latin verb *recipere* appears thirty-five times in the conciliar documents, the verb *accipere* is more commonly used (approximately 90 times) when speaking of *tradere* or "handing on the faith". The focus remains on obedience.¹⁰⁷ Yet, as Richard Gaillardetz observes, many developments brought Vatican II closer to a understanding of reception reminiscent of the ancient church, including: "an emphasis on the elevated dignity of all the baptized, a positive theology of the laity and a broader consideration of the church as the People of God; a more developed theology of the local church; an explicit theology of the bishop as pastor and principal eucharistic minister of the local church; the development of an understanding of episcopal collegiality; a more dynamic sense of tradition; the treatment of the *sensus fidei*; more attention

¹⁰² Bernard Sesboüé, "Reception of Councils from Nicea to Constantinople II: Conceptual Divergences and Unity in the Faith, Yesterday and Today," *The Jurist* 57 (1997): 115–16. HeinOnline.

¹⁰³ Congar, "Reception as an Ecclesiological Reality," 318.

¹⁰⁴ See Hermann Pottmeyer, "Reception and Submission," in *Readings in Church Authority*, ed. Gerard Mannion et al. (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), 327. Originally published in 1991.

¹⁰⁵ Pottmeyer, "Reception and Submission," 326.

¹⁰⁶ See Congar, *Lay People in the Church*; Congar, "Reception as an Ecclesiological Reality." I draw my translation of the Latin term *peritus* and its plural *periti* from Stelten, *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin*, 192.

¹⁰⁷ Routhier, "Reception in the Current Theological Debate," 31.

to the pneumatological dimension of ecclesiology.”¹⁰⁸ The return to reception as an ecclesiological category was intertwined with a renewed appreciation for the laity by the Council. Both benefited from new attention placed upon the relationship between hierarchy and laity within the church.

Drawing upon certain legal theories, Aloys Grillmeier characterized reception as *exogenous*; new teachings enter a local community from the outside.¹⁰⁹ By uncovering a sense of pluriformity, his research into councils past challenged the unidirectional mode of reception implied by a model of submission. In a study of the Council of Chalcedon, Grillmeier observed that doctrinal reception is more complex than the pope speaking and the faithful obeying. Rather, it engages multiple levels of ecclesial activity: *kerygmatic reception* involves popes and bishops exercising their teaching authority in order to disseminate new doctrines; *theological reception* recognizes the role of professional theologians who are tasked with study and promoting new understanding; and *spiritual reception* acknowledges that authoritative pronouncements are ultimately at the service of the religious growth and development of individuals and communities. In order for a doctrine to become effective, it must be received into the hearts and minds of the faithful.¹¹⁰ Grillmeier’s understanding remained on the level of the juridical, however. By contrast, Congar called attention to the quality of relationships involved in reception by emphasizing the communal nature of the church.¹¹¹ Reception is not primarily exogenous; rather, the distance between churches is relativized by their shared communion.¹¹² Thus, what a local church in Australia receives from the church in Rome cannot be considered an entirely foreign intrusion, thanks to the established bonds of faith and

¹⁰⁸ Richard Gaillardetz, “The Reception of Doctrine: New Perspectives,” in *Authority in the Roman Catholic Church: Theory and Practice*, ed. Bernard Hoose (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), 97–98.

¹⁰⁹ Aloys Grillmeier, “The Reception of Chalcedon in the Roman Catholic Church,” *Ecumenical Review* 22 (1970): 386. EBSCOhost.

¹¹⁰ Grillmeier, “The Reception of Chalcedon,” 386–87; Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition: From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604), Part One, Reception and Contradiction the Development of the Discussion about Chalcedon from 451 to the Beginning of the Reign of Justinian*, trans. Pauline Allen and John Cawte, vol. 2, (London, Oxford: Mowbray, 1987), 7–10.

¹¹¹ Gaillardetz, “The Reception of Doctrine,” 96.

¹¹² Congar, “Reception as an Ecclesiological Reality,” 317.

sacrament. In large part, future scholarship would follow Congar's trajectory, exploring the quality of relationships which participate within the reception of doctrine. The turn to legal theory alone was no longer adequate to speak about the reception of doctrine; instead, a dialogical mode of understanding rose to prominence. An increasing historical consciousness and receptivity toward Protestant scholars enabled Catholic thinkers to transition from a scholastic mode of inquiry to one of hermeneutical-theology.¹¹³ Hermeneutics, as the study of interpretation, calls attention to the overlapping exchange of perspectives initiated when a person reads a text. In light of the hermeneutical theory of Hans-Georg Gadamer, the documents of Vatican II are capable of supporting a multitude of interpretations because they hold a kind of "classical" status within Catholic tradition. For Gadamer, classical texts, symbols, or ideas possess a fundamentally "unlimited" capacity to speak to cultures and circumstances, mediating between the past and present.¹¹⁴ David Tracey points to the "normative" character of "classics" which continue to command attention throughout history.¹¹⁵ For Gaillardetz, the study of reception would also be enriched by other disciplines, including literary theories of reader-reception, communication theory, and studies of local spiritualities.¹¹⁶

The historical redaction of conciliar documents points to an important dimension relevant to understanding how they are received; not only are these texts able to support a multitude of interpretations, they are themselves the product of multiple authors and perspectives. As Giuseppe Alberigo observes, the documents of the Second Vatican Council were the result of compromises made in order to obtain a broad consensus amongst the bishops. In other cases, however, compromise was the result of inadequate developments in the redaction history. He encourages researchers to pay close attention to the importance of these compromises, "which weakened the conceptual and programmatic forces of some pages of Vatican II and, in the post-conciliar period, provided the basis for recurring and barren

¹¹³ Claude Geffré, *The Risk of Interpretation* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1987), 48–50.

¹¹⁴ Hans-George Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd ed. (New York: Crossroad, 1992), 290.

¹¹⁵ David Tracey, *The Analogical Imagination: Christian Theology and the Culture of Pluralism* (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 108.

¹¹⁶ Richard Gaillardetz presents an overview of these disciplines and their relevance for the study of the reception of doctrine. See Gaillardetz, "The Reception of Doctrine," 95–114.

debates.”¹¹⁷ Recalling a conversation with a theologian who played an important role in the redaction of *Lumen Gentium*, Edward Schillebeeckx affirms that some texts on collegiality were deliberately framed in an ambivalent way so that they would be acceptable to a minority of bishops at the Council who held this principle in suspicion. He suspected that this methodology might lead to problematic interpretations.

He told me: ‘We have intentionally formulated some texts in an ambivalent way, so that the minority can accept the principle of collegiality.’ To my first reaction that in this way the council would become multi-interpretable and in the end would be used in the opposite direction, he answered: ‘In due course we will interpret the texts.’ My response that I did not think this to be a fair procedure, and that moreover the fact that others - the official authorities rather than the theological redactors of the documents themselves - would interpret the constitution, and would do so in the direction of the minority position, was not taken into account in such a procedure, he brushed aside. His final comment on the whole matter was: ‘Compromise is the only way to reach a degree of consensus.’¹¹⁸

While compromise might be the key to consensus, it may also blunt the radicality of a particular teaching and render it ambiguous enough to facilitate an interpretation counter to the intentions of the majority of bishops and theologians at the Council. In the past, certain interpreters have over-emphasised the need for a uniform reading of the conciliar corpus. Vittorio Messori’s 1984 interview with Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, as the Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, might be seen as an attempt to cease attempts at exploring a compromise between different interpretations of Vatican II. Divergent readings, whether perceived as ‘progressive’ or ‘traditionalist,’ are inimical to unity and potentially destructive to the Catholic Church. “Every partisan choice destroys the whole (the very history of the Church) which can only exist as an indivisible unity.”¹¹⁹ In the interview, Ratzinger partially identifies progressives as those who favour Vatican II over the council of Trent or Vatican I, while

¹¹⁷ Giuseppe Alberigo, “Transition to a New Age,” in *History of Vatican II: The Council and the Transition; The Fourth Period and the End of the Council, September 1965–December 1965*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak, vol. 5 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2006), p. 628.

¹¹⁸ Edward Schillebeeckx, “Preface,” in *The Concept of Church: A Methodological Inquiry into the Use of Metaphors in Ecclesiology*, ed. Herwi Rikhof (London: Sheed and Ward, 1981), pg. xi–xii.

¹¹⁹ Ratzinger and Messori, *The Ratzinger Report*, p. 29.

traditionalists hold the opposite view and favour Trent or Vatican I over Vatican II.¹²⁰ While a comprehensive understanding of Catholic tradition cannot ignore any council of the past, a hermeneutical privileging of unity over diversity hardly seems to do justice to the historical nature of conciliar texts as the product of many compromises.

Can the Council documents be read in a way which neither blunts the radicality of their content, or ignores the various, sometimes contrasting, perspectives found within their pages? Explicating fundamental principles for reading the documents of the Council, Ormond Rush acknowledges that these texts are the product of compromise and calls for “particular attention to interrelating a hermeneutics of the text with a hermeneutics of the authors.”¹²¹ During the conciliar debates, bishops attempted to ensure their perspectives made it into the final texts. The reports (*relationes*) of the drafting commissions to the assembly reveal an effort to include this diversity of opinion, often resulting in the juxtaposition of different theological views within the treatment of the same topic. Drawing upon Hermann Pottmeyer, Rush advises that both sides of the juxtaposition must be taken seriously when reading the documents of Vatican II. While they are the subject of compromise, the bishops did finally agree upon the inclusion of juxtaposed theses within the documents. The bishops did not intend for the conciliar documents to be systematic treatises; subjecting their content to theological scrutiny was to be the work of scholars after the Council. Through theological reflection and the renewal of ecclesial practice, those who read the documents must bring the juxtaposition to a new synthesis for the sake of future advancement. This means privileging the trajectory toward a new approach generally favoured by the majority of bishops and theologians at the Council.¹²² As classical texts which are the product of compromise, it would be difficult to enforce a uniform interpretation throughout the whole church; however, the weight of interpretation should favour a new vision.

¹²⁰ Ratzinger and Messori, *The Ratzinger Report*, pg. 28–29.

¹²¹ Rush, *The Vision of Vatican II: Its Fundamental Principles*, 14.

¹²² Rush, *The Vision of Vatican II: Its Fundamental Principles*, p. 14–15. See also: Hermann J. Pottmeyer, “A New Phase in the Reception of Vatican II: Twenty Years of Interpretation of the Council,” in *The Reception of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo, Jean Pierre Jossua, and Joseph A. Komonchak (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1987), p. 39.

2. Receiving the Council

Ecclesial Reception

A study of the reception of Vatican II requires a methodological tool for understanding the phenomenon of reception. This thesis intends to put forward a creative synthesis. A historical overview of the study of reception has revealed that contemporary research focuses on the quality of relationships which participate within the reception of doctrine. This thesis assumes a cyclical vision of the reception of doctrine developed by Richard Gaillardetz. First, members of the church express their faith through liturgy, devotion, art, and other aspects of religious life. Second, bishops who are immersed within the church's life receive these expressions of faith and judge them critically in light of tradition and scripture. Third, in necessary circumstances, bishops give doctrinal form to these insights manifest within the community of faith. Fourth, empowered by their own sense of the faith, Christians actively engage with these official teachings and assess their fidelity in light of their own lived religious experiences. On recognizing their authenticity, they appropriate these new formulations which lead to new expressions of faith. These new expressions will be received by future bishops, and the cycle continues.¹²³

Who participates within the reception of doctrine? The *locus* of the reception of doctrine is the dialogical relationship between the magisterium and the *sensus fidelium* (sense of the faithful). This relationship exists within the context of the Roman Catholic Church as a community of reception. In order to unpack this statement, this thesis will draw upon the work of Ormond Rush. He situates the reception of doctrine within a broader and more complex framework of ecclesial reception. For the most part, he achieves this in dialogue with the reader-reception theory of Hans Robert Jauss, who is interested in how the aesthetic reception of an audience influences the constitution of a text.¹²⁴ A “work” of literature is not an object, rather it is an “event” composed of the intersecting horizons of author, text, and reader.¹²⁵ The “historicity” of a work can be understood in three different ways. First, “the work in history” refers to a synchronic understanding of the work at the time of its creation. Historians are concerned to reconstruct the *Sitz im Leben* in which the work came into being, including the

¹²³ For a summary of this model see Gaillardetz, “The Reception of Doctrine,” 108.

¹²⁴ Rush, *The Reception of Doctrine*, 66.

¹²⁵ Rush, *The Reception of Doctrine*, 68.

literary, cultural, and social expectations which would have had an influence. Second, “the work through history” refers to a diachronic understanding of the work and its reception through history. Finally, “the work affecting history” refers to the impact the work itself has had upon society and history.¹²⁶ Jauss criticized Gadamer for perpetuating a Platonic understanding which renders the text self-interpreting, loosed from its original context, and able to have a continual effect in history. This “illusion” presented the literary tradition as an unmediated storehouse of memory in which the best of human culture would be available to present and future generations.¹²⁷ Beginning from a theology of revelation as “symbolic mediation” Rush draws upon Jauss’ reception aesthetics to reflect upon ecclesial reception.¹²⁸ For Rush, a study of reception must include a diachronic analysis of how ecclesial reception takes place throughout the historical development of tradition. The reception of doctrine must be understood as a fourfold, intersecting process, beginning with the reception of “God’s revelatory and salvific offer in Jesus Christ”. Second, scripture is received as “normative” testimony of this offer. Third, the “multidimensional living tradition” which transmits God’s offer of salvation is received. This is followed by the final stage: “reception of the church’s doctrinal teaching which names the reality of that offer”.¹²⁹ Other theologians have asserted that the reception of doctrine is dependent upon a prior reception of God’s revelation. According to Hervé Legrand and Jean-Marie Tillard, the reception of teachings within the church is ultimately predicated upon receiving the Word of God. For Legrand, the act of God giving Himself through tradition and reception within the community are “correlative processes”, yet the former is given pre-eminence. He alludes to the apostle Paul speaking on the subject of the eucharist, who says that he has received from the Lord what he transmits to others (1 Cor. 11:23).¹³⁰ Likewise for Tillard, reception begins with the Word of God as a living reality, articulated in the scriptures, celebrated in the liturgy, and reflected in the lives of

¹²⁶ Rush, *The Reception of Doctrine*, 81–85.

¹²⁷ Rush, *The Reception of Doctrine*, 90.

¹²⁸ Rush, *The Reception of Doctrine*, 178. See also Avery Dulles, *Models of Revelation* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2014), 131–283.

¹²⁹ Rush, *The Reception of Doctrine*, 191.

¹³⁰ Hervé Legrand, “Reception, *Sensus Fidelium*, and Synodal Life: An Effort at Articulation,” *The Jurist* 57 (1997): 413. HeinOnline.

believers who manifest the gospel in daily life.¹³¹ Further, Joseph Komonchak argues that the church's very existence is predicated upon the act of receiving God's Word. "Reception is constitutive of the Church".¹³² Where the gospel is proclaimed and received, there the church comes into being.¹³³ Rush asserts that the study of reception must also be accompanied by a synchronic analysis of how ecclesial reception takes place at a particular point in time. He has identified twelve different ways in which the church participates in reception:

(1) reception between God and humanity; (2) reception between God and the whole community of believers; (3) reception between God and the Roman Catholic Church as a communion of churches; (4) reception between the episcopal magisterium and the *sensus fidelium* of the whole body of the faithful; (5) reception between a local church and its particular context in the world; (6) reception between local churches in *communio*; (7) reception between local churches and the church of Rome in *communio*; (8) reception between theologians and their local church in its context; (9) reception within and between diverse theologies; (10) reception between the episcopal magisterium and theology; (11) reception between separated churches and ecclesial communities; (12) reception between Christian churches and other religions.¹³⁴

Focused on the teachings of Vatican II, the primary object of this study is the reception which takes place between the magisterium and *sensus fidelium* of the whole body of the faithful. Yet, this mode cannot be understood without setting it within the broader framework of ecclesial reception as a whole. Later, Rush would define the *sensus fidelium* as "an ecclesiological reality, because it assures epistemological continuity in the church's reception of revelation throughout history. It enables the church to proclaim the Gospel in new times and cultures throughout history."¹³⁵ The notion that all members of the church possess a supernatural sense for discerning, understanding, and teaching correct doctrine has been articulated since the earliest days of the Christian tradition. Patristic writings utilize a number of phrases to describe

¹³¹ Jean-Marie Tillard, "The Quadrilog: Essays in Honor of George H. Tavard," in *Tradition, Reception*, ed. Kenneth Hagan (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1994), 328–43; Tillard, *Church of Churches*, 118–44.

¹³² Joseph Komonchak, "The Epistemology of Reception," *The Jurist* 57 (1997): 193. HeinOnline.

¹³³ Komonchak, "The Epistemology of Reception," 193.

¹³⁴ Rush, *The Reception of Doctrine*, 206–07. For the development of these points see Rush, *The Reception of Doctrine*, 331–58.

¹³⁵ Rush, *The Eyes of Faith: The Sense of the Faithful and the Church's Reception of Revelation*, 2.

an analogous organ meant to enable the faithful interpretation of revelation, including the “eyes of the heart,” “the eyes of the spirit,” or the “eyes of faith”.¹³⁶ At Vatican II, the *sensus fidei* (sense of the faith) ensures that a Christian adheres to their faith “penetrates it more deeply through right judgement, and applies it more fully in daily life” (LG 12). Wolfgang Beinert explains that within systematic theology, a persons insight of faith (known as the *sensus fidei*) is supported by the charism of the *sensus fidelium* (sense of all the faithful), which flows from the Spirit through baptism and confirmation and is an expression of the grace and truth of Christ within the church. In turn, the *sensus fidelium* gives rise to the *consensus fidelium* (common expression of the faith). The *sensus fidelium* is described as “a basic means of understanding the faith and as such exercises a truth-finding and truth-attesting function that has as its special characteristic that it takes into account the faithful’s experience in the world.”¹³⁷ The baptized are able to exercise discernment in matters of faith, distinguish truth from falsity, and confidently preach and teach the gospel. Lay people do not exercise this sense alone, rather they are “sustained by the Spirit of truth” and “guided by the sacred magisterium” (LG 12). As Beinert surmises, Vatican II assigned special importance to the sense of the faithful as an “error free expression of all the faithful in the prophetic office of Christ”. For the good of the church and its service to the world, bishops must pay heed to the laity.¹³⁸ All members of the church claim the capacity to receive and interpret both revelation and doctrine. Reception involves a “creative impulse” and it is the duty of bishops to judge new syntheses produced by the faithful in light of tradition and scripture.¹³⁹ It is not only bishops who act as judges, but the faithful too who exercise a critical role when bishops promote new teachings. For Tillard, the reception of doctrine requires a prior form of discernment in which individuals and communities recognize their faith expressed in a new way.¹⁴⁰ LG (no. 12) makes “consensus” (*consensus*)

¹³⁶ Salvador Pié Ninot, “*Sensus Fidei*,” in *Dictionary of Fundamental Theology*, ed. René Latourelle and Rino Fisichella (New York: Crossroad, St. Paul, 1994), 993.

¹³⁷ Wolfgang Beinert, “*Sensus Fidelium*,” in *Handbook of Catholic Theology*, ed. Wolfgang Beinert and Francis Schüssler Fiorenza (New York: Crossroad, 1995), 656.

¹³⁸ Beinert, “*Sensus Fidelium*,” 656.

¹³⁹ Tillard, “The Quadrilog,” 336.

¹⁴⁰ Jean-Marie Tillard, *Initiation à la pratique de la théologie*, ed. Bernard Lauret and Francois Refoulé, vol. 1 (Paris: Cerf, 1982), 165–66.

amongst all the faithful the condition for infallibility in believing (*in docendo*). Through this faculty the faithful “cannot be mistaken in belief” (*in credendo falli nequit*).¹⁴¹ It is not only the teaching office of the pope, but consensus amongst the whole body of the faithful which guarantees that the baptized maintain fidelity to the teachings of the church.

Writing on Pope John Paul II’s promotion of the lay apostolate, Michele Schumacher observes that the pope had sought to avoid equating the *sensus fidelium* solely with the consensus of the faithful.¹⁴² Following Christ did not always mean following the majority opinion (a reference to *Familiaris Consortio*, no. 5). In taking this stance, the pope sought to defend a vision of doctrine which remained stable in the face of a changing world. Yet, it may be wondered whether this position also de-values lay voices who make up the majority of the *sensus fidelium*. In Australia, Max Charlesworth published an essay on democracy and the church (2008) in which he accused John Paul and the magisterium of attempting to “minimise the achievements of the Council” by neglecting the conciliar notion of infallibility in believing exercised by the whole Christian community (*sensus fidelium*). In doing so, Charlesworth argued that the magisterium had over-emphasized their own authority over certain issues, including the ordination of women.¹⁴³ Other voices beyond the magisterium (including the majority of lay people) were afforded limited means of representation.

Kerygmatic-Theological-Spiritual Reception

How do the magisterium and *sensus fidelium* participate within the reception of doctrine? As a foundational schematic, this thesis adopts Grillmeier’s threefold categorization of reception as kerygmatic, theological, and spiritual.¹⁴⁴ *Kerygma* is the term used in the Greek New Testament

¹⁴¹ For references to the Latin text of LG 12 see Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils: Trent-Vatican II*, vol. 2. (London, Washington D.C.: Sheed & Ward, Georgetown University Press, 1990), 858.

¹⁴² Michele Schumacher, “*Apostolicam Actuositatem*,” ed. Matthew Lamb and Matthew Levering, Online ed., *The Reception of Vatican II* (New York: Oxford Academic, 23 March 2017), Oxford Academic. 245.

¹⁴³ Max Charlesworth, *A Democratic Church: Reforming the Values and Institutions of the Catholic Church* (John Garratt Publishing: Mulgrave, Victoria, 2008), 19–20.

¹⁴⁴ Rush has recommended the use of Grillmeier’s three categories as a framework for exploring the subject of post-conciliar reception in Australia. See Ormond Rush, “Australia and Vatican II: Bringing Home the Vision,” *Australasian Catholic Record* 89, no. 4 (2012): 396. EBSCOhost.

to describe the Christian task of proclaiming the Gospel.¹⁴⁵ All the people of God (including the laity) are involved in the task of proclaiming the Word of God and church teachings. Through a variety of means the magisterium and bishops conferences (both international and national) exercise their teaching office. Papal encyclicals, statements, and letters are intended to shape the interpretation of Vatican II. As representatives of their bishops, priests share in the duty of proclamation through homilies during worship. Academic theologians also proclaim the content and history of new doctrines through study groups, lectures, the publication of books, articles, and theological commentaries. Finally, religious and lay people, who exercise neither a leadership function nor act as professional theologians, share in the task of proclaiming the Council. Their spheres of influence are their daily lives spent working in workplaces, convents, monasteries, parishes, families, and secular institutions. Married couples are the first to teach their children in the faith, supported by religious teachers and catechists employed within Catholic schools.

Theologically receiving the Council implies an activity of academic synthesis. The documents of Vatican II are a compromise between different (sometimes contrasting) perspectives. Bishops brought their own cultural and theological priorities to the development of texts. These priorities would have been formed within the context of their own religious communities. As Richard Gaillardetz attests, the study of popular religions has yielded the insight that “popular religiosity both precedes and follows doctrinal expression”.¹⁴⁶ The reception of doctrine does not actually begin with the bishop handing down new doctrinal expressions to the laity. Instead, bishops receive popular expressions of religious devotion from the faithful, which may later be concretized in doctrinal forms. At the Council itself, the range of subjects dealt with by the Council was exhaustive and (as Congar observed) a real attempt was made at integration. For example, there was no discussion of scripture without tradition and no debate over tradition without scripture.¹⁴⁷ The dialogical back-and-forth between subjects reflects the conversational practices of conciliar bishops and theologians who debated

¹⁴⁵ Warren Trenchard, *A Concise Dictionary of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: University Press, 2011), 87.

¹⁴⁶ See Gaillardetz, “The Reception of Doctrine,” 107. In this observation he was inspired by a reading of Orlando Espin, *The Faith of the People: Theological Reflections on Popular Catholicism* (Maryknoll Orbis, 1997).

¹⁴⁷ Yves Congar, “A Last Look at the Council,” in *Vatican II: By Those Who Were There*, ed. Alberic Stacpoole (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1986), 343–44.

publicly in the Council hall and privately amongst themselves. Yet, the final documents do not provide an answer to every question. Instead, the Council excavated important themes within the Catholic consciousness and left the task of crafting a complete synthesis to future theologians. As Richard McBrien observes: “Even if there is no single synthesis within the documents themselves, there is a singleness of intention from which a synthesis can be constructed.”¹⁴⁸ Shared by all the documents is a unified pastoral focus established by Pope John XXIII and carried forth throughout the whole of Vatican II. Christoph Theobald believes that the “principle of pastorality” is the hermeneutical key for interpreting Vatican II; meaning that: “there can be no proclamation of the gospel without taking account of its recipients”.¹⁴⁹ According to Rush, constructing a synthesis of the Council’s vision (the imagined world of the text) cannot be separated from an intra-textual and inter-textual reading in light of pre-conciliar history, the event of the Council itself, and its reception.¹⁵⁰ Interpretation and synthesis involves a process of selection which is often dictated by the perceived relevance of a text. The relevance of the conciliar *corpus* is shaped by a historical process of interpretive selection which leads some texts to command attention and others to fade into the background of Catholic consciousness. For Gilles Routhier, work tracing the development histories of conciliar hermeneutics is essential, since these hermeneutics ultimately impact the Council’s continued reception.¹⁵¹ It should be noted, however, that the activities of theological synthesis and retrieval of memory are pursued beyond the boundaries of academia: Catholic newspapers, grassroots spiritual movements, and parish discussion groups form their own understanding of Vatican II teachings, which has an impact upon reception amongst local churches.

Finally, spiritual reception recognizes the transformative impact Vatican II had upon the interior lives of religious believers. Many bishops and theologians who attended the Council experienced it as a conversion event, adopting new positions and perspectives they previously would not have imagined. Amongst local churches, many Catholics experienced the

¹⁴⁸ Richard McBrien, *The Church: The Evolution of Catholicism* (New York: HarperOne, 2008), 164.

¹⁴⁹ Christoph Theobald, “The Theological Options of Vatican II: Seeking an ‘Internal’ Principle of Interpretation,” in *Vatican II: A Forgotten Future?* ed. Alberto Melloni and Christoph Theobald (London: SCM Press, 2005), 94.

¹⁵⁰ Rush, *The Vision of Vatican II: Its Fundamental Principles*, 32.

¹⁵¹ Routhier, *Vatican II: Herméneutique et réception*, 150.

Council and its implementation as a remarkable point of development, engendering both the fragmentation and pluriformity of Catholic identity. Bernard Sesboué observes that the reception of a new doctrine transforms the individual or community who assimilates it into their religious life. The faithful exercise a creative element in the process of receiving; doctrines are adapted to local situations and customs. A new synthesis of meaning will always reach beyond (though it should not contradict) the original intention of theologians and bishops involved in the redaction of new doctrines.¹⁵² Interior transformation is supported by exterior change. For example, the Council's desire to encourage the active participation of the laity within the liturgy implies both interior conversion and external transformation. In their own selves, lay people are called to embrace a more profound sense of responsibility for the holy life of the church, moving from a state of passivity to one of active participation. Externally, Vatican II permitted the translation of liturgical rites into vernacular languages, a structural development meant to assist the integration of lay participation within worship. Generating an experience of conciliar teachings amongst the faithful, whether through the implementation of new structures or pastoral programmes, provides individuals with an opportunity to grasp the relevancy of new doctrines for their own religious lives. When asked to give a talk in 2009 about whether the Vatican II doctrine of episcopal synodality had seemingly been "forgotten" in the modern-day Catholic Church, Routhier observes that this issue might have more to do with a lack of *experience*, than any seeming amnesia. Bishops have not had much experience practicing synodality, making the reception of this teaching difficult. "Experience is more important than even theologians tend to think."¹⁵³ As the faithful receive new teachings they exercise discernment (through the sense of the faith) in light of their own religious experiences. This can lead to a variety of interpretations dependent upon context. In turn, it is the role of bishops to judge the authenticity of these interpretations in light of tradition and scripture. Terry Veling identifies three hermeneutical stances that a Christian can take toward church teachings: dialogical, exilic, and marginal. The dialogical approach draws upon Gadamer and involves a return to the classics of Christian tradition. This method implies a hermeneutic of openness, with the interpreter relying upon the wealth of tradition to yield new insights and provoke

¹⁵² Sesboué, "Reception of Councils from Nicea to Constantinople II," 116.

¹⁵³ Gilles Routhier, "A Forgotten Vision? The Function of Bishops and its Exercise Forty Years after the Second Vatican Council (the Local Church and its Bishop: Receiving the Vision of Vatican II, part 2)," *The Jurist* 69, no. 1 (2009): 163–64. HeinOnline.

meaningful questions.¹⁵⁴ The second stance is critical of the first. Tradition does not only reveal, it can also distort at the service of ideological interests. There are those who cannot trust the content of tradition, having been *exiled* beyond the possibility of dialogue. At the same time, they cannot completely disengage (those in exile long for home).¹⁵⁵ This position is grounded in Jürgen Habermas' critique of Gadamer, in which he articulated the potential danger of viewing tradition too optimistically.¹⁵⁶ Standing in tension with these two positions is a third, developed by Veling, which he describes as "marginal". This is a "hermeneutic of creative reconstruction" which involves the interpreter both engaging with sources of tradition, while also applying a hermeneutics of suspicion.¹⁵⁷ The reception of Vatican II teachings is a process far more dynamic than submission to hierarchical authority. It involves the creative discernment of all the faithful proclaiming (kerygmatic), synthesizing (theological), and fostering an openness to the transformative (spiritual) impact of new doctrines upon individual lives and communities. It does not exclude a hermeneutics of suspicion. At the same time, an orientation of openness and dialogue is essential.

This thesis explores the "reception" and "implementation" of the Council's teachings. The term "reception" is intended to refer to the broader process of an ecclesial community appropriating new teachings, while "implementation" signifies concrete activity and structural change. A local church may "receive" the Council through the kerygmatic teachings of a bishop or priest, theological synthesis of a scholar, or a process of spiritual transformation made possible through a personal openness toward new teachings. How the faithful concretely respond to these sources of reception is what is meant by the term: "implementation." For example, a local church which receives the Council's teachings on the laity through the lecturing of their bishop may respond by *implementing* an educational programme, further teaching lay people about the Council's understanding of the priesthood of the baptized. From this example, it is clear that there is an overlap between these two terms; through the

¹⁵⁴ For a diagram of hermeneutical openness see Terry Veling, *Living in the Margins: Intentional Communities and the Art of Interpretation* (New York: Crossroad Herder, 1996), 38.

¹⁵⁵ Veling, *Living in the Margins*, 77–79.

¹⁵⁶ For Veling's overview of the debate between Gadamer and Habermas, see: Veling, *Living in the Margins*, 84–86.

¹⁵⁷ Veling, *Living in the Margins*, 136.

implementation of an educational programme, the laity continue to receive the teachings of the Council. All the same, it should be noted that when using the term “implementation” this thesis is generally referring to concrete activity and structural change in response to the Archdiocese of Hobart’s reception of conciliar teachings.

3. Resisting the Council

Marcel Lefebvre and the Australian Latin Mass Society

What does it mean for an individual or group to resist or reject the teachings of Vatican II? Writing in the late 1980s, Daniele Menozzi identified two historical modes of resistance to the Council (amongst others) which are relevant to the history of the Archdiocese of Hobart.¹⁵⁸ The first was a global movement of rejection led by the former Archbishop of Dakar, Marcel Lefebvre (1905–91); while the second were methods for interpreting the Council’s reception promoted by Popes Paul VI and John Paul II, which seemingly cohered with the wishes of those suspicious of the Council. The aim of this section is to explore both modes of resistance and how they might apply to the Archdiocese of Hobart’s reception and implementation of the Second Vatican Council. Lefebvre made his rejection of Vatican II public in 1970 and throughout the decade increasingly developed his view that loyalty to the church required disobedience to the Council, which he believed had been defiled by Modernism, Liberalism, and Protestantism. His thinking culminated in a 1976 statement proclaiming that Vatican II was a “schismatic council”.¹⁵⁹ According to Gilles Routhier, the question of how to interpret the Council became a topic of crucial discussion when Lefebvre began to question its legitimacy, claiming that it was a break with Catholic tradition.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Daniele Menozzi, “Opposition to the Council (1966–84),” in *The Reception of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo, Jean-Pierre Jossua, and Joseph Komonchak (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1987), 325–48.

¹⁵⁹ Menozzi, “Opposition to the Council,” 336–39.

¹⁶⁰ Gilles Routhier, “The Hermeneutic of Reform as a Task for Theology,” *Irish Theological Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (2012). *Sage Journals*. See also: Yves Congar, *Challenge to the Church: The Case of Archbishop Lefèbvre*, ed. Paul Inwood (Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor, 1976).

Chapter Three: Methodology

On 25 July 1960, Pope John XXIII approved a revised edition of the Latin Roman Missal, also known as the Mass of St. Pius V or ‘Tridentine Mass.’¹⁶¹ A daily missal, including Latin rites and English translations, was published in 1962.¹⁶² This liturgy had originally been decreed by the Council of Trent and carried out by Pius V who promulgated a revised breviary and missal through his bulls *Quod a nobis* (1568) and *Quo primum* (1570).¹⁶³ Revision of the liturgy was nothing new. According to J. D. Crichton, throughout four centuries no popes had ever felt bound to abide by the edicts of their predecessors. “They have never thought, in spite of the *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, that they had their hands tied, and, equally forcefully, they had claimed the right to alter or reform the Roman liturgy.”¹⁶⁴ In 1963, the Second Vatican Council promulgated the Constitution on the Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, which confirmed the majority of bishops desire for further liturgical reform. In part, the document sought to promote the active participation of the laity within worship (SC 14) by extending the bishops authority to make decisions which might suitably adapt the liturgy to the needs of local churches (SC 40). One dimension of this vision was an expansion of the use of vernacular languages within liturgical celebrations (SC 36). On 3 April 1969, the *Novus Ordo Missae* (New Order of the Mass) was promulgated by Pope Paul VI.¹⁶⁵ The following year (January 1970), an English translation of the *Novus Ordo* was approved for use in Australia by the Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship and issued by the authority of the Australian

¹⁶¹ “*Rubricarum Instructum* (25 July 1960): Apostolic Letter issued “Motu Proprio” by Pope John XXIII approving the new Roman Breviary and Missal,” Vatican, 19 January 2023, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/es/motu_proprio/documents/hf_j-xxiii_motu-proprio_19600725_rubricarum-instructum.html.

¹⁶² See Sylvester Peter Juergens, ed. *The Roman Catholic Daily Missal, 1962: With Kyriale in Gregorian Notation* (Kansas City, Missouri: Angelus Press, 2004).

¹⁶³ J. D. Crichton, *The Once and Future Liturgy* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1977), 7.

¹⁶⁴ Crichton, *The Once and Future Liturgy*, 13–14.

¹⁶⁵ “*Missale Romanum* (3 April 1969): Apostolic Constitution issued by Pope Paul VI approving the new Roman Missal,” Vatican, 19 January 2023, https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_p-vi_apc_19690403_missale-romanum.html.

Episcopal Conference.¹⁶⁶ The global shift from Latin to vernacular worship was not enthusiastically embraced by everyone, however. Amongst Lefebvre and his followers, including the international fraternity of traditionalist Catholic priests known as the Society of St. Pius X (S.S.P.X.) which was founded by the archbishop in 1970, the Latin Roman Missal provided a symbolic rallying point for their rejection of the Second Vatican Council. According to Massimo Faggioli, denial of the *Novus Ordo* implied a rejection of the new theological project at the heart of Vatican II.

In a way, the Lefebvrists' rejection of the liturgy of Vatican II was the ultimate proof that the liturgical reform of Vatican II also carries the value of *lex orandi, lex credendi*. The *lex credendi* of Vatican II is expressed in the *lex orandi* of the liturgical reform enacted by the council and implemented by the bishops in the decades after Vatican II. The theological core of Vatican II rejected by the Lefebvrists evidently has to do with the recognition of religious freedom and freedom of conscience, the commitment to ecumenical and interreligious dialogue, and the commitment to a new understanding of faith anchored in the Word of God. Through the liturgy of Vatican II, this core includes the position of Scripture in the Church and the existence and role of episcopal conferences and episcopal collegiality, rejected by Lefebvre as "discontinuity" with the Western European tradition (in truth, more imperial than biblical) of the monarchical model of Church government.¹⁶⁷

Liturgical reform inspired by Vatican II and promulgated by the Constitution on the Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, expresses the Council's broader theological project. For example, the Doctrinal Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes*, and the Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity, *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, all sought to promote the active participation of the laity within the life of the church and Christ's mission to the world. Promulgated before any other conciliar document, SC advocates for the full, conscious and active participation of all the faithful (including the laity) within the liturgy (SC 14). Further, Faggioli observes that while many Catholics had been taught to associate the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church with immutability, liturgical reform was proof that the Church had always been a community of

¹⁶⁶ "Apostolic Constitution: Promulgation of the Roman Missal Restored by Decree of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council," in *The Order of the Mass* (Australia: E. J. Dwyer, 1970), ix–xiii.

¹⁶⁷ Massimo Faggioli, *True Reform: Liturgy and Ecclesiology in Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2012), 140, ProQuest.

change, capable of adapting to the joys, hopes and desires of contemporary Catholics.¹⁶⁸ Deeply immersed within the liturgical renewal movement, this is a principle which would impact Archbishop Guilford Young's efforts to receive and implement the Council.

Rejection of the *Novus Ordo* by Lefebvre and his followers may point to a rejection of the theologies which lie at the heart of Vatican II. According to J. D. Crichton, the 'Tridentine rite' has been labelled by many as a "bulwark against Protestantism".¹⁶⁹ Patrick O'Farrell observes that Australian Catholics before the Council had long understood their religion to be anti-Protestant, or at least distinctly non-Protestant. Thus, post-conciliar changes which diminished differences between Protestants and Catholics, including the encouragement of hymn singing by the congregation, a more informal liturgy, and the end of the Latin Mass threatened many with the loss of a distinctive religious identity. The more these changes and the post-conciliar ecumenical movement progressed, the greater the anxiety, which among certain Catholics generated a desire to preserve the practices of the past.¹⁷⁰ According to O'Farrell: "No province of international Catholicism was well prepared for the revolution and renewal which flowed from the Second Vatican Council, 1962–5, but Australian Catholicism was less well-equipped than most. It had deep and firm resources of faith, but it lacked the flexibility and imagination to adapt quickly or readily to the new religious world that dawned in the 1960s."¹⁷¹ The comment is similar to that of Vincent Buckley, who viewed his fellow Catholics as internalising a sense of doctrine incapable of surviving immense change.¹⁷² For some, the rejection of Vatican II was resistance to the notion that their beliefs were anything but immutable.

A direct and vociferous rejection of the Council was typified by the Australian Latin Mass Society (L.M.S.), a movement which seemingly began amongst the laity. Scholars of contemporary Australian Catholic history seem to have neglected exploring L.M.S. and its history. O'Farrell, for example, characterized the movement in Australia which had attempted to preserve the Latin Mass as an "extreme fringe" which was "small in size", implying

¹⁶⁸ Faggioli, *True Reform*, 75

¹⁶⁹ Crichton, *The Once and Future Liturgy*, 7.

¹⁷⁰ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 425–26.

¹⁷¹ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 405.

¹⁷² Buckley, *Cutting Green Hay*, 291.

insignificance.¹⁷³ The following summary of L.M.S. has been pieced together from three sources. The first is an article (2014) written by Dr. Bernard Doherty sketching out a biography of one of the organisations founding members: Yves Dupont (1922–76).¹⁷⁴ Doherty is an adjunct lecturer in history and New Religions at St. Mark’s National Theological Centre, Canberra and a tutor in history at Macquarie University, Sydney. The second is a defense of the *Novus Ordo* (1978) written by Fritz Albers (PH.B.), an Australian Catholic apologist who was critical of changes which occurred in the church in Australia after Vatican II. He opposed those who supported Lefebvre and denied the authority of the pope. At the same time, he also attacked what he saw as the spread of Modernism, Existentialism, and ‘Teilhardism’ (referring to the thinking of the French Jesuit, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin). In the 1990s, Albers supported protests made against the “Renew” pastoral programme in Hobart, implemented by Archbishop Eric D’Arcy. He perceived “Renew” as a vehicle for dangerous philosophical movements.¹⁷⁵ The third source is a biography of Marcel Lefebvre written by Bernard Tissier De Mallerais and translated into English by Brian Sudlow.¹⁷⁶

In 1962, a new periodical called *World Trends* appeared in Hawthorn, Melbourne, published by Tenet Books and written under the guiding editorship of Yves Dupont. Initially, this publication bore the imprimatur of Archbishop Daniel Mannix.¹⁷⁷ Born in 1864, the archbishop would have been approximately ninety-eight years old at the time. Thus, while permission to print could not have been given without his approval, it is unlikely Mannix had any ideological stake in the success of the publication.¹⁷⁸ According to Doherty: “World Trends was the first English language traditionalist publication and from its first issue attracted a wide

¹⁷³ O’Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 426.

¹⁷⁴ See Bernard Doherty, “The Road to Schism: Yves Dupont and the Latin Mass Society of Australia 1966–1977,” *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society* 35 (2014): 87-107. Informit.

¹⁷⁵ See Fritz Albers, In Defense of the ‘*Novus Ordo Missae*’ of his Holiness Pope Paul VI, 18 April 1978, Victoria State Library.

¹⁷⁶ See Bernard Tissier De Mallerais, *Marcel Lefebvre: The Biography*, trans. Brian Sudlow (Kansas City: Angelus Press, 2004).

¹⁷⁷ Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 92.

¹⁷⁸ Noone, *Daniel Mannix: His Legacy*, viii.

readership, not only in Australia, but also in North America and further afield.”¹⁷⁹ In January 1966, Dupont became a founding member of the Australian Latin Mass Society. The earliest mission of this group was the preservation of the Mass of St. Pius V in the form of the 1962 Roman Missal which, alongside an English translation, had become increasingly widespread in Australia since 1964.¹⁸⁰ Publications from both *World Trends* and L.M.S. reveal that Dupont and his colleagues were commonly inspired by popular prophecies and rumours of Marian apparitions, Judeo-Masonic conspiracy theories, and anti-communist rhetoric.¹⁸¹ Originally born in Paris and educated near Bordeaux, Doherty states that Dupont’s French connections played an important role in the Latin Mass Society’s decision to officially align themselves with Lefebvre and S.S.P.X. in 1973.¹⁸²

Lefebvre visited Melbourne, Australia, to attend the International Eucharistic Congress in 1973. Finding accommodation with Fr. James Opie, a Latinist, he celebrated three pontifical masses and declined an invitation to the ecumenical celebrations.¹⁸³ Dupont and his colleagues in the Latin Mass Society assisted in bringing Lefebvre to Australia for this event, where he met with conservative Australian bishops, including Bernard Stewart (Sandhurst), William Brennan (Toowoomba), and Francis Xavier Thomas (Geraldton).¹⁸⁴ Jeffrey Murphy identifies Stewart and Brennan as members of “an axis of immobilists” ill at ease with changes brought about by the Second Vatican Council, alongside bishops James O’Collins (Ballarat) and Thomas Fox (Wilcannia-Forbes).¹⁸⁵ For the most part, however, L.M.S. did not enjoy the support of the Australian hierarchy. Other members, including Archbishop Francis Rush (Brisbane), Archbishop James Knox (Melbourne), and Cardinal James Freeman (Sydney) were far from sympathetic to their position. According to Doherty, Rush had stated in a letter to L.M.S. that many Australian bishops would be hesitant to support their aims due to their views

¹⁷⁹ Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 92.

¹⁸⁰ Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 90.

¹⁸¹ Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 99.

¹⁸² Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 91.

¹⁸³ De Mallerai, *Marcel Lefebvre: The Biography*, 559.

¹⁸⁴ Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 97.

¹⁸⁵ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 66.

on the *Novus Ordo*. He cited a “Position Paper” presented to the annual Bishops’ meeting in January 1974 by another member of L.M.S., Hutton Gibson (father of the actor Mel Gibson), who described the New Mass as “heretical.”¹⁸⁶ While publications of *World Trends* were, “almost unremittingly hostile toward the Church hierarchy”, Dupont would occasionally praise Archbishop Mannix and B. A. Santamaria, “both of whom he considered fellow-warriors against communism.”¹⁸⁷ Rather than directly participating in Santamaria’s anti-communist Catholic Social Studies Movement, Doherty speculates that it is more probable Dupont was simply aware of the activities of its groups. While admiring of the Movement, Dupont’s anti-communist ethos was more apocalyptic than any position either Santamaria or Mannix had ever taken.¹⁸⁸ Likewise, his attitude toward Vatican II seems far more aggressive than Santamaria, who in his autobiography blames troubles which arose within the Catholic community in Australia during the post-conciliar period on the theological interpreters of the Council, rather than the Council itself.¹⁸⁹

As liturgical reform continued throughout the 1970s and the Vatican began to take disciplinary action against Archbishop Lefebvre (beginning in 1976), both *World Trends*, the Latin Mass Society, and Dupont began to more closely align themselves with Lefebvre and S.S.P.X.¹⁹⁰ At the Annual General Meeting of L.M.S. in October 1976, the organisation split, with Hutton Gibson and a small group of supporters resigning over the issue of sedevacantism.¹⁹¹ This is a minority theological opinion amongst traditionalist Catholics which holds that all popes reigning since the death of Pope Pius XII in 1958 had been illegitimate due to their heretical opinions and thus there is currently no pope. The word comes from the Latin *sede vacante* meaning: “the seat being empty”.¹⁹² A larger group of supporters remained loyal to Lefebvre and S.S.P.X., however, and in 1983 the L.M.S. group in Sydney formed the Child

¹⁸⁶ Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 93–4.

¹⁸⁷ Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 105.

¹⁸⁸ Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 105.

¹⁸⁹ Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, 334.

¹⁹⁰ Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 96.

¹⁹¹ Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 91.

¹⁹² Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 89, footnote 10.

Jesus and St. Joseph Parish in Rockdale as “the first SSPX parish in Australia”.¹⁹³ Dupont died in 1976 and his periodical *World Trends* continued publication until May 1977. The final issue included a transcript of an exorcism performed in Switzerland, where the individual denounced so-called “liturgical abuses” including the abandonment of the Tridentine Mass.¹⁹⁴

On 18 April 1978, Fritz Albers published his text: “In Defense of the ‘*Novus Ordo Missae*’ of his Holiness Pope Paul VI”.¹⁹⁵ Only thirty-six pages in length, the document is primarily concerned with debunking the arguments of those who rejected the new Mass in favour of the Latin Missal. His diagnosis of Lefebvre and his followers was that neither were truly concerned about freedom to practice the Latin Mass, rather “the kernel of the whole revolt is the acceptance of Vatican II [...]”¹⁹⁶ Albers engaged with literature spread by those who sought to preserve the Latin Mass, who he colourfully dubbed the “Tridentiners”.¹⁹⁷ He mentioned literature sources important to Tridentiners, including *The Ottaviani Intervention*, *The Great Sacrilege* (both published in America by TAN books) and *Changes in the Mass* by Michael Davies. Yet, he seemed especially interested in L.M.S. newsletters. Toward the end of his treatise, he quoted a statement made in 1974 by Michael Foley, General President of L.M.S. Australia, during a concluding address at an annual general meeting about the aims of the organization: “When LMS was founded the fight was seemingly simple: The Bishops wanted to take the Latin, this organization was formed to retain it. With the *Novus Ordo*, 5 years ago, doctrine came under attack: we had to expand our aims. Then the other 6 Sacraments

¹⁹³ Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 106.

¹⁹⁴ Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 106.

¹⁹⁵ Albers produced a number of small books, including: Fritz Albers, *Teilhard de Chardin and the Dutch Catechism: A Critical Analysis of the Philosophies and “Theology” of Teilhard de Chardin and the Dutch Catechism and the Interrelation Between Them* (Drysdale, Victoria: Call for Mary, 1974); Fritz Albers, *The Hidden Schism; or the New Catholicism* (Melbourne: Call For Mary, 1975); Fritz Albers, *The Foundations of our Catholic Faith: A Course of 10 Lectures on the Catholic Church’s Teachings on Faith, Philosophy, Theology* (Newtown, Victoria Neptune Press, 1981); Fritz Albers, *The Marian Dimension in the Apocalypse of St. John* (Newtown, Victoria: Neptune Press, 1982); Fritz Albers, *Galileo Galilei: The Case for the Church* (Newtown, Victoria: Neptune Press, 1982); Fritz Albers, *Bound to the Virgin* (Newton, Victoria: Neptune Press, 1982).

¹⁹⁶ Albers, *Novus Ordo Missae*, 9.

¹⁹⁷ Albers, *Novus Ordo Missae*, 2.

were subverted, one by one. We have to fight for all the Sacraments. It is a problem of unparalleled magnitude. The Reformation was similar, basically. Now the problem is of universal proportions. We now have a universal battle.”¹⁹⁸ Over the years, the position of L.M.S. shifted from opposing liturgical change to denouncing Pope Paul VI. Once again, Albers quoted at length from newsletters, concentrating on statements made by the General Secretary of L.M.S., Hutton Gibson, who directly accused Paul VI of being a “heretic” and a “false pope”.¹⁹⁹ In order to prove that L.M.S. and Lefebvre shared the same goal of denouncing the pope, Albers pointed to a newsletter in which authors quoted words from the archbishop’s tenth letter to friends and benefactors (written on 27 March from S.S.P.X., Écône, Switzerland).²⁰⁰ He concluded his text with reference to a conversation between himself and Lefebvre. “In Feb. 1973, I was granted a short interview with Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre in Melbourne, in which I insisted on an answer to my question: ‘Do you consider the Second Vatican Council heretical, yes or no?’ The Archbishop cautiously answered then: - ‘No, not necessarily heretical, but ambiguous’. Both he and his followers have since shifted ground on this and have gone much further; rejecting by now both Vatican II and the Holy Father Pope Paul.”²⁰¹ This was the month of the International Eucharistic Congress in Melbourne. Albers reported receiving letters from priests in 1974 and for years afterward, informing him of their intention to reject the *Novus Ordo* and asking him to join them.²⁰²

According to an article by Massimo Faggioli, the years between 1974–88 were a time of papal ambivalence toward liturgical reform initiated after Vatican II; an orientation which came from Rome and impacted local churches and national episcopacies. On the one hand, the post-conciliar project of liturgical adaptation had born positive fruit, such as the Roman Missal for the Dioceses of Zaire (1989), which inculturated the Catholic liturgy in an African context. At the same time, liturgical reform had begun to slow down and the founding of organisations such as the “Priestly Fraternity of St. Peter” evidenced a longing amongst certain Catholics for

¹⁹⁸ Albers, *Novus Ordo Missae*, 30. According to Albers, this address was reported in a January 1975 edition of the L.M.S. newsletter.

¹⁹⁹ Albers, *Novus Ordo Missae*, 26.

²⁰⁰ Albers, *Novus Ordo Missae*, 27–28.

²⁰¹ Albers, *Novus Ordo Missae*, 30.

²⁰² Albers, *Novus Ordo Missae*, 23–24.

a return to a pre-conciliar church. Over the years, a return to Latin within the liturgy had gained increasing traction.²⁰³ In 1984, an Indult entitled *Quattuor abhinc annos* was distributed by the Congregation for Divine Worship to the Presidents of Episcopal Conferences which empowered diocesan bishops to authorise celebrations of the 1962 version of the Latin Roman Missal. The rite could only be performed under certain conditions, including an affirmation that the practicing priest did not question the doctrinal legitimacy of the Roman Missal promulgated by Pope Paul VI after Vatican II.²⁰⁴ In 1988, Lefebvre consecrated four bishops against the will of Pope John Paul II, and in doing so committed a schismatic act. Both he and S.S.P.X. were excommunicated. In response, the pope published the Apostolic Letter, *Ecclesia Dei adflicta*, and created a pontifical commission with the aim of mending relations between the church and Catholics who desired to continue practicing the Latin liturgy, yet disagreed with Lefebvre's position.²⁰⁵ According to Faggioli, ambivalence toward liturgical reform continued to grow during the second part of Pope John Paul II's pontificate. Between 1988 to 2000 liturgical inculturation continued, but at the same time Rome increasingly favoured centralization and a return to Latinization in vernacular liturgical books.²⁰⁶

Resisting Structural Reform

Writing on the initial program of conciliar reception molded by Paul VI's addresses, Menozzi observes that the pope had repeatedly emphasized that *renewal*, rather than *reform* or *transformation*, had been the purpose of the Council. "He dwelt even more frequently on the character of the renewal proposed: the faithful are called to an interior and spiritual renewal. Moreover, the pope contrasted this kind of change with a structural reform of the church. It is easy to see here a broad similarity to the Lefebvrian interpretation of Vatican II, even though

²⁰³ See Massimo Faggioli, "The Liturgical Reform from 1963 until Today . . . and Beyond," *Toronto Journal of Theology* 32/2 (2016): 205. EBSCOhost. Faggioli's historical periodization of the reception of liturgical reform is grounded in the work of Martin Klöckener.

²⁰⁴ "Quattuor Abhinc Annos (3 October 1984): Indult from the Congregation for Divine Worship to the Presidents of Episcopal Conferences for Use of the Roman Missal of 1962," EWTN Global Catholic Network, 19 August 2022, <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/quattuor-abhinc-annos-indult-for-use-of-roman-missal-of-1962-2155>.

²⁰⁵ Denis Crouan, *The History and Future of the Roman Liturgy* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2004), 213–13.

²⁰⁶ Faggioli, "The Liturgical Reform from 1963 until Today . . . and Beyond," 205.

Paul VI carefully avoided linking the spiritual renewal intended by the Council with a greater emphasis on the Counter-Reformation model.”²⁰⁷ From the beginning of the Council’s reception there is evidence of the pope encouraging a form of distancing between interior, spiritual renewal and structural reform, favoring the former over the latter. Menozzi writes that this was effectively the way Lefebvre understood Vatican II directly after its conclusion; the Council had desired an “intensification” of traditional post-Tridentine methods of behaviour (spiritual renewal) rather than any concrete (structural) change.²⁰⁸ According to Menozzi, this vision is reflected in Pope Paul VI’s *Ecclesiam Suam* (1964), which both reassured the bishops of their collegial independence, while also reminding them that the pope was not bound by decisions of the episcopal assembly.²⁰⁹

This hermeneutical preference is also evident during the pontificate of John Paul II, who became pope in 1978.²¹⁰ Joseph Ratzinger, as Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith since 1981, insisted on the importance of internal renewal over external reform in an interview with Vittorio Messori. “Saints, in fact, reformed the Church in depth, not by working up plans for new structures, but by reforming themselves. What the Church needs in order to respond to the needs of man in every age is holiness, not management.”²¹¹ This vision is reflected in the *Final Report* of the 1985 Extraordinary Synod on the reception of Vatican II, which states that too much emphasis has been placed on an institutional understanding of the Church, rather than one defined by mystery.²¹² In a short reflection on the person of John Paul II, Morris West (Australian novelist and journalist) characterised the pope as authoritarian when addressing matters internal to the universal church and quite capable of turning back structural reform.²¹³ He locates the rigidity of the pope in the strategies he learned exercising

²⁰⁷ Menozzi, “Opposition to the Council,” 333.

²⁰⁸ Menozzi, “Opposition to the Council,” 330.

²⁰⁹ Menozzi, “Opposition to the Council,” 332.

²¹⁰ Meg Greene, *John Paul II: A Biography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2003), 116.

²¹¹ Messori, *The Ratzinger Report*, 53.

²¹² “Final Report,” 21.

²¹³ West was placed on special assignment for seven years in Rome for the London *Daily Mail* in 1958 and had regular contact with many people from different ranks of the prelacy. From these experiences he accrued a solid

power in the midst of political turmoil. “In his student youth he was trained in the necessary conspiracies of survival, first under German occupation, then under the Russians and later under a Marxist administration. He learned early that to hold a resistance movement together one had to exercise authority - to confront overt power with covert strength. The final result was a spectacular victory, the beginning of the end of the Russian Marxist hegemony in Europe. It is only five years since Poland held its first free elections in half a century.”²¹⁴ Considering the successful liberation of the country from communist control, West speculates that it might have seemed natural for the pope to apply these strategies to the universal church. However, in his view, they were not successful.²¹⁵ Defying the movement toward collegiality initiated by Vatican II, Pope John Paul II subtracted power from his brother bishops and invested this authority within the *dicasteries*, the central administrative bodies in Rome. In the arena of doctrine, he and his allies took a hard-line stance and actively limited diversity and open theological debate.²¹⁶ West writes that many watched this situation unfold with great anxiety. “They are painfully aware that, under this Pontificate, dissenters have been silenced and open debate on contentious but vital issues has been prorogued. They know that the close counsellors of the Pontiff and his spokesmen in Rome are of rigorist cast. They know that he has hand-picked many of the senior hierarchy and most of his own cabinet, the College of Cardinals, who will also elect his successor.”²¹⁷ While for some, the centralisation of power and limitation of theological debate may have seemed comforting, a return to a strong sense of religious identity challenged by Vatican II, for West and his peers this movement signified a new sense of loneliness and isolation. Catholic identity was no longer simple, it was rather a kind of wrestling with God in imitation of the biblical Jacob at Peniel. No longer was it possible to return to a vision of doctrine and identity as black and white, where Catholicism remained sharply distinct from the surrounding Protestant and secular world. That the pope and his advisors in the curia did not seem to recognise the complex nature of contemporary Catholicism

understanding of how the Vatican operates, “and how it works upon the man who wears the Fisherman’s ring.” See West, *A View from the Ridge*, 124.

²¹⁴ West, *A View from the Ridge*, 123.

²¹⁵ West, *A View from the Ridge*, 123.

²¹⁶ West, *A View from the Ridge*, 124.

²¹⁷ West, *A View from the Ridge*, 124.

only exacerbated a sense of alienation from the hierarchy amongst himself and his peers. “His utterances - and those of the curial officials who speak in his name - seem often too curt, too peremptory, too dispassionate in reasoning, too poor in compassion, to give light on the darkling pilgrim road. As one distinguished educator - a long-time nun - put it to me recently: ‘They talk at us and about us, but they don’t listen. And who in a patriarchal hierarchy understands women anyway? They leave us very lonely.’”²¹⁸ This isolation was the burden of John Paul II’s pontificate, but it was a divide which yawned both ways. West saw the pope as a compassionate and holy man and mourned that his humanity and Christian dignity were lost behind a screen of absolute power, authority and surety.²¹⁹

In summary, two modes of historical resistance to the Council have been identified. The first is a complete rejection of the Council led by Marcel Lefebvre and in Australia typified by the activities of the Australian Latin Mass Society throughout the sixties and seventies. According to O’Farrell, those in Australia who attempted to preserve the Latin Mass were also suspicious of the ecumenical movement. Further, Doherty observes that Yves Dupont utilized his periodical *World Trends* to spread anti-Jewish conspiracy theories.²²⁰ Thus, L.M.S. members did more than reject celebration of the liturgy in the vernacular, resisting the post-conciliar trajectory toward improving relations with non-Catholic churches (grounded in the Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*) and Judaism (supported by the Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, *Nostra Aetate*). As Massimo Faggioli observes, rejection of liturgical reform was also a rejection of the core theologies embraced by Vatican II. As the Archbishop of Hobart (1955–88), Guilford Young spent the post-Vatican II years enthusiastically promoting liturgical reform. As will be explored, the possibility of adapting the Mass inspired a greater theological openness to promoting the active participation

²¹⁸ West, *A View from the Ridge*, 127.

²¹⁹ West, *A View from the Ridge*, 128.

²²⁰ In an article for *World Trends* entitled “The Jewish Question” (7 December 1969), Yves Dupont repeated a medieval belief that the Antichrist would be born of the Jewish faith. He wrote of the Jewish people: “Their own mental attitudes have made them proficient in the pursuit of earthly ambitions such as money and power; proficient also in the formulation of secularist and materialist philosophies. There is no doubt that the control of international finance by Jews was, and still is, responsible for a great many evils in the world... It is no exaggeration to say, that today’s evils can be to a considerable extent be laid at the door of the Jews.” See Doherty, *The Road to Schism*, 102.

of the laity desired by Vatican II and he sought to implement this vision in concrete, structural ways; especially through the creation of a Diocesan Pastoral Council. While little evidence has been found of a large number of L.M.S. sympathisers active during the greater part of his episcopacy in Tasmania, the years before his death witnessed the re-emergence of the Latin Mass in Hobart. Evidence suggests that Latin Mass worship became increasingly widespread under the auspices of Young's successor, Archbishop Eric D'Arcy (1988–99). Simultaneously, voices suspicious of post-conciliar reform would become more visible and active, with some of the earliest organised protests against reform being held during the early 1990s.

The second mode of resistance constitutes a hermeneutical privileging of internal renewal over structural reform, evident amongst certain Roman documents produced during the pontificate of Popes Paul VI and John Paul II, as well as a weakening of collegiality and theological debate under the auspices of the latter. Both tendencies point to an unwillingness amongst the papacy to fully embrace the desire for structural change and sharing of responsibility for the mission and ministry of the church which the Council inspired in many Catholics. As Morris West observed of Pope John Paul II: "For him, collegiality was always too great a risk – or was it, one asks without malice, too great a leap of faith in the pervasive working of the Spirit among the people of God?"²²¹ Unwillingness to share responsibility amongst the bishops has an impact upon the hierarchy's capacity to share responsibility amongst the laity. Undoubtedly, in its recognition that all members of the people of God share in the call to holiness, the Council demanded internal, spiritual renewal (*LG* 40). Yet, in light of a hermeneutics of suspicion, it is worth wondering whether a spiritual-structural polarization stymies necessary systemic reform. It may well be that a pope or members of the magisterium perceive little need for a change in structural power dynamics; after all, they occupy positions of great authority. Yet, for many lay people who do not officially participate within the proceedings of the magisterium, concrete channels of communication are required in order to make their voices heard. The incorporation of insights from communication studies into an understanding of the reception of doctrine can help to inform a hermeneutics of suspicion. Paul Lakeland, who has written about discourse and consensus within the church drawing upon the theory of Jürgen Habermas, identifies two modes of communicative action: communication

²²¹ West, *A View from the Ridge*, 124.

toward success and communication toward understanding.²²² The former is oriented toward the successful completion of a particular goal. Its objective is neither truthfulness or morality but “effectiveness”.²²³ The latter is oriented toward mutual understanding; its goal is not effectiveness but *consensus*. This does not imply a shallow vision of unity for its own sake. Indeed, the health of a community is predicated upon its ability to handle difference and division. Communication toward understanding requires a commitment to openness and truthfulness, as well as a readiness to provide each member of the community with equal voice, attention, and respect.²²⁴ If these requirements are not met: “the action becomes instrumental or strategic rather than communicative. That is to say, something is going on under the surface, there is some hidden agenda, to which the apparent conversation is made instrumental.”²²⁵ If bishops and priests do not provide the laity with equal opportunities for their voices to be heard, it may be wondered whether they are pursuing consensus, or rather, aiming at the accomplishment of another goal. As will be explored, Young was inspired by the Council to commit to a process of structural reform in order to manifest a conciliar vision of lay people as active participants responsible for the life and mission of the church, who in their own way share in the priestly, prophetic, and royal offices of Christ (*LG* 34–36). He sought to elevate the voices of the laity within the archdiocese, to various degrees of success. By contrast, D’Arcy was less disposed than his predecessor toward fostering concrete opportunities for lay people to share responsibility for the mission and ministry of the church. Further, evidence suggests that when tensions flared within the archdiocese over internal matters, D’Arcy adopted strategies similar to that of Pope John Paul II, censoring voices and limiting debate within the public media, exercising communication toward success rather than communication toward understanding.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, what does it mean for the Archdiocese of Hobart to receive the teachings of Vatican II? The historical reception and implementation of doctrine is more dynamic than

²²² For Lakeland’s summary of Habermas see: Paul Lakeland, *Theology and Critical Theory: The Discourse of the Church* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), 46–56.

²²³ Lakeland, *Theology and Critical Theory*, 109.

²²⁴ Lakeland, *Theology and Critical Theory*, 48–49.

²²⁵ Lakeland, *Theology and Critical Theory*, 49.

submission to hierarchical authority. In a diachronic vision, the reception of new teachings by a community is predicated upon a prior theological reception of the Word of God (through scripture and tradition), and sociological reception of the life of the faithful. New teachings are intended to name the reality of God's offer of salvation and promulgate the richness of the faithful's religious experiences. These sources informed the perspectives of bishops at the Council whose views, while occasionally contrasting, were embedded within the conciliar texts with the aim of reaching consensus. In light of these compromises, readers must take opposing views seriously while also privileging the trajectory toward newness desired by the majority of bishops at the Council. Further, knowledge of conciliar redaction histories should inspire a wariness toward compromises which purposefully sought to weaken the radicality of certain teachings.

It is not only the hierarchy who actively participate within the dissemination of new teachings, rather, it is the whole body of the faithful that as magisterium receives and creatively interprets new doctrines through the exercise of their sense of the faith. While the historical intentions of conciliar bishops and redactors are important, ultimately, reception implies a creative act on behalf of those who appropriate new teachings and adapt them to the needs and urgencies of everyday life. The Holy Spirit, working through the sense of the faithful, inspires the meaning of a conciliar text to reach beyond the original intentions of its authors. In the eyes of the Council, the laity participate in the prophetic office of Christ and bishops must pay heed to their joys, hopes and fears. In a synchronic sense, the reception of doctrine always occurs within a broader framework of the church as a receiving community in relationship with God and the whole of humanity. Australian Catholics are agents of reception whose understanding of the faith is impacted by God as the source of revelation, tradition and scripture, the community of believers, the Roman Catholic Church, episcopal magisterium, the surrounding culture and context of the world, the local church and other churches, theologians, diverse theologies, non-Catholic communities and other religions. The reception of doctrine, thus, always takes place within a complex web of different cultural, theological and sociological sources of change.

The reception of the Council involves the threefold tasks of kerygmatic proclamation, theological synthesis and spiritual conversion. All people within the church, including bishops, priests, religious and lay people involve themselves in these tasks in their own unique way. A historical reconstruction of reception amongst local churches should pay attention to sources which provide evidence of these activities, including: histories of the Council, papal texts and communications, the documents of international episcopal synods and the Australian episcopal

conference, speeches and lectures of individual bishops and theologians, academic theological texts, clerical homilies, media statements, the minutes and reports of diocesan organisations, and pedagogical material developed for diocesan renewal initiatives.

Finally, the historical rejection of Vatican II reveals much about the phenomenon of reception. Lefebvre and his followers in Australia, typified by the Latin Mass Society, rejected post-conciliar liturgical reforms and in doing so resisted the new theological project which lay at the heart of Vatican II. The rejection of an evolving liturgy, in favour of nostalgia for an imagined past, meant denying the reality of the Catholic Church as a community of change. Further, there is also reason to suspect that a spiritual-structural polarization may indicate a certain unwillingness amongst the hierarchy to accept the breadth of structural change demanded by the Council. Over-emphasizing spiritual renewal and ignoring structural reform risks diminishing those voices amongst the laity bereft of representation, thus stifling individuals and communities who share authentically in the *sensus fidelium*. The authoritarian streak which characterized Pope John Paul II's pontificate inspires attentiveness to the possibility of episcopal leaders ignoring or reversing concrete structural changes within the church.

Within this thesis, the remaining chapters focus on particular periods of the reception of Vatican II within the Archdiocese of Hobart, grounded in an extensive analysis of archival evidence and secondary histories. Chapter four explores the general status of the lay apostolate in Australia before Vatican II, with particular attention to key movements which would impact the conciliar vision of the laity. Primarily reliant on secondary material, this section is intended to provide a backdrop to the next chapter. Chapter five focuses upon the episcopacy of Archbishop Young within Hobart before Vatican II. Chapter six analyses the contributions of Young and other Australian bishops to the Second Vatican Council, where these contributions intersect with the subject of the lay apostolate. Chapter seven synthesises a reading of Young's vision of the lay apostolate, primarily based on the documents *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes*, grounded in lectures he organised for Tasmanian Catholics as early as 1966. Chapter eight explores the first period of conciliar reception within the Archdiocese of Hobart (1964–81), a time characterised by great enthusiasm and a willingness to experiment. Chapter nine analyses a second period of reception during Young's episcopacy (1981–88), which built toward a Diocesan Assembly in 1984 and ended with Young's death in 1988. Finally, chapter ten synthesizes a history of the lay apostolate during the episcopacy of Eric D'Arcy (1988–99)

Chapter Three: Methodology

against the backdrop of his previous clerical career within the Archdiocese of Melbourne and Diocese of Sale.

Chapter Four: Catholic Lay Renewal in Australia before Vatican II

1. Introduction

The first Catholics came to Australia with the colonial fleets of 1788. Many were Irish, lay, and criminally convicted by a British legal system.²²⁶ The harsh demands of life on a new frontier meant that, during its earliest days, the church did not have the means to produce a strong intellectual tradition. Yet the twentieth century witnessed an increasing receptivity toward new theological currents of thought flowing from Europe and America, which prepared the ground for broader changes introduced by the Second Vatican Council (1962–65). These intellectual currents emphasized the importance of lay participation within the church's life and mission; facilitating a transition from a passive ecclesiological vision of the laity, to one which emphasized the active nature of their apostolate. The claim of this chapter is that three currents of theological thought were particularly relevant to the evolution of the lay apostolate in Australia before Vatican II: 1) Catholic Social Teaching; 2) the movement for liturgical renewal; 3) and specialized Catholic Action. These currents represent important dimensions of faith life within Australia which were recognized by certain bishops and informed their own receptivity to the Council's vision of the lay apostolate. This chapter will proceed in three stages. First, I will articulate the primarily passive vision of the laity generated by Trent and Vatican I. Second, I explore the reception of C.S.T., liturgical renewal, and Catholic Action in Australia. How did these currents of thought shape an Australian understanding of the lay apostolate? Third, I analyse the Australian *vota* sent in response to the Cardinal president of the Council's preparatory commission, Domenico Tardini, who invited the Roman Catholic bishops of the world to submit topics for discussion at the Council. Did Australian bishops raise the topic of the lay apostolate as a subject for discussion by the Council? Australian responses are recorded in the text: *Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II Apparando* (hereafter: *AD*), Series 1 (*Anteparaeparatoria*), VOL II: *Concilia et Vota Episcoporum ac Praelatorum* (PARS VII: Oceania, 577–669). Vatican Polyglot Press.²²⁷

²²⁶ Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 3.

²²⁷ *Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II Apparando*, Series 1 (*Anteparaeparatoria*), VOL II: *Concilia et vota Episcoporum ac Praelatorum* (PARS VII: Oceania, 577–669). Vatican Polyglot Press. In my analysis of *AD* I have been assisted by English translations prepared by Russell Davies for Jeffrey Murphy's thesis on Australian contributions to Vatican II. I have drawn upon translations of the Oceanian preparatory *vota* (1959–60), as well as the Final Synthesis: Of the Advice and Suggestions of the Most Excellent Bishops and

2. The Council of Trent and First Vatican Council

At both the Council of Trent (1545–63) and First Vatican Council (1869–70) the development of an implicit vision of the laity was driven by a need to respond to the growing powers of Protestantism and secular nation states. Writing on Trent’s understanding of the laity, Paul Lakeland observes a connection between the council’s rejection of Martin Luther’s theology of baptism and the Roman bishops’ emphasis on the hierarchical priesthood. For Luther, baptism imparted upon all the faithful one priesthood. In response, Trent stated that clerical orders are a hierarchical and sacramental reality established by Christ from the beginning of the community’s inception. This sacrament was not reducible to a common priesthood shared by all, including the laity.²²⁸ For Jan Grootaers, the concentration of authority amongst ordained clergy and bishops was partly inspired by the need to assert the church’s independence from the growing power of secular nations. At the same time, bishops did try to associate certain lay people with the project of renewal. Presiding over the council, Pope Paul III appointed a group of laymen to the cardinalate in order to gather support for his own agenda.²²⁹ In Australia, anti-Protestant sentiments and opposition to secular authority characterized the experiences of Irish Catholic convicts. Patrick O’Farrell states that colonial gaolers perceived the Protestant religion and British social and political institutions as the two pillars of civilization, while Irish Catholicism was understood to be their antithesis.²³⁰

Vatican I similarly adopted an implicit vision of the laity through its rejection of Protestantism. The draft schema on the church, *Supremi Pastoris*, was characterized by an ecclesiology of the church as a perfect, true, visible, and salvific society. This focus was intended to meet the Protestant charge that Christ revealed a religion but did not create a society. Significantly, chapter ten states that the church was an “unequal society” (*societas*

Prelates of All the World for the Coming Ecumenical Council or *Sintesi Finale: Sui consigli e suggerimenti degli Ecc. Mi Vescovi e Prelati di tutto il mondo per il futuro Concilio Ecumenico* (March 1960). These translations are printed as an appendix within Murphy’s thesis. See Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 326–402. When I cite English translations of *AD*, I will provide references to the original Latin text.

²²⁸ Paul Lakeland, “The Laity,” in *From Trent to Vatican II: Historical and Theological Investigations*, ed. Raymond Bulman and Frederick Parrella (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 194.

²²⁹ Jan Grootaers, “The Roman Catholic Church,” in *The Layman in Christian History*, ed. Stephen Neill and Hans-Ruedi Weber (London: SCM Press, 1963), 305.

²³⁰ O’Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 3.

inaequalis) where the powers to sanctify, teach, and rule were attributed to the hierarchy. This was counter to a position found amongst certain Protestants, such as the Puritans and Cathari, that the ecclesial community was a society of equals.²³¹ The Roman Catholic Church's reaction against Protestantism fostered an implicit vision of the laity which de-emphasized the shared priesthood of all Christians and over-emphasized lay inequality within the church. As Archbishop Guilford Young preached to an audience of Tasmanians in a lecture on the pre-history of Vatican II, the duty of the laity within the post-Tridentine church was, "simply to obey the authorities above them as representatives of Christ."²³²

3. Reception of Catholic Social Teachings

Encyclicals on Capital, Labour, and the Social Order

The era between Trent and Vatican II was one of great social and economic upheaval across the globe. The encyclical on capital and labour, *Rerum novarum*, was promulgated in 1891 by Pope Leo XIII (1878–1903) in light of social and economic inequality impacting poor workers and families in the wake of the industrial revolution.²³³ This document was grounded in Thomas Aquinas's writings on morality, providing a basis for C.S.T. development.²³⁴ Pope Pius XI (1922–39) continued this tradition by promulgating an encyclical on the reconstruction of the social order, *Quadragesimo anno* (1931).²³⁵ Published within the context of the Great

²³¹ Patrick Granfield, "The Church as *Societas Perfecta* in the Schemata of Vatican I," *Church History* 48, no. 4 (1979): 434–38. Cambridge Journals Digital Archive.

²³² Guilford Young, First Tutorial Group Seminar (Talk 4): Typed Notes taken from Reel-to-Reel Tapes, January 1966, Archbishop's Office - Post Vatican II Seminars - Tutorial Group Seminar, 77, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

²³³ Joseph Boyle, "*Rerum novarum* (1891)," ed. Gerard Bradley and Christian Brugger, *Catholic Social Teaching: A Volume of Scholarly Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), EBSCOhost. 71. For an English translation of this text see Claudia Carlen, ed., "*Rerum novarum*: Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on Capital and Labor, 15 May 1891," in *The Papal Encyclicals 1878–1903* (Wilmington, N.C.: McGrath, 1981), 241–261.

²³⁴ John Finnis, "Aquinas as a Primary Source of Catholic Social Teaching," ed. Gerard Bradley and Christian Brugger, *Catholic Social Teaching: A Volume of Scholarly Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), EBSCOhost. 11.

²³⁵ An English translation of this document was published in Australia in 1931. See *Reconstructing the Social Order: Encyclical Letter Quadragesimo anno* (Melbourne: Australian Catholic Truth Society, 1931).

Depression, Pius followed Leo by drawing upon Aquinas's moral philosophy and condemning what he perceived to be the extreme materialism of socialism and elements of industrial capitalism. Yet, he went further, outlining a programme for Catholics to follow in an attempt to address the social and economic upheavals of the time.²³⁶ In search of a suitable response to economic hardship during the 1930s, Australian Catholics turned to C.S.T. for answers and in doing so spark an intellectual renaissance.

Catholic Social Teaching in Australia

At the forefront of the Catholic Church in Australia's reception of C.S.T. and Catholic Action was a group of lay intellectuals known as the *Campion Society*, based within the Archdiocese of Melbourne in Victoria. According to Colin Jory, who has written on the pre-history, growth, and decline of the *Campions*, Victoria was the centre of Australian Catholic intellectual life in the 1880s sponsored by the Archbishop of Melbourne Thomas Carr (1886–1917). Carr and a small group of influential clerical and lay intellectuals launched initiatives including the magazine *Austral Light* (Carr's official archdiocesan organ), the Australian Catholic Truth Society, and the Newman Society of Victoria.²³⁷ Catholic Young Men's Societies which had been established in Ireland in 1849 found their way to Melbourne roughly ten years later.²³⁸

In NSW the Archbishop of Sydney Patrick Francis Cardinal Moran (1884–1911) established the *Australasian Catholic Record*, which became the official organ of the Australian Apostolic Delegation. This journal was published from 1895 to 1913 and then continuously since 1924. After 1924 the *A.C.R.* restricted itself to religious questions of canon law, moral theology, and liturgy expressing little interest in social issues. Moran himself had been broadly optimistic that liberal ideals would lead to a better situation for Catholics. While he championed the principles of *Rerum novarum*, he did not attempt to systematically apply them to the Australian milieu. After his death in 1911, many would reject his desire for Catholic integration within society in light of an inequitable situation which gave secular schools a monopoly over taxation support, while Catholics had to pay taxes and fund their schools at the same time. This led to the formation of the Australian Catholic Federation in Victoria which

²³⁶ Samuel Gregg, "*Quadragesimo anno* (1931)," ed. Gerard Bradley and Christian Brugger, *Catholic Social Teaching: A Volume of Scholarly Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), EBSCOhost. 90.

²³⁷ Jory, *The Campion Society*, 9–10.

²³⁸ Jory, *The Campion Society*, 20.

lobbied for education funding. While it would ultimately fail in this task, the battle over federal funding for education would become a continuous grievance amongst Australian Catholics, signalling a shift from social integration to confrontation.²³⁹

Intellectual life in Melbourne flourished thanks to the support of Carr's successor Archbishop Daniel Mannix (1917–63), whose leadership shaped the church in Victoria until the beginning of Vatican II. Notably, he supported the establishment of the Society of Jesus, who in turn nurtured Catholic intellectual life through a variety of projects including the formation of a Melbourne Central Catholic Library.²⁴⁰ In Sydney, a Central Catholic Library was also established (1929). Other organizations were created to nurture an intellectual ethos, including a Catholic Evidence Guild and the Catholic Hour on Radio 2UE. However, they would generally confine themselves to the task of traditional apologetics.²⁴¹ While Melbourne had developed greater intellectual resources and established a functioning youth organization (C.Y.M.S.), Catholic lay power in Sydney was primarily dominated by the Knights of the Southern Cross and confined to an older age group.²⁴² By the late 1920s, the church in Australia was thriving but still remained relatively remote from the intellectual movements which had been renewing the churches of Europe.²⁴³

The Champion Society

It was primarily the poor and working class who had financially supported the development of the church in Australia.²⁴⁴ The turmoil of the Great Depression ravaged the nation at the beginning of the 1930s. Disillusioned by the government's failure to respond, Mannix's official Catholic newspaper the *Advocate* began to publish articles which looked to C.S.T. for answers. Their probing exploration of papal teachings would not ignite a wider interest in this subject,

²³⁹ Jory, *The Champion Society*, 10–12.

²⁴⁰ Jory, *The Champion Society*, 15.

²⁴¹ Jory, *The Champion Society*, 16.

²⁴² Jory, *The Champion Society*, 23.

²⁴³ Jory, *The Champion Society*, 18.

²⁴⁴ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 182.

however.²⁴⁵ Instead, a Melbourne lay intellectual study group called the *Campion Society* (also known as ‘the Campions’) initiated considerable interest in C.S.T. across Australia. Established in 1931, these young men were partly inspired by the literary revival in English Catholicism led by figures such as G. K. Chesterton and Christopher Dawson. Contrasting with the defensiveness of other Australian Catholics, they sought to emulate the assertiveness of their English literary heroes. Notably, they deliberately avoided naming themselves after an Irish Catholic personality, choosing instead the English Jesuit Edmund Campion.²⁴⁶ Receptivity to international movements of renewal implied a challenge to the singular dominance of Irish culture within the church in Australia.

Throughout the 1930s the Campions spread to New South Wales and Queensland, while comparable lay intellectual groups formed in other states, including the Catholic Guild for Social Studies (South Australia), Christian Brothers’ Old Boys Association (Queensland), Chesterton Club (Western Australia), and a Tasmanian Newman Society. The Depression had stimulated Catholic intellectual life to various degrees across Australia. While these groups initially developed in isolation, they were brought together by the 1934 National Eucharistic Congress.²⁴⁷ This Congress was themed around “Catholic Action” and would also present an opportunity for Australians to be introduced to the ideas of the international liturgical renewal movement.

4. Reception of Liturgical Renewal

The movement for liturgical renewal would come to be associated with the scholarship of the Belgian Dom Lambert Beauduin (1873–1960), a leader in Benedictine liturgical studies.²⁴⁸ Beauduin often repeated in his writings a quote from Pope Pius X’s instruction on sacred music, *Tra le sollecitudini* (1903): “Active participation in the sacred mysteries and the public and solemn prayer of the Church is the primary and indispensable source of the Christian spirit.”²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ Jory, *The Campion Society*, 28–29.

²⁴⁶ Jory, *The Campion Society*, 34.

²⁴⁷ Jory, *The Campion Society*, 58–60.

²⁴⁸ Giacomo Lercaro, *A Small Liturgical Dictionary*, ed. J. B. Connell, trans. J. F. Harwood-Tregear (London: Burns & Oates, 1959), 5.

²⁴⁹ Sonya Quitslund, *Beauduin, A Prophet Vindicated* (New York: Newman, 1973), 22.

Promoting the “active participation” of the laity within worship became a primary goal for many proponents of liturgical studies. Interest in liturgical revival transcended the European milieu and took root in English-speaking countries, including America and Australia.

According to O’Farrell, Australian Catholic piety was greatly impacted by devotions popular in Ireland, including Forty Hour Adoration, novena of the Blessed Virgin, the rosary, the nine First Fridays, devotions to the Sacred Heart, and various lay sodalities. These observances were blended with both a strong strand of French piety promulgated by the Marists and dedication to Rome typical of Irish bishops.²⁵⁰ Papal teachings on music provided an incentive to encourage the laity’s active participation within worship. An early example (1929) includes the A.C.R.’s promulgation of the restoration of Gregorian chant in Australia so that “the faithful people may take a more active part in divine worship [...]”.²⁵¹ Increasing receptivity to influences from other countries supported an emerging interest in liturgical renewal. Visiting from New Zealand, the Archbishop of Wellington Thomas O’Shea gave a speech at the 1934 Eucharistic Congress in Melbourne in which he identified the international movement for liturgical renewal as a positive force effecting greater participation of lay people within the liturgy.²⁵² He condemned a spirit of individualistic piety which negatively impacted devotional life. By contrast, he identified the liturgy with a communal vision of the church as the mystical body, where all the faithful participate with Christ in the sacrifice of the Mass.²⁵³ Notable is the archbishop’s insight that in reaction against sixteenth century Protestants, Catholic authors had failed to emphasize the Christian priesthood shared by all baptized persons. Renewed interest in the liturgy was an opportunity to, “render every baptized person conscious of his personal share in the priesthood of Christ, and in his public participation in the universal worship of God through Christ”.²⁵⁴ Reacting against Luther, the Council of Trent

²⁵⁰ O’Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 212–13.

²⁵¹ W. Leonard, “Official Documents: Apostolic Constitution on the Constant and Daily Cultivation of the Liturgy, Gregorian Chant and Sacred Music,” *Australasian Catholic Record* 6, no. 3 (July 1929): 195. ACU Library Catalogue.

²⁵² Thomas O’Shea, “The Liturgy and the Laity,” in *The National Eucharistic Congress, Melbourne, Australia December 2nd–9th, 1934*, ed. J. Murphy and F. Moynihan (Melbourne: Advocate Press, 1936), 97.

²⁵³ O’Shea, “The Liturgy and the Laity,” 98–99.

²⁵⁴ O’Shea, “The Liturgy and the Laity,” 99–100.

had shifted focus away from a shared priesthood, instead placing greater emphasis on the priesthood of the ordained. Through the liturgical movement, certain Australian individuals, parishes, and dioceses were able to recover a sense of all the faithful (including the laity) participating in the saving action of Christ through worship.

Australian proponents for liturgical renewal were influenced by groups forming in America. The liturgical journal *Orate Fratres* was launched in 1926 by the American Liturgical Press out of St. John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota. At the time of its founding, this was the only periodical in the country dealing with theology and liturgy. Publications were designed to be accessible to non-scholars.²⁵⁵ Contributors reacted against a religious ethos of individualistic piety promoted by the immense popularity of devotions, emphasizing instead the unity of the liturgy.²⁵⁶ In 1936, *Orate Fratres* published a letter describing liturgical studies being conducted in Melbourne with the support of Mannix. "A small liturgical association for women converts began here in Melbourne last year. This liturgical society is the first of its kind here and it owes its inspiration to the accounts published in *Orate Fratres* of kindred associations for liturgical study formed by women in America."²⁵⁷ Amongst the grassroots, Catholic women had spearheaded an initiative for liturgical study and education. Inspired by American innovation, liturgical renewal was another avenue through which the Australian laity were activated, both spiritually and intellectually.

Proponents for liturgical renewal could also be found in NSW. In 1938, an author published an article within *A.C.R.* which enthusiastically endorsed the Dialogue Mass, noting that a solid foundation for this practice had been built up in Australian Catholic schools where children were trained to sing during the liturgy.²⁵⁸ Edmund Campion has written on liturgical developments in Sydney. In 1953, the Guild of Pius X was founded with the aim of encouraging high standards in worship, especially in the field of music. They promoted the spread of

²⁵⁵ Jerome Hall, "Intelligent and Active Participation: The Liturgical Press," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 21, no. 3 (2003): 37. JSTOR.

²⁵⁶ Hall, "Intelligent and Active Participation," 39.

²⁵⁷ Ida Fawcett, "Liturgical Studies in Melbourne," *Orate Fratres* 10, no. 10 (5 September 1936): 470. EBSCOhost.

²⁵⁸ "Active Participation in the Mass," *Australasian Catholic Record* 15, no. 3 (July 1938): 234. ACU Library Catalogue.

Gregorian chant and insisted upon the use of quality hymns, both Latin and vernacular. While the former remained the dominant liturgical language, there was growing support for English translations. Liturgical conferences became a focal point for renewal. A liturgical week was held in Xavier College in Melbourne (1955) and another at Manly seminary in Sydney (1958). The former was heavily theological and inspired by Pope Pius XII's encyclical on the Mystical Body of Christ, *Mystici corporis Christi* (1943), and the encyclical on the sacred liturgy, *Mediator Dei* (1947). Campion observes that the latter conference was more attentive to liturgical praxis amongst parishes, since by then the theology supporting the laity's active participation had been absorbed.²⁵⁹

An interest in the liturgical movement ran throughout the larger Archdioceses of Sydney and Melbourne. Yet, it was the Archdiocese of Hobart which witnessed some of the most profound changes within the sphere of worship. Campion calls Guilford Young the "acknowledged leader of the liturgical movement" in Australia before Vatican II.²⁶⁰ According to Southerwood, Young's reading of *Orate Fratres* as a seminarian in Rome led to his "conversion" to the ideas of liturgical renewal.²⁶¹ After being ordained a priest, he travelled around America and lodged at Saint John's Abbey for six weeks where he became "great friends" with the editor Fr. Godfrey Diekmann, OSB (1908–2002).²⁶² As Archbishop of Hobart, he would effectively convert all Tasmanian parishes to the Dialogue Mass by 1960.²⁶³

5. Reception of Catholic Action

What is Catholic Action?

As Lakeland observes, the nineteenth-century saw the church engage in a struggle with modernity which greatly concerned the laity. Any attempt to re-evangelize the world would require engaging their energies. Yet this also meant that church leaders were faced with a problem: how to defend a hierarchical understanding of the church while also stimulating the laity beyond passivity within the realm of apostolate and mission? Pope Pius XI's own attempt

²⁵⁹ Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 209.

²⁶⁰ Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 210.

²⁶¹ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 10.

²⁶² Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 12.

²⁶³ Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 210.

to resolve this tension crystallized around the concept of “Catholic Action”.²⁶⁴ The Pope defined Catholic Action as lay “participation” in the hierarchical apostolate.²⁶⁵ Pope Pius XII modified this definition, commonly referring to “collaboration” or help given to the apostleship of bishops and priests.²⁶⁶ For Yves Congar, who synthesized a creative theology of the laity in the 1950s, no substantial difference exists between the two formulas (participation vs. collaboration).²⁶⁷ However, he believed the latter clarified the former. The laity assist the hierarchy and in doing so participate in the mission of the whole church carried out by priests and bishops. They do not, however, participate in the holy offices to which they remain subordinate. The laity possess their own mission cooperative with priests, but Catholic Action does not allot lay people with a share in the mission of bishops.²⁶⁸

According to Lakeland, a positive theological influence on the development of Catholic Action was the revival of scholarship concerned with St. Paul’s ecclesiology of the church as mystical body.²⁶⁹ Alongside the liturgical renewal movement, Pius XII’s *Mystici corporis* credited Catholic Action with contributing to a renewed interest in the mystical body (no. 8).²⁷⁰ The mystical body provided imaginative resources for stimulating lay activity within a hierarchical church. Writing in the 1930s, Fulton Sheen stated that within a vision of the church as mystical body of Christ, members of Catholic Action were subordinate to the hierarchy who directed their activities on behalf of Christ the Head.²⁷¹ In Australia, a 1939 article in the *A.C.R.* portrayed Catholic Action as an essential contribution by the laity to “lower order” functions

²⁶⁴ Lakeland, “The Laity,” 197.

²⁶⁵ Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, 362.

²⁶⁶ Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, 365.

²⁶⁷ Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, 365.

²⁶⁸ Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, 369.

²⁶⁹ Paul Lakeland, *The Liberation of the Laity: In Search of an Accountable Church* (New York: Continuum, 2003), 28.

²⁷⁰ Claudia Carlen, ed., “*Mystici corporis Christi*: Encyclical of Pope Pius XII on the Mystical Body of Christ,” in *The Papal Encyclicals 1939–1958* (Wilmington, N.C.: McGrath, 1981), 38.

²⁷¹ Fulton Sheen, *The Mystical Body of Christ* (Great Britain: Whitefriars Press, 1935), 394.

within the mystical body.²⁷² As Lakeland observes, Catholic Action was both a positive way to stimulate lay involvement in church mission, while also being an effective tool for ecclesiastical control.²⁷³

Amongst Catholic dioceses' the world over innumerable confraternities and sodalities were created to pursue the task of evangelization, responding to the call to embrace Catholic Action. Catholic hospitals, schools, and sports clubs provided an alternative to established secular institutions, culturally and intellectually supported by the spread of pious literature and popular devotions. The laity were set to act as a frontline for the clergy in the battle to re-evangelize the world, while also being encouraged to separate themselves from non-Catholics by marrying other Catholics, sending their children to Catholic schools, and supporting Catholic sports teams.²⁷⁴ On the intellectual front in Australia, it was the Campions who led the charge. Years after their influence had peaked, the bishops' official statement on Catholic Action (1947) described their society as "the seed-bed" of Catholic Action in Australia.²⁷⁵

Specialized Catholic Action

Through her work with the Permanent Committee for International Congresses of the Lay Apostolate, Rosemary Goldie observed that Catholic Action had taken on a multitude of forms in different countries: "for example, the Italian model was centrally coordinated with branches according to age and sex; the French-Belgian one was 'specialized' by social milieu; in Britain the term 'Catholic Action' was avoided because of its supposed political connotations."²⁷⁶ Catholic Action had become a pluriform reality, shaped by the needs of local churches. The church in Australia would both receive and be greatly influenced by Catholic Action from Belgium and France.²⁷⁷ The Young Christian Workers or *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne*

²⁷² Stanley James, "The Lay Vocation," *Australasian Catholic Record* 16, no. 4 (October 1939): 330. ACU Library Catalogue.

²⁷³ Lakeland, *The Liberation of the Laity*, 29.

²⁷⁴ Lakeland, "The Laity," 197.

²⁷⁵ *Catholic Action in Australia: Official Statement of the Archbishops and Bishops of Australia Associated in the National Organisation of Catholic Action* (Woorayl, St. Carnegie: Renown Press, 1947), 22.

²⁷⁶ Goldie, *From a Roman Window*, 33–34.

²⁷⁷ *Catholic Action in Australia*, 38.

(*J.O.C.*) were a Catholic Action youth organization founded by the future Cardinal, Joseph Cardijn (1882–1967), which had its roots in Belgium before the First World War.²⁷⁸ The principle of “specialization”, upon which the *J.O.C.* was based, would become influential in Australia. Lay apostles were trained to work in specific areas of human life, including politics, society, agriculture, economics, labour, and the university.²⁷⁹

The Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action

The 1934 Eucharistic Congress in Melbourne was an occasion for Mannix to gather all the hierarchy together to discuss the possibility of implementing Catholic Action in Australia. According to Jory, lay organizations had been established in the past but these were primarily inward focused and concerned with supporting parishes, rather than going on the offensive and re-evangelizing the world for Christ.²⁸⁰ The new impetus of European Catholic Action had not yet proliferated amongst the Australian bishops. Two speeches about Catholic Action at the Congress, given by the Archbishop of Brisbane James Duhig and the Bishop of Goulburn John Barry, assumed a traditional vision of lay organizations working within the pastoral realm.²⁸¹ The situation would change. In light of the violence perpetrated against Catholics by communists during the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), the Campions campaigned for the formation of the Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action (A.N.S.C.A.). Their request was approved by the hierarchy and the secretariat was established in Melbourne (1938).²⁸²

A.N.S.C.A. sought to address two crises: 1) the disorganized nature of Catholic Action in Australia; 2) and the danger of communist infiltration of Australian trade unions. Their solution to the first was to introduce a *J.O.C.* model as the paradigm for organization. Addressing the second, A.N.S.C.A. sought to educate Catholic workers in order to prevent a

²⁷⁸ Michael de la Bedoyere, *The Cardijn Story: A Study of the Life of Mgr. Joseph Cardijn and the Young Christian Workers's Movement which he Founded* (London: Longmans, Green, 1958), 50.

²⁷⁹ Jory, *Catholic Action in Australia*, 17.

²⁸⁰ Jory, *The Campion Society*, 18.

²⁸¹ James Duhig, “Catholic Action for Women,” in *The National Eucharistic Congress, Melbourne, Australia December 2nd–9th, 1934*, ed. J. M. Murphy and F. Moynihan (Melbourne: Advocate Press, 1936), 127–30; John Barry, “Catholic Action for Men,” in *The National Eucharistic Congress, Melbourne, Australia December 2nd–9th, 1934*, ed. J. M. Murphy and F. Moynihan (Melbourne: Advocate Press, 1936), 131–36.

²⁸² Jory, *The Campion Society*, 89.

communist takeover.²⁸³ As Archbishop of Hobart (1937–42), Justin Simonds was appointed A.N.S.C.A. secretary and Mannix became the president of the directorial sub-committee.²⁸⁴ Simonds had already published in support of the *J.O.C.*²⁸⁵

In Sydney, Archbishop Norman Thomas Gilroy sought to implement Italian Catholic Action which led to conflict with the A.N.S.C.A. methodology, prompting the development of a separate Sydney Catholic Action network. While the *J.O.C.* model was designed to act semi-autonomously, the Italian model functioned under the direct control of the clergy.²⁸⁶ Catholic Action in Sydney focused on traditional concerns of apologetics and pastoral assistance and were unable to inspire young Catholics as the Victorian Champions had done. Prominent lay groups were those who gave support to parishes, such as the Knights of the Southern Cross and St. Vincent de Paul.²⁸⁷ Another source of conflict was the arrival of the Dublin-based Legion of Mary in Melbourne (1932). The Legion could not be assimilated into the *J.O.C.* version of Catholic Action. While A.N.S.C.A. called for segmentation of the apostolate by vocation, the Legion mixed Catholics of all classes and vocations together. Tensions led to A.N.S.C.A. requesting the hierarchy limit Legion expansion.²⁸⁸

The Australian Young Christian Workers

Despite Champion enthusiasm for the *J.O.C.* model, plans for an Australian Y.C.W. were initially stalled due to resistance stemming from an established C.Y.M.S. network which held a strong influence over Catholic youth activities.²⁸⁹ Eventually, however, the Y.C.W. would spread across different states throughout the 1940s. Kevin Kelly is credited with raising groups

²⁸³ Jory, *The Champion Society*, 90–91.

²⁸⁴ Justin Simonds, “National Secretariat of Catholic Action,” *Advocate* 20 January 1938, 9.

²⁸⁵ Justin Simonds, “*J.O.C.*,” *Australasian Catholic Record* 13, no. 2 (April 1936): 135–39. ACU Library Catalogue.

²⁸⁶ Jory, *The Champion Society*, 91–92.

²⁸⁷ Jory, *The Champion Society*, 106–08.

²⁸⁸ Jory, *The Champion Society*, 111–12.

²⁸⁹ Jory, *The Champion Society*, 114–15.

in Melbourne between 1939–40 with the help of Fr. Frank Lombard and others.²⁹⁰ The Brisbane National Catholic Girls Movement / Y.C.W. (Girls), which would later merge with its male equivalent to become a single Y.C.W. organization, began with the establishment of Grail groups in 1938.²⁹¹ According to Josephine Laffin, in the 1940s the Archbishop of Adelaide Matthew Beovich had taken a particular interest in Catholic Action movements connected to A.N.S.C.A., including the Y.C.W.²⁹² Further, Catholic interest in social issues was becoming accepted wisdom in Australia; a situation reflected in the bishops' promulgation of an annual Social Justice Statement (begun in 1940). These were essays which drew upon C.S.T., promoted the Catholic family, and were often critical of capitalism, socialism, and communism.²⁹³

Young Catholic Rebels

The Australian Y.C.W. were notable for their role in resisting the extreme politicization of social Catholicism encouraged by B. A. Santamaria. According to Edmund Campion, Santamaria would become, "the most famous Catholic layman in Australian history, with the exception of Ned Kelly."²⁹⁴ A young law graduate based in Melbourne, he joined the Campion Society in 1932.²⁹⁵ By the 1940s, it had become apparent that the Campion's had effectively failed in their goal to challenge the spread of communism amongst Australian workers. With the support of Mannix, Santamaria responded by encouraging the formation of the Catholic Social Studies Movement (also known as 'the Movement').²⁹⁶ This was a clandestine organization which fought communist influence within the A.L.P. and trade unions. In doing so, Santamaria had been inspired by Luigi Gedda's mobilisation of Christian organizations as

²⁹⁰ David Kehoe, "Kevin Thomas Kelly: Prophet of the Australian YCW," *Footprints* 29, no. 2 (2014): 5. Informit.

²⁹¹ Crane, *Ordinary Young Women Doing Extraordinary Things*, 29.

²⁹² Laffin, *Matthew Beovich*, 157.

²⁹³ Michael Hogan, *Justice Now! Social Justice Statements of the Australian Catholic Bishops 1940–1966* (Sydney: Department of Government, University of Sydney, 1990), 2–3.

²⁹⁴ Campion, *The Santamaria Movement*, 10.

²⁹⁵ Jory, *The Campion Society*, 37.

²⁹⁶ Jory, *The Campion Society*, 118–19.

a tool for combating communism in Italy.²⁹⁷ In 1945, the hierarchy bestowed upon the Movement a mandate to function as an official body, though not a Catholic Action body. In doing so, they did not fully comprehend the theoretical ramifications of this decision. The Movement attained an ambiguous position of power. Leaders emphasized their official connection to the hierarchy or their own autonomy when it suited their needs.²⁹⁸ Around the same time, Santamaria attained the position of A.N.S.C.A. director, replacing fellow Campion Frank Maher.²⁹⁹ In this position he exercised influence over the content of the bishops' Social Justice Statements.³⁰⁰

Youth organizations active among universities, including the Y.C.W., were viewed as potential sources of recruitment by the Movement. In Melbourne, Fr. Frank Lombard feared that Santamaria would reduce the Y.C.W. to a training ground for the anti-communist struggle.³⁰¹ Ideologically, conflict centred around whether it was appropriate for lay Catholics to be involved in party politics on behalf of the hierarchy. The separation between Catholic Action and politics was only ambiguously embraced at the First World Congress of the Lay Apostolate by Pope Pius XII. According to Goldie, his address had emphasised questions rather than answers.³⁰² The argument that there should be no organisational Y.C.W. effort in the unions or political parties had been voiced by Kelly as early as 1939.³⁰³ Simonds echoed this sentiment in an essay stating that Catholic Action can never become political activity.³⁰⁴ In his biography about growing up Catholic in Australia, Campion relates late nights spent in Sydney coffee shops learning about the Y.C.W. and lay responsibility. These sessions turned him and

²⁹⁷ Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, 4–5.

²⁹⁸ Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, 84.

²⁹⁹ Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, 91.

³⁰⁰ Hogan, *Justice Now!*, 3–5.

³⁰¹ Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, 86.

³⁰² Goldie, *From a Roman Window*, 21.

³⁰³ Kehoe, "Kevin Thomas Kelly," 12.

³⁰⁴ Henderson, *Mr. Santamaria and the Bishops*, 29.

others away from the Movement.³⁰⁵ By 1952, Santamaria was concerned enough to send a letter to Mannix articulating his belief that Y.C.W. leaders and university chaplains were engaged in a coordinated attempt to undermine Movement activities.³⁰⁶

Chaplain for the Movement

Born in the Melbourne suburb of Caulfield, Eric D'Arcy began his clerical career as a chaplain for Catholic Action. Studying for the priesthood at *Corpus Christi* College in Werribee, he was ordained in 1949.³⁰⁷ His first pastoral appointment was as an assistant priest at Dalyston and Phillip Island (1949–50). From 1950–55 he served as assistant priest of Sacred Heart Parish, Oakleigh. At the same time, he was chaplain to the Catholic Evidence Guild (1952–55), a lay Catholic intellectual group who shared aims with the Campion Society.³⁰⁸ In 1955, Mannix appointed him as a chaplain for Santamaria's Movement.³⁰⁹ His primary role was public preaching in support of the social and intellectual apostolate of lay people. He used his rhetorical talents to contribute to the Movement's campaign against communism. In response to a Joint Pastoral of the Catholic Bishops of Australia on communism (1955), he gave an address rallying Victorian Catholics to the fight.³¹⁰ In June he gave another address, further justifying the Pastoral's condemnation and proclaiming that communism had been the major enemy of the church throughout the twentieth century.³¹¹ He took up this theme again in 1956, continuing to publicly promote the position that lay Catholics should actively fight against the threat of communism in Australian politics and society.³¹²

³⁰⁵ Edmund Campion, *Rockhoppers. Growing Up Catholic in Australia* (Australia: Penguin, 1982), 12–13.

³⁰⁶ Morgan, *Your Most Obedient Servant*, 76–77.

³⁰⁷ "Students and Graduates Leaders in Catholic Life: University Sunday at Newman College," *Advocate* 24 April 1958, 7.

³⁰⁸ "Fr. Eric D'Arcy is Appointed Bishop of Sale," *Advocate* 26 March 1981, 2.

³⁰⁹ "Diocesan Clergy," *Advocate* January 13, 1955, 7.

³¹⁰ "Christianity Needs 'Resolute Defenders' Says Father D'Arcy," *Advocate* 19 May 1955, 3.

³¹¹ "Communists Choose the Field of Battle in Fight Christians Must Meet Them in Unions and Political Parties, Says Fr. D'Arcy," *Advocate* 9 June 1955, 26.

³¹² "Holy Name Breakfast at Dandenong," *Advocate* 15 March 1956, 2.

As a budding intellectual, D'Arcy defended the separation of church and state. In 1959 he spoke at the fourth Christian Social Week held at the university of Melbourne on the topic of the Catholic attitude toward freedom of religious practice in a government where Catholics had achieved political control. While surveying the traditional Catholic argument claiming that error has no rights, he ultimately favoured a "liberal" perspective where the state has no competence to decide which religions are true or false. He believed that non-Catholics had a right to reject Catholics from office if they refused to accept section 116 of the Commonwealth Constitution restricting the government from imposing rules enforcing or limiting religious observance.³¹³

Fractures

In his 1952 letter to Mannix, Santamaria predicted that it would be possible for the Movement to gain control over the A.L.P. and implement a Christian social programme on the state and federal level.³¹⁴ While it is uncertain today whether this goal would have been achievable, his political ambitions supported by Mannix contributed to a catastrophic split in the A.L.P. (1955).³¹⁵ Even D'Arcy was caught up in this controversy. In the same year, he attained a position of some notoriety after a letter undersigned by him was leaked to the press confirming the existence of Movement activities within the A.L.P.³¹⁶ The political crisis resulted in a roughly even divide within the Australian hierarchy over whether to continue supporting Santamaria. The two largest archdioceses involved were Melbourne, which supported Santamaria, and Sydney which did not. Bishops rallied around one or the other. The split in the hierarchy was publicized when Gilroy refused to sign the 1955 bishops' Social Justice Statement.³¹⁷

³¹³ "Should Man be Wholly Free to Think and Act? Discussions of Fourth Social Week," *Advocate* 24 September 1959, 13.

³¹⁴ Morgan, *Your Most Obedient Servant*, 75.

³¹⁵ Bruce Duncan, "The Puzzle of Santamaria's Politicisation of Catholic Movements," in *The Great Labor Schism: A Retrospective*, ed. Brian Costar, Peter Love, and Paul Strangio (Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2005), 231.

³¹⁶ Franklin, *Corrupting the Youth*, 151.

³¹⁷ Hogan, *Justice Now!*, 4.

In 1957, Vatican directives ordered the church in Australia to sever links with the industrial and political fields, bringing a halt to Movement activities.³¹⁸ Yet the damage was already done. According to Campion: “The Santamaria imbroglio had weakened confidence in the hierarchy”.³¹⁹ In the minds of the laity, the authority of bishops was underpinned by that of Christ and to disobey one was to deny the other. Those who spoke in the name of the bishops (including Movement leaders) had depended upon this psychology of obedience. Catholic critics of Movement activities, “were told that their criticism made them disloyal to the Church, at odds with ‘the mind of the hierarchy’ - almost like traitors in wartime.”³²⁰ The Movement’s use of episcopal authority within the sphere of party politics had become a deeply divisive and emotional issue. Further, it has been argued that the fallout from this crisis obscured the implementation of Australian Catholic social movements. Race Matthews has written about Santamaria’s impact on the marginalisation of “Distributism” in Victoria.³²¹ This economic theory had originally arisen in England in response to the promulgation of *Rerum novarum*. It espoused the idea that property ownership should be widespread in society, rather than concentrated amongst the rich or in possession of the state.³²² Distributism had formerly been supported by the Social Justice Statements of the Australian bishops, A.N.S.C.A., and the Y.C.W. as an important dimension of Catholic Action. Yet the Distributist project was undermined by controversies generated by the Movement.³²³

As for the Melbourne Champions, who in their prime had initiated an intellectual reception of C.S.T. and fostered the proliferation of specialized Catholic Action in Australia, their influence had dwindled by the 1940s. They were absorbed into the Movement as intellectual aides, writing speeches for politicians and conducting radio addresses. At first, they enjoyed their new sense of usefulness; but eventually some tired of working in the political and

³¹⁸ Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, 340.

³¹⁹ Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 221.

³²⁰ Campion, *The Santamaria Movement*, 4–5.

³²¹ See Mathews, “Collateral Damage.”; Race Mathews, *Of Labour and Liberty: Distributism in Victoria 1932–1966* (Clayton: Monash University Publishing, 2017).

³²² Mathews, “Collateral Damage,” 90.

³²³ Mathews, “Collateral Damage,” 89.

industrial field. They broke away and attempted to return to their old discussion group days. However, they were at last consumed by the turmoil generated by the A.L.P. split. The Sydney *Campions* survived longer; but went into decline in the 1950s and finally ceased in the 1970s.³²⁴

Despite the wealth of C.S.T., liturgical renewal, and Catholic Action resources received from America and Europe over the decades, the church in Australia found itself in a difficult position prior to Vatican II. The Australian laity had trusted their bishops as those who spoke in the name of Christ. Yet in the 1950s and early 60s fractures had begun to form within this relationship, creating divisions at a time when Pope John XXIII had called the Roman Catholic Church to a greater spirit of cooperation by convoking an ecumenical Council. The split in the A.L.P. and the Australian hierarchy had marred the relationship between the laity and their bishops. As *Campion* observes, even after Vatican II: “Distrust of the bishops continued to spread”.³²⁵

6. Australian Submissions in Preparation for the Second Vatican Council

Surveying Submissions

Domenico Tardini, the Cardinal president of the Council’s preparatory commission, sent out a request to the Catholic bishops of the world for recommendations regarding what topics should be discussed at the Council (18 June 1959). The deadline for submissions was 1 September, however, this was too short due to the time it would take for letters to travel from various parts of the world. Thus, a second deadline was set up for April 1960.³²⁶ Between 1959–60, twenty-nine Australian *vota* were submitted. These submissions cannot be viewed as a complete reflection of the mind of the Australian hierarchy. According to Jeffrey Murphy, approximately a third of its members were missing from the preparatory list.³²⁷ Notably absent are Mannix and Simonds, two bishops who had been central to the promotion of the lay apostolate in Australia. Instead, these submissions evidence prominent concerns amongst individual bishops and reveal general expectations regarding the purpose of the Council. One of the longest submissions was sent by Romolo Carboni, an Italian prelate and Apostolic Delegate to

³²⁴ Jory, *The Campion Society*, 120–21.

³²⁵ *Campion*, *Australian Catholics*, 221.

³²⁶ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 49, footnote 1.

³²⁷ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 91.

Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania. Spanning roughly eleven pages, he commented on everything from atheistic-communism to Catholic Action. His name appears in nearly every category surveyed below.³²⁸

Apostolate of the Laity

What were the bishops' expectations regarding the subject of the lay apostolate? It is pertinent to raise a point developed by Murphy at this juncture. While the bishops were concerned with a variety of subjects involving lay people, including liturgical reform and the reduction of various disciplines, this does not mean that they were concerned with the laity or their apostolate.³²⁹ For example, marriage was one of the most common subjects raised in connection with the laity. Nine *vota* (31 per cent of submissions) address the matter, but were overwhelmingly pre-occupied with questions of canon law, procedural questions, and in the case of the Bishop of Maitland John Toohey, matrimonial continence. There is little evidence of concern for the vocational relevance of marriage to the lay apostolate.³³⁰

Alone amongst his Australian peers, only Young raised the contemporary doctrine on the laity as a subject worthy for discussion.³³¹ Patrick Farrelly, the Bishop of Lismore, recognized the pastoral importance of lay people assisting priests in the fulfillment of their ministries. He believed that a conception of the church as the mystical body of Christ was necessary to avoid individualism in Christian life. The lay apostolate was one instrument amongst others for promoting this vision.³³² Launcelot Goody, the Bishop of Bunbury, also

³²⁸ *Votum* of Romolo Carboni, AD: 608–18 (4 September 1959).

³²⁹ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 90–91.

³³⁰ *Votum* of John Norton, AD: 584 (7 July 1960). *Votum* of Eris O'Brien / John Cullinane, AD: 589 (19 August 1959). *Votum* of Guilford Young, AD: 591–592 (12 April 1960). *Votum* of John Toohey, AD: 595 (6 April 1960). *Votum* of Redmund Prendiville, AD: 596 (26 August 1959). *Votum* of Norman Cardinal Gilroy, AD: 602–04 (20 August 1959). *Votum* of Hugh Ryan, AD: 606 (1 September 1959). *Votum* of Romolo Carboni, AD: 611, 614, 615. *Votum* of Patrick O'Donnell, AD: 621 (Undated).

³³¹ *Votum* of Guilford Young, AD: 592

³³² *Votum* of Patrick Farrelly, AD: 593–94 (18 April 1960).

raised the subject of lay people supporting their priests by suggesting that the time may be opportune for the promotion of non-celibate men to the diaconate.³³³

The lack of concern for a subject need not imply disinterest, but it may indicate priorities. Seven *vota* (24 per cent) were concerned with the authority of bishops over laity and lay organizations.³³⁴ Andrew Tynan, the Bishop of Rockhampton, alluded to confusion which had arisen in Australia concerning the functioning of lay societies, their juridical relationship with the Ordinary, and in the church. Carboni warned that bishops should be careful when treating social or political matters; division of opinion could lead to scandal amongst the faithful. Though the event is not mentioned by name, it is possible that anxieties generated by the Movement crisis had an impact upon the *vota*.³³⁵ In the midst of controversy, the doctrinal nature of the lay apostolate may have seemed less urgent than the need to re-assert episcopal authority over the laity.

Catholic Social Teaching, Liturgical Renewal, and Catholic Action

Were the three themes of C.S.T., liturgical renewal, and Catholic Action represented? Seven Australian *vota* raised the topic of social issues impacting the lives of Catholics.³³⁶ Beovich sought a more polished version of the church's social doctrine, especially concerning church-state relations. He also desired the treatment of nationalism, which he considered to be a dangerous force. Carboni submitted a request that relations between church and civil state be clearly proposed. Young also sought a declaration on church-state relations and additionally called for doctrine concerned with the morality of war. Other submissions from Australian bishops impacting the social circumstances of Catholics were themed around immediate pastoral concerns. Farrelly stipulated that clergy should meet the needs of migrants. The Bishop

³³³ *Votum* of Launcelot Goody, AD: 586 (22 July 1959).

³³⁴ *Votum* of Thomas Cahill, AD: 587. *Votum* of Bryan Gallagher, AD: 597 (21 August 1959). *Votum* of Andrew Tynan, AD: 598 (7 April 1960). *Votum* of Patrick Lyons, AD: 599. *Votum* of Hugh Ryan, AD: 606. *Votum* of Thomas McCabe, AD: 608 (15 November 1959). *Votum* of Romolo Carboni, AD: 617.

³³⁵ Murphy also speculates that Carboni could be referring indirectly to the Movement. See Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 90.

³³⁶ *Votum* of Matthew Beovich, AD: 579. *Votum* of Edward Doody (14 August 1959), AD: 582. *Votum* of Thomas Cahill, AD: 588. *Votum* of Guilford Young, AD: 593. *Votum* of Patrick Farrelly, AD: 594. *Votum* of Patrick Lyons, AD: 600. *Votum* of Romolo Carboni, AD: 610–11.

of Cairns, Thomas Cahill, suggested that the reasons for the faithful abandoning their religion should be investigated and solutions proposed. The remaining *vota* were concerned with the condemnation of atheistic-communism, including: the Bishop of Armidale Edward Doody; Bishop of Sale Patrick Lyons; and Carboni.

Five Australian *vota* (17 per cent) wrote in favour of the active participation of the laity in the liturgy and embraced prayer in the vernacular (to various degrees).³³⁷ Doody pondered whether and how the lay faithful could be given power to participate more actively within the sacrifice of the Mass. Cahill suggested that use of the vernacular within certain rites of worship and sacrament seemed profitable for the salvation of souls. This proposal was also raised by a lay man from Brisbane, named Bill Maguire, who sent his own *votum* to Cahill in 1962. Murphy explores Maguire's *votum* (dated 23 September 1962), which Cahill preserved in the Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Cairns. Amongst his suggestions for the Council, Maguire wrote in favour of liturgy in the vernacular and lay participation.³³⁸

Finally, three Australian *vota* (10 per cent) are concerned with the subject of Catholic Action.³³⁹ Young had raised the doctrine of the lay apostolate as a topic for discussion, but had only done so in light of the liturgical renaissance and Catholic Action. Within his own mind, these threads of renewal were intertwined. The final two suggestions were generally concerned with the role of the hierarchy in connection with Catholic Action. The Bishop of Townsville, Hugh Ryan, requested definitions for the nature and scope of Catholic Action, as well as the authority of the bishops in its work. Carboni suggested that the curia should establish a holy congregation on Catholic Action which could direct all activities of lay apostles in the Universal Church.

These suggestions were echoed in other parts of the world. Around 300 bishops and prelates from across the globe were concerned with contemporary social issues. Many desired a statement on relations between civil and ecclesiastical power. Alongside Young, approximately forty submissions from different parts of the world called for an intervention

³³⁷ *Votum* of Edward Doody, AD: 582. *Votum* of Launcelot Goody, AD: 586. *Votum* of Thomas Cahill, AD: 587. *Votum* of Guilford Young, AD: 591. *Votum* of Romolo Carboni, AD: 612.

³³⁸ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 91–92.

³³⁹ *Votum* of Guilford Young, AD: 592. *Votum* of Hugh Ryan, AD: 606. *Votum* of Romolo Carboni, AD: 617.

regarding the subject of war. Around 280 viewed communism as an error to be condemned.³⁴⁰ Australian bishops in favour of the vernacular within worship (alongside one lay man from Brisbane) were attuned to the desires of the 354 submissions which called for use of the common tongue in the Mass, as well as the 305 which sought its application in the administration of the sacraments.³⁴¹ Finally, about 370 expressed their desire for the doctrine on the laity to be explained and promoted, while 200 focused on Catholic Action.³⁴² Though geographically isolated, the concerns of Australian Catholics were not disconnected from churches in other countries.

Other Oceanian Submissions

Comparing Australian submissions with the other Oceanian *vota* highlights the notable absence of concern for indigenous lay Catholics. In total, eighteen *vota* were submitted from bishops in Melanesia (one), Micronesia (three), New Guinea (five), New Zealand (three), and Polynesia (six). Twelve (67 per cent) raised the subject of missionary matters amongst indigenous peoples. Liturgy, marriage, and the promotion of lay catechists to minor orders or the diaconate emerged as prominent themes.³⁴³ By comparison, the only mention of Aboriginal people amongst the Australian *vota* was an appalling statement made by the Titular Bishop Francois Xavier Gsell that natives have no more ability to form opinions than new-born babies.³⁴⁴ Absence of concern amongst the bishops reflects a broader national ignorance.³⁴⁵ Section 127

³⁴⁰ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 395–96.

³⁴¹ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 401.

³⁴² Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 399.

³⁴³ Melanesia: *Votum* of Pierre Martin, AD: 627–28 (20 October 1959). Micronesia: *Votum* of Octavius Terrienne, AD: 632 (27 September 1959). New Guinea: *Votum* of Manfred Staverman, AD: 639–40 (14 January 1960). *Votum* of Hermann Tillemans, AD: 640–42 (21 August 1959). *Votum* of Leo Scharmach, AD: 642–43 (17 August 1959). *Votum* of Leo Arkfeld, AD: 644–45 (12 August 1959). New Zealand: *Votum* of John Kavanagh, AD: 650–52 (21 April 1960). Polynesia: *Votum* of Paul Mazé, AD: 658–60 (25 August 1959). *Votum* of John Rodgers, AD: 661–62 (6 September 1959). *Votum* of Alexander Poncet, AD: 665–66 (19 August 1959). *Votum* of George Pearce, AD: 667 (27 August 1959). *Votum* of Joseph Blanc, AD: 668–69 (1 September 1959).

³⁴⁴ *Votum* of Francois Xavier Gsell, AD: 621 (Undated).

³⁴⁵ It should be noted that, beyond Gsell's *votum*, Australian submissions did raise the subject of missions at least four times. Doody requested a shorter and simpler formula for the consecration of churches and altars, especially for use in scattered missions and dioceses. Young expressed his support for the themes and wishes of

of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia stated that Indigenous peoples “shall not be counted” when publishing population data. This rule was only repealed in 1967, enabling the publication of data from the 1966 census onwards.³⁴⁶

An intersection between Catholic tradition and Aboriginal spiritualities was one potential area where Australian bishops might have generated genuinely novel concerns. The Titular Bishop of *Ascalonitani* and Apostolic Vicar to the Tahiti Islands, Paul Mazé, requested the translation of sacramental rituals into Tahitian.³⁴⁷ Could an Australian not have made a similar appeal on behalf of one of the many diverse Aboriginal languages? While Australian Catholics had become increasingly receptive to international intellectual currents of renewal, they continued to ignore an important source of enrichment which existed within their own local milieu.

7. Conclusion

Throughout the twentieth century, the Catholic Church in Australia’s understanding of the lay apostolate had transitioned from a vision of passivity to one of great activity. The reception of C.S.T. had stimulated a renaissance amongst lay intellectual groups in Australia, especially the Campion Society in Victoria. Through liturgical renewal, many Australian laity were no longer reduced to being silent spectators in the Mass. Though marred by the Movement controversy, specialized Catholic Action had brought about a new confidence amongst lay people within different areas of life and labour. Notably, while the church’s early existence had been dominated by an Irish ethos, the decades before the Council witnessed an increasing receptivity to currents of renewal from other countries including America, Belgium, England, France, and

the international congress for studies on liturgy in missions, held in Nijmegen, Netherlands (September 1959). While the archbishop expressed his familiarity with the international congress, it was likely from a distance. No Australians spoke at this event according to the list of conference contributors in the publication: Johannes Hofinger, ed., *Liturgy and the Missions: The Nijmegen Papers* (London: Burns & Oates, 1960), ix–xii. Farrelly mentioned the work of missions as an instrument for promoting a sense of the church as the mystical body of Christ. And Carboni encouraged liturgical innovations in missionary regions. However, none specifically relate these statements to the pastoral reality of Australian Aboriginal Catholics. See: *Votum* of Doody, AD: 582. *Votum* of Young, AD: 591. *Votum* of Farrelly, AD: 594. *Votum* of Carboni, AD: 612.

³⁴⁶ Census of the Commonwealth of Australia: The Aboriginal Population of Australia - Summary of Characteristics, 30 June 1966, 3, Australian Bureau of Statistics Digital Archive.

³⁴⁷ *Votum* of Paul Mazé, AD: 659.

Chapter Four: Catholic Lay Renewal in Australia before Vatican II

Italy. Australian Catholicism was becoming less culturally monolithic and more globally conscious. The forging of new intellectual alliances with other countries would continue amongst Australian bishops at the Second Vatican Council.

Chapter Five: Young and Lay Renewal in Tasmania before Vatican II

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore movements of renewal impacting the Catholic lay apostolate within the Archdiocese of Hobart before Vatican II. The currents of lay renewal circulating around Australia would overflow the boundaries of the mainland and cross the Bass Strait, permeating the Archdiocese of Hobart situated on the island of Tasmania. Significantly, it was liturgical renewal, driven by Archbishop Guilford Young, which would inspire a significant evolution within the archdiocese prior to Vatican II. In its earliest days, Tasmania had been a particularly destitute and brutal convict colony. Yet, in the years prior to Vatican II and afterward, the Archdiocese of Hobart found itself at the centre of forces that were shaping the history of the church at a global level. And at the centre of that surge of theological renewal stood Young. Yet, he was not alone in his desire for change. Tasmanian Catholics, including priests, religious, and lay people supported and assisted in the implementation of his vision for renewal.

2. Hobart before Young

Rome approved the establishment of episcopal sees (dioceses led by bishops) in Hobart and Adelaide in March 1842. Above them, the Metropolitan Archbishop Polding governed from Sydney, overseeing the activities of his bishops. Compared with other Australian dioceses, Hobart can claim a degree of antiquity, pre-dating the Western Australian bishopric established in 1845 and that of Melbourne created in 1847.³⁴⁸ In the 1840s, Polding appointed five bishops, three of which were Irish. By contrast, Hobart's first bishop, Robert Willson (1842–66), and his co-adjutor Davis were English.³⁴⁹ Irish stigma against Willson was initially fierce, led by John Joseph Therry, the Vicar General of Tasmania since 1848.³⁵⁰ Though greatly loved by his people, Therry was a seemingly reckless personality who had incurred a significant amount of debt (£3000 on the construction of St. Joseph's Church).³⁵¹ From its earliest days Hobart struggled with poverty, and Willson was unable to produce a lay elite similar to those that could

³⁴⁸ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 62.

³⁴⁹ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 65.

³⁵⁰ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 71.

³⁵¹ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 72.

be found in Melbourne and Sydney. Tasmanian Catholics remained part of the working class. Those who became wealthy contributed little to the church and those who entered politics had minor impact. Some even agitated against Willson's ambitions, such as T. C. Antsey, who sought the abolition of state financial aid upon which Catholic schools in Tasmania depended. This frustrated Willson's ambitions and stymied the development of educated lay Catholics.³⁵² Economic disparity and poverty had plagued Hobart Catholics from the very beginning of their history.

According to Patrick O'Farrell, by 1850 only 30% of Catholics in Tasmania attended Mass. Some were prevented by distance or a lack of priests. Many had stopped practicing their religion all together.³⁵³ Willson's response to these challenges was remarkable. He conducted a direct apostolate, personally engaging with prisoners and meeting convict ships which arrived on the wharf. Protesting against inhuman conditions for prisoners, he became a member of the Tasmanian Anti-Transportation League and pioneered treatment for the insane, not only in Tasmania but Victoria and New South Wales.³⁵⁴ In this task he relied upon lay catechists to make up for the lack of priests, even founding a lay sisterhood in 1858 to assist in charitable work. His actions went against hierarchical tradition, "showing that he valued it much less than the needs of souls."³⁵⁵

Hobart would attain archdiocesan status in 1888, under the leadership of Willson's successor, Daniel Murphy (1866–1907). He was succeeded by Patrick Delany (1907–26); William Barry (1926–29); William Hayden (1929–36); Justin Simonds (1937–42); and Ernest Victor Tweedy (1942–55). Each would experience their own tragedies and triumphs governing a population stymied in their economic growth and education. In 1879, Murphy talked down a mob of over 400 strong armed with two 32-pounder howitzers, who had been provoked by the lecture of an anti-Catholic intellectual visiting from Canada.³⁵⁶ This was far from the culture of academic exchange cultivated under Carr and Mannix in Melbourne. On the other hand,

³⁵² O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 74.

³⁵³ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 74.

³⁵⁴ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 74.

³⁵⁵ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 75.

³⁵⁶ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 257.

social destitution demanded bishops exercise their apostolate to aid the poor and working class. Delany supported Cardinal Moran's endorsement of socialism, as well as the 1905 Joint Pastoral of the Australian bishops which gave its blessing to socialism defined as the effort, "to redress the wrongs and alleviate the miseries of the labouring poor".³⁵⁷ In 1914, the same Delany called the lay led Australian Catholic Federation (formed in Victoria) for assistance with the Tasmanian crisis in Catholic education funding.³⁵⁸ While Simonds was notable for his role in supporting A.N.S.C.A. and the Australian Y.C.W., in his appointment to Hobart he was also the first Australian born archbishop.³⁵⁹ Despite many social and economic barriers, the Catholic faith was preserved in Tasmania, as was a struggling network of Catholic schools. When Young finally arrived in Hobart the situation of Catholics was ripe for change.

3. Young before Hobart

Early Education and Formation

But who was the man who would bring about this change? Young was born in the remote outback town of Longreach, Western Queensland, in 1916. His parents, Arthur and Mary Ellen Young, were an inter-denominational couple. Arthur was an Anglican and a sheep shearer, while Mary was a pious Catholic.³⁶⁰ Young had grown up serving at the altar of St. Brigid's Catholic Church and attended a primary school in Longreach conducted by the Presentation Sisters. The positive impact of these nuns upon his early formation was significant, particularly that of Mother Ursula Kennedy.³⁶¹

The nuns coached him towards receiving an academic scholarship, which at that time was rare since the Queensland government of Arthur Edward Moore had slashed education funding due to a state-wide economic depression. Young was awarded an A-grade bursary and travelled 500 miles east to the coastal city of Rockhampton, where he was schooled by the Christian Brothers at St. Joseph's College. The Brothers were dedicated teachers, although they had a penchant for corporal punishment as a way of controlling over-loaded classes. At the age

³⁵⁷ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 291.

³⁵⁸ Davis, *State Aid Tangle in Tasmania*, 33.

³⁵⁹ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 366.

³⁶⁰ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 7.

³⁶¹ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 7.

of sixteen, Young was interviewed by Bishop Romuald Denis Hayes of Rockhampton, who accepted him as a student for the priesthood. From Rockhampton he travelled to Sydney and entered the seminary at St. Columba's College, Springwood. He made lifelong friends during his twelve months of study, including Francis Rush, who would later attend Vatican II as bishop of Rockhampton (elevated in 1960). In September 1934, Young received news from the rector of Springwood, then Fr. Justin Simonds, that he had been selected to study at *Propaganda da Fide* College, in Rome.³⁶²

Seminarian Education and Early Clerical Career

During his time as a seminarian in Rome, Young was introduced to theological and ecclesiological concepts which would shape the conciliar understanding of the lay apostolate. In a lecture on the history of the Second Vatican Council, held in 1966, he reflected on his seminarian days. As a student he had written a thesis on participation in the priesthood of Christ: "I wrote my very juvenile thesis on - How you participate in the priesthood of Christ, back in 1939 I presented it, and of course I did an historical study before I went into a dogmatic analysis of this great doctrine."³⁶³ His thesis was dependent upon an understanding of the doctrine of the mystical body, which had been officially promulgated through the publishing of Pope Pius XII's encyclical in 1943.³⁶⁴ *Mystici corporis* (no. 17) anticipated many elements of the Council's vision of the laity, including their honoured position as members of the body, the unity and diversity of ministries, and participation in the liturgy of the church.³⁶⁵

While at Rome, Young took up the leadership of the English-speaking Newman Society alongside Harold Lalor.³⁶⁶ Originally from Perth, Lalor would join the Jesuits in 1946, conduct his own radio programme, direct an anti-communist campaign in Western Australia and

³⁶² Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 10.

³⁶³ Guilford Young, First Tutorial Group Seminar (Talk 1): Typed Notes taken from Reel-to-Reel Tapes, January 1966, Archbishop's Office - Post Vatican II Seminars - Tutorial Group Seminar, 68, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

³⁶⁴ Young, Typed Lecture Notes: Talk 1: 69–70.

³⁶⁵ "*Mystici corporis Christi*," 40.

³⁶⁶ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 11.

become a close associate of Santamaria working with the Movement.³⁶⁷ He would become known in Australia as an articulate and charismatic preacher, but also a “five-minutes-to-midnight” priest, who whipped up the fear of communism in Catholics whilst fund-raising for the Movement and spreading propaganda. He brought this rhetoric to Hobart in the late 1950s, after the Vatican had ordered the dissolution of the Movement and the Jesuits had ended Lalor’s assignment to the organization, although he was later transferred to Norwood, Adelaide in 1959.³⁶⁸

In Rome, Young was immersed in the Catholic anglophone community, where authors such as G. K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, Vincent McNabb, Eric Gill, and Christopher Dawson were all in vogue. According to Southerwood, this environment was, “more Champion than the Champions”. He was particularly enthused by American authors and enjoyed reading the publications of the New York newspaper *The Catholic Worker*. Of enormous influence was the periodical *Orate Fratres*, which inspired in Young a complete conversion to the ideas of liturgical renewal promoted by Saint John’s Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota, USA.³⁶⁹

After being ordained a priest for the diocese of Rockhampton at the Basilica of St. John’s Lateran (1939), the newly appointed Fr. Young spent time travelling around the USA. He went to New York where he met the editor of *The Catholic Worker*, Dorothy Day. He also took the opportunity to visit and stay at Saint John’s Abbey for six weeks becoming friends with the editor of *Orate Fratres*, Fr. Godfrey Diekmann. Eventually, Young was called back to Australia, where he would settle into a position as curate at St. Joseph’s Cathedral in Rockhampton for ten months. One of his achievements during this period was to organize a conference for the N.C.R.M. at St. Brendan’s College, Yeppoon (1941), which involved its leader, B. A. Santamaria, as a keynote speaker.³⁷⁰

The Youngest Ever Australian Bishop

After less than a year as a priest in a parish, Young was appointed to the position of secretary at the Apostolic Delegation of Australasia in Sydney (1941), under the Italian Archbishop John

³⁶⁷ Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, 125.

³⁶⁸ Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, 347.

³⁶⁹ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 10.

³⁷⁰ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 12–13.

Panico. Here he was deeply involved with Catholic lay groups such as the Y.C.W., N.C.G.M., and the Legion of Mary. In 1944, he moved on to a brief four-year period as a professor of theology at the Pius XII Seminary at Banyo, Brisbane. At the request of Pope Pius XII, Young became an auxiliary bishop in service to Archbishop Terence McGuire of Canberra-Goulburn in 1948.³⁷¹ At this point, according to Southerwood, he was “the youngest-ever Australian bishop and the youngest bishop in Christendom”.³⁷² After McGuire’s resignation in August 1953, Young became the apostolic administrator of the Archdiocese of Canberra-Goulburn. In November of the same year, he was appointed as an auxiliary of the new Archbishop of Canberra-Goulburn, Eris O’Brien, and assisted him for twelve months.³⁷³

In his position as assistant bishop to the Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn, Young abstained from voting at an episcopal conference in 1954 which was intended to place the Movement and its activities outside the orbit of church responsibility. The bishops supported the efforts of the Movement fighting communism, but its invocation of episcopal authority as a tool for solidifying and motivating a political base of support amongst Catholic workers had already drawn sizeable criticism from both within the Catholic Church and Australian society. By extricating Catholic Action from the industrial movement, negating a ruling which refused to separate the two (established by Archbishop Daniel Mannix in 1953), the bishops hoped to ensure that their names would no longer be dragged through political scandal.³⁷⁴ Young’s dissent cost the Movement its status and was a blow to the fortunes of Santamaria and his allies amongst the bishops. For his part, however, Young would later tell Santamaria that he had refused to vote because he wanted to make clear that his organization was not under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church. Once he felt that this distinction had been made, Young became an advocate for the Movement and its activities.³⁷⁵

³⁷¹ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 13–14.

³⁷² Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 14.

³⁷³ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 15.

³⁷⁴ Bruce Duncan briefly explores this episcopal vote in his analysis of the history of both Santamaria and the Movement. See Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, 211–13.

³⁷⁵ Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, 190.

Young was appointed co-adjutor archbishop of Hobart assisting Archbishop Ernest Tweedy in 1954. He arrived in Hobart on 30 November and was welcomed by a liturgical reception at St. Mary's Cathedral, the following day. He set himself up in the old deanery residence in Launceston and began taking up many of the pastoral duties formally undertaken by Tweedy. On 20 September 1955, Tweedy resigned from his post and Young became archbishop of Hobart.³⁷⁶

4. Catholic Action within the Archdiocese of Hobart

A Social Apostolate

Social poverty and a lack of education meant that the energy of Catholic lay organizations was primarily directed to the pastoral support of parishes. The two oldest lay organizations established within the Archdiocese of Hobart are the Society of St. Vincent De Paul and Knights of the Southern Cross. The former established its first Tasmanian conference in Launceston in 1899, with a second conference established in Hobart six years later.³⁷⁷ The latter was founded in Tasmania on 29 August 1923, with one branch in Hobart and the other in Launceston; emerging as a response to religious and social discrimination directed against Catholics by their Protestant neighbours.³⁷⁸

According to national census data, Catholics made up roughly 9% of the overall population in Tasmania in 1954. Catholicism was the second largest Christian denomination comprising around 20% of Christians, who themselves made up roughly 46% of the total population. The largest denomination was the Church of England, which made up about 53% of Christians in Tasmania. Though they were not an insignificant slice of the Christian population, Tasmanian Catholics still found themselves in a minority position when compared with their Anglican neighbours.³⁷⁹ It should be noted that these statistics may not fully reflect

³⁷⁶ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 17.

³⁷⁷ "Tasmania," St. Vincent de Paul Society, accessed 30 March 2021, https://www.vinnies.org.au/page/About/St_Vincent_de_Paul_Society/Tasmania/.

³⁷⁸ "Early Years - Tasmania," Knights of the Southern Cross, accessed 15 September 2022, <https://tas.ksca.org.au/Early-Years.html>.

³⁷⁹ For stats on the total population of Tasmania see Census of the Commonwealth of Australia. Volume VI - Part II. Tasmania. Cross-Classifications of the Characteristics of the Population, 30 June 1954, 5, Australian

the number of Catholics living in Tasmania at the time, since questions concerning religion were listed as “optional” and the 1956 census document observes an unwillingness amongst many to answer questions about this topic.³⁸⁰

In the 1954 census for Tasmania, 369 Roman Catholics identified themselves as employers, while 3,411 members of the Church of England identified themselves as employers. 7,688 Roman Catholics identified themselves as employed, while 33,904 members of the Church of England identified themselves as employed.³⁸¹ Sectarian prejudices meant that it could be difficult for Catholics to find a job. In an interview Maureen Cooper, a former president of the Tasmanian branch of the Christian Family Movement, recalls prejudices being levelled against her while working for the Tasmanian branch of the Australian airline company Ansett. The “2ic” (or second in command) at the company expressed anxieties over her religious identity, stating that: “Ansett don’t employ Catholics, usually”.³⁸²

Women and the Catholic Lay Apostolate

Established in Hobart in 1934, the group that would become the Legion of Mary was originally formed as a response to the economic depression of the 1930s. Women were brought together as a sewing circle in order to make clothes for the poor. When the group was no longer needed there were those amongst the clergy who wanted to keep them together and it was suggested that they reform themselves as the Legion of Mary. The organization spread all over Tasmania, with praesidia being established in the suburbs of Hobart and other cities, including Taroona, New Norfolk, Cygnet, Sorell, Launceston, Devonport, Stanley, and Queenstown.³⁸³

The founders of the Tasmanian C.W.L. were a group of thirty women and members of the Sacred Heart Sodality, who had met in Launceston in 1941 to address both a sense of isolation which many Catholic women felt within the broader community, as well as a lack of

Bureau of Statistics Digital Archive. For stats on the Christian population of Tasmania see Census of the Commonwealth of Australia: Volume VI - Part II. Tasmania: 60.

³⁸⁰ Census of the Commonwealth of Australia: Volume VI - Part II. Tasmania: 4.

³⁸¹ Census of the Commonwealth of Australia: Volume VI - Part II. Tasmania: 64.

³⁸² Maureen Cooper, “Interview Transcript,” interview by Callum Dawson, 5 July 2021, 7.

³⁸³ “Founded During Depression,” *Standard* 27 August 1971, 8.

activity on the part of Catholic women within the spheres of social action and charity.³⁸⁴ Resources from the Sacred Heart Sodality empowered members to address the spiritual needs of Catholic women. Engaging with social welfare required the C.W.L. to make connections with other likeminded groups, including the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Towards the latter half of 1943, C.W.L. established branches in Hobart, Cygnet, and St. Joseph's parish.³⁸⁵ They continued to grow and at their first state conference in 1944, Archbishop Tweedy officially recognized the group as a state wide body.³⁸⁶

After taking up residence as archbishop in 1955, Young attended C.W.L.'s eleventh annual state conference. He was joined by 200 women representing 1,100 members and roughly thirty-three branches. During his address, Young encouraged members to increase in knowledge and holiness.³⁸⁷ His speech was based on the statement of Pope Pius XII on "Woman's Duties in Social and Political Life". While praising the equal dignity of women, he also tended towards the reduction of their role within the church to that of the nun, home-keeper, mother, or wife.³⁸⁸ Contrary to this depiction, members of C.W.L. continued to fulfil new roles within the archdiocese and in 1958 two branches contributed their first catechists to religious education in state schools run by the government.³⁸⁹ This trend continued and in 1962 four members of the Sandy Bay-Taroona branch of C.W.L. commenced catechetical instructions in local state schools.³⁹⁰ The archbishop was deeply impressed by the organization's work and in 1958 he endorsed it as an official "Catholic Action" body of the archdiocese.³⁹¹

³⁸⁴ Nuss, *Women of Faith and Action*, 11.

³⁸⁵ Nuss, *Women of Faith and Action*, 12–13.

³⁸⁶ Nuss, *Women of Faith and Action*, 14.

³⁸⁷ "11th State Conference is Held by C.W.L.," *Standard* 30 September 1955, 2.

³⁸⁸ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 44–46.

³⁸⁹ Nuss, *Women of Faith and Action*, 21.

³⁹⁰ "Sandy Bay Branch has Four Catechists," *Standard* 23 March 1962, 17.

³⁹¹ Nuss, *Women of Faith and Action*, 20–21.

Jocists in Tasmania

The Australian Y.C.W. established a branch in Tasmania in the 1940s. While there were a number of efforts to start a group in Tasmania during World War II, they were only properly established in Preston (north-west Tasmania) in June 1946. The group that would become the girls branch of the Y.C.W. was known as the National Catholic Girls' Movement. These groups organized a comprehensive range of meetings and services for young people, including weekly general meetings and games nights, boxing, a football team, cooking and dressmaking, learning to dance, socials, and concert work. Y.C.W. groups were also founded in the South of Hobart in 1946. Some of the earliest were at St. John's Parish in Richmond, South Hobart, St. Joseph's Parish, and the Hobart cathedral.³⁹² The Young Christian Students, another group inspired by Cardijn but differentiated by their focus on the pastoral concerns of Catholic students, was also a part of the milieu of the archdiocese. Evidence suggests that they were active as early as 1948.³⁹³

In 1958, Cardijn visited Tasmania, drawing a crowd of around 1,500 people.³⁹⁴ Young gave a speech in praise of Cardijn, speaking about his own experiences with the Y.C.W. As one contributor to the *Standard* newspaper observed: "The Archbishop said that in 1950 he had attended the silver jubilee celebrations of the Y.C.W. in Brussels, and had seen Monsignor Cardijn honoured by cardinals, bishops, priests, and thousands of young people from 40 different countries."³⁹⁵ The Y.C.W. had the support of the archbishop and they continued to expand. In 1961, they held their first National Council in Hobart.³⁹⁶

³⁹² 25th Anniversary of the Young Christian Workers Movement in Australia Souvenir Programme 1966, Series No. 16.54, Young Christian Workers, 1–3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

³⁹³ "Y.C.S. At Deloraine," *Standard* 5 August 1948, 10.

³⁹⁴ "Tasmania Welcomes Monsignor Cardijn," *Standard* 3 October 1958, 1.

³⁹⁵ "Archbishop Highly Praises Youth Leader and His Work," *Standard* 3 October 1958, 2.

³⁹⁶ 25th Anniversary of the Y.C.W. in Australia: 3–5.

Family Movements

C.F.M. was personally established in Tasmania by Young, with two groups operating in Hobart and one in Launceston by 1957.³⁹⁷ Concerned with the promotion of Christian life and the family, they carried out their apostolate through the organization of discussion groups, lectures, and retreats. In keeping with his interest in liturgical renewal, Young emphasized the connection between the family and sacramental life as the heart of C.F.M.'s mission. He stated in a letter addressed to the movement: "The first emphasis of the Christian Family Movement must be on the union of husband and wife. Your Movement must be the medium through which married couples will come to know their responsibilities to each other, to their children, and to their Church; a medium through which they will learn more of the spiritual significance of the Sacrament of Marriage - of its particular sanctity, of its special privileges, of its intimate and eternal joy."³⁹⁸ In 1958, a week of learning was organized for the purpose of educating Catholic families about the liturgical life of the church and the importance of their active participation in the Mass.³⁹⁹ For Young, the work of Catholic lay organizations and liturgical renewal were bound together.

In 1960, the Catholic Family Welfare Bureau was founded as a way to provide training for lay Catholics involved in marriage counselling under the requirements of the Federal Matrimonial Causes Act (1959).⁴⁰⁰ The bureau also provided practical services for dealing with the personal problems of individuals, issues relating to families and parent-child relationships, marriage guidance, child behaviour problems, adoption, foster homes for children, and help for

³⁹⁷ Act: Journal of the Christian Family Movement, 1957, Series No. 13.27, Archbishop's Office - Guilford Young - Christian Family Movement (CFM): Journals (January 1958 – March 1967), 3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

³⁹⁸ Act: Journal of the Christian Family Movement, January 1958, Series No. 13.27, Archbishop's Office - Guilford Young - Christian Family Movement (CFM): Journals (January 1958 – March 1967), 2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

³⁹⁹ Something Very Special - Layfolk's Week, April 1958, Series No. 13.27, Archbishop's Office - Guilford Young - Christian Family Movement (CFM): Journals (January 1958 – March 1967), Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection, Tasmania, Australia.

⁴⁰⁰ "Marriage and Family Problems Call for Skilled Workers," *Standard* 16 November 1962, 8.

unmarried mothers.⁴⁰¹ In 1962, a Catholic Welfare Auxiliary was established for the purposes of raising money for the needs of the bureau. The chairman of the auxiliary's executive was a lay professional and the body of the group was made up of lay members.⁴⁰²

Care for Migrants

In part, the Catholic community in Tasmania was made up of migrants from Southern and Central Europe, who had established themselves in Australia after World War II. Upon his visit to Tasmania in 1986 Pope John Paul II offered a reflection to the *New Standard* on the Tasmanian Polish community which he got to know during a previous visit to Australia in the 1970s. He spoke briefly about their early history on the island: "The history of the Polish centre on this island situated to the south of the mainland of Australia, began after the Second World War, upon the arrival of soldiers of the Carpathian Brigade and this is where, after demobilization, they were forced to begin a difficult new life. Later on more Polish people came from Germany and from the East. Slowly, they began to feel more secure and thanks to excellent organisation as well as earnest team work and solidarity, they have achieved all they have today."⁴⁰³ Catholic groups assisted the settling of these families into the community. A notable example is the Italian Catholic Federation, whose mission was to build up the Italian-Catholic community in Tasmania and support their families. Tasmanian lay Catholic Mauro Saracino recalled the assistance given to the Federation by Young in the early 1960s. "The Italian Catholic Federation was actually promoted and assisted by Archbishop Young to the extent that he makes sure that they would convene and meet all the time."⁴⁰⁴ Further, the archbishop aided the Italian-Catholic community in securing a loan for the construction of their own church dedicated to San Carlo in Hobart.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰¹ "Family Welfare is Aim of Bureau in Hobart," *Standard* 10 June 1960, 1.

⁴⁰² "Finance is Needed for the Bureau," *Standard* 16 November 1962, 9.

⁴⁰³ "Vivid Memories of Last Visit," *New Standard* December 1986.

⁴⁰⁴ Transcripts for the Documentary 'Guilford Young: A Beacon of Light': Mauro Saracino, 2016, Series No. 13.80, Celebrations for the Centenary of the Birth of Archbishop Guilford Young, 2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁴⁰⁵ Mauro Saracino Transcript: 3.

Young and the Movement

C.S.S.M. had a strong base in Tasmania. Though the Movement had lost the vote of 1954, its legal relationship to the church and the authority of the bishops had still not been adequately resolved. The Movement would continue to act in ways which caused great concern for the Archbishop of Sydney, Norman Gilroy. At the same time, Archbishop Mannix continued to support Santamaria as he had always done. Political scandal led to serious disagreement erupting between the Melbourne and Sydney hierarchies over the relationship between the Movement and the church. Archbishop Young supported the Victorian camp. He claimed that the Movement was an invaluable tool for educating adult Catholics in Tasmania, believing that communism might have become further advanced in Australia otherwise.⁴⁰⁶ At the same time, he continued to insist that the Tasmanian branch of the Movement could not draw upon episcopal authority for political support.⁴⁰⁷

In 1956, Archbishop Gilroy sought to settle the debate about the relationship between the church and the Movement by calling upon Rome to make a decision.⁴⁰⁸ After discussing the Vatican directives, Santamaria dissolved the Movement in December 1957. Yet, he effectively continued its work by creating the secular lobby group known as the National Civic Council. Like the Movement, the N.C.C. maintained close links with the Democratic Labor Party. However, as a body with no direct ties to the Catholic Church they were able to operate within dioceses without the permission of bishops. As Bruce Duncan attests, Santamaria had written to Mannix claiming that the only substantive difference between the Movement and the N.C.C. was its name. Young was considered a strong ally by Santamaria until the very end and the N.C.C. believed that Hobart would continue to be receptive to their influence.⁴⁰⁹ However, the advent of Vatican II would come to occupy Young's attention and even transform his militant opposition to communism in favour of a softer approach. Santamaria would be pushed to the fringes of Australian Catholicism, but he would not disappear.

⁴⁰⁶ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 38.

⁴⁰⁷ Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, 245–46.

⁴⁰⁸ Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, 314–17.

⁴⁰⁹ Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, 346–47.

5. The Battle for State Aid in Tasmania

The Apostolate of an Accountant

According to Davis, the crisis in Catholic education in Tasmania after World War II was comprised of three main factors including: “a rising Catholic population, the raising of the school-leaving age from 14 to 16 and ‘spiralling inflation’ which increased school building and running costs”.⁴¹⁰ This meant that more school buildings needed to be constructed, while the cost of running the current facilities was increasing; equating to a rise in the cost of Catholic education, as schools required more financial support. Young became concerned that without funding from the government, the cost of education would rise higher than most Catholic families would be able to afford. Sending their children to the far less expensive state-run schools was an attractive option for many, though they were not guaranteed a Catholic education. In order to deal with immense financial difficulties, Young would need an accountant. Peter Nicholls was hired as the official accountant for the Archdiocese of Hobart on 15 August 1955, the same year that Young had become archbishop. Unlike his predecessor Archbishop Tweedy, who had kept a tidy account of diocesan finances, Young had no head for money or business. As Nicholls himself reflected: “Archbishop Young was not a book-keeper. He knew very little about business and commercial procedures nor about civil law and allied matters. While he had studied canon law to the extent required as a student for the priesthood, he had a natural aversion from legal and juridical modes of thought.”⁴¹¹ Nicholls had a background in engineering, commercial law, and accounting practice, as well as a knowledge and love of Catholic literature and philosophy which he shared with the archbishop. “Guilford and I shared a great love for the writings and thoughts of a past era - of G. K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, Christopher Dawson and their contemporaries.”⁴¹² Nicholls expressed a love for contemporary English Catholic literature that had also inspired the Campions in Melbourne.

Though his duties initially encompassed only mundane financial matters, maintaining the already “immaculately kept” records left behind by Tweedy, his duties would expand as

⁴¹⁰ Davis, *State Aid Tangle in Tasmania*, 23.

⁴¹¹ Peter Nicholls, *An Account of My Years with Archbishop Young*, 16 July 2003, Significant Lay People – Peter Nicholls, 4–5, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection. This document was sent to me by Pru Francis in an email dated: 14 December 2020.

⁴¹² Nicholls, *My Years with Archbishop Young*: 5–6.

his relationship with Young grew and the bureaucratic machinery of the archdiocese evolved in response to the currents of change impacting the Catholic Church in Australia throughout the 1950s and early 60s. Nicholls acquired new property for the church and collaborated in the development of the Tasmanian Catholic Church Office as a new administrative hub. In order to provide educational opportunities for Catholic adults, the Tasmanian Catholic Centre, Catholic Bookshop, and library were created. The Catholic Centre engineered study courses for Catholic adults on a plethora of subjects including liturgy, scripture, church administration, marriage, parenthood, literature, art, and the role of lay people within the church.⁴¹³ As Nicholls' articulated, the process of administrative expansion possessed a deep spiritual significance, as it provided lay women and men with an opportunity to actively contribute to the mission of Christ.⁴¹⁴

The Fight for Federal Funding

The battle for state funding for Catholic schools was one of the great endeavours of Young's episcopacy. His arguments for state aid were often grounded in his anti-communistic sensibilities, equating the potential for the Australian government to claim education monopolies with those seen in communist countries.⁴¹⁵ The archbishop shared with his episcopal peers Cold War era fears of communism and an abiding dislike of both secular materialism and the loosening of sexual inhibitions made more accessible through the development of new technologies like the pill. From the viewpoint of Catholics, the spread of affluence only further jeopardized the financial situation of Catholic schools by leading to a decrease in the number of men and women being drawn to the monastery, nunnery, or priesthood.⁴¹⁶ Since there was a lack of candidates who could take up the responsibilities of the religious teacher, schools had to shoulder the cost of training and paying the wages of lay teachers. The subject of divorce was also greatly disliked by Young and the introduction of the

⁴¹³ Nicholls, *My Years with Archbishop Young*: 6.

⁴¹⁴ Nicholls, *My Years with Archbishop Young*: 8.

⁴¹⁵ Davis, *State Aid Tangle in Tasmania*, 24.

⁴¹⁶ Davis, *State Aid Tangle in Tasmania*, 21.

1959 divorce bill by Prime Minister Robert Menzies, intended to tidy up discrepancies in state divorce laws, prompted critical remarks from the archbishop.⁴¹⁷

His response to all of these issues, including that of state aid funding, was to get involved in politics, although he would not have seen his actions as political. In 1956, he surmised that the Catholic Church had every right to intervene in the politics surrounding certain moral issues including euthanasia, birth control, divorce, unjust wages, and the influence of communism within political parties. However, the archbishop considered these to be moral rather than political issues, as was the subject of education.⁴¹⁸ At the same time, fighting for government financial aid had clear political dimensions, with Young rousing Catholics into a voting bloc to effect change, or praising the Tasmanian branch of the D.L.P. for supporting the Catholic fight for state aid.⁴¹⁹

In 1958, funding for Catholic education was not readily available through banks, insurance companies or other lending agencies. At the time, credit restrictions were enforced that limited the amount of capital that could be collected for school building. Young responded by asking Catholic families to lend their money to the Catholic Church, under a strict business arrangement where potential investors could acquire interest. This scheme, known as the Schools Provident Fund, was orchestrated in-part by Nicholls. It was successful and within a decade of operation assisted in the construction or extension of thirty schools.⁴²⁰ The idea for the Fund came out of a study group focused on the co-operative Antigonish Movement, which also initiated the Credit Union Movement in Tasmania. Both made use of pooled financial resources for mutual objectives without a profit motive. Nicholls was one of the founding members of the Glenorchy Credit Union, from which a Tasmania wide Union grew.⁴²¹ Max Coghlan, another early lay employee of the archdiocese, became the manager of the Schools Provident Fund from 1962 and played a significant part in establishing similar Development Funds across other Australian dioceses. Other early contributors to both the Church Office and

⁴¹⁷ Davis, *State Aid Tangle in Tasmania*, 31.

⁴¹⁸ Davis, *State Aid Tangle in Tasmania*, 25.

⁴¹⁹ Davis, *State Aid Tangle in Tasmania*, 25.

⁴²⁰ Southerwood, *A Great Endeavour*, 23–25.

⁴²¹ Nicholls, *My Years with Archbishop Young*: 6–7.

Schools Provident Fund included Barry Lyons, Sr. Kathleen Twomey, Sr. Julianne Dunn MSS, Geoff Collins, Bev Roberts, and Kevin Haley.⁴²²

Despite these successes, Young would continue to search for ways to put pressure on the Australian government. In 1959, he encouraged the unification of a number of Parents and Friends Associations into a state-wide Federation; establishing a body of parents who exerted pressure lobbying government for school funding. Thanks in part to their efforts, the Tasmanian parliament passed a Bill in the same year which granted minor assistance to non-state schools.⁴²³ In 1960–61, the president of the Federation D. A. Kearney published in the *Standard* a long series of articles entitled “Catholic Education and You”, where he summarised the arguments for government payments, answered typical objections, and analysed the financial situation of schools during the crisis.⁴²⁴ Administrative reform would continue throughout the 1960s, centring around the formation of the Catholic Education Office in 1961, led by Rev. Fr. Joseph Dolan as director of Catholic education in Tasmania.⁴²⁵

On the grassroots level, various parish-based lay organizations were established, including committees formed for the purposes of managing the administration, maintenance and finances of Catholic schools in parishes such as Stanley (north-west), King’s Meadows (north), New Norfolk (south-east), and Claremont (a suburb of Hobart). These groups were run by lay members and included parish priests and the principles of Catholic schools as ex-officio members.⁴²⁶ Despite the continued expansion of Catholic education in the archdiocese, many families could still not afford to send their children to Catholic schools. Young continued to

⁴²² Nick Brodie and Pru Francis, *The Beginning of Lay Leadership in Church Administration*, Archdiocese of Hobart. This information was compiled for information panels that were installed in the board room at the Archdiocesan offices.

⁴²³ Southerwood, *A Great Endeavour*, 32–33.

⁴²⁴ D. A. Kearney, “Catholic Education and You,” *Standard* 2 December 1960, 14.

⁴²⁵ “Named Director of Catholic Education,” *Standard* 3 March 1961, 5.

⁴²⁶ Summary of Information Gained from Questionnaire, April 1968, Series No. 23.85, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Reports, Submissions, Proposals & Presentations (1968–1987), 4, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

call for federal funding.⁴²⁷ He would also continue to request that Catholic families financially support the struggling Catholic education system and was unafraid to leverage the fear of mixed marriages as an incentive, claiming that without a Catholic education their children would grow up to marry outside the church.⁴²⁸ By 1962, roughly 4500 Catholic children attended state schools in Tasmania. In response, new courses were designed in Hobart to train lay Catholic adults as catechists and teachers in order to bring Catholic religious education to state schools.⁴²⁹

6. Liturgical Renewal in Hobart

Lay Participation

Young's campaign to transform the archdiocese in light of the teachings of liturgical renewal was initiated swiftly. In a circular letter sent in 1957 alongside an invitation for religious sisters and brothers to attend a liturgical workshop, Young lamented the laity's lack of engagement in worship: "Am I correct in stating that the priests and Religious are concerned about the carelessness, distraction and at least seeming lack of appreciation of the Mass by too many of our people? As I travel around the archdiocese, I hear the lament expressed by many a priest, whose zeal for the glory of God's house, although not quenched, is frustrated by the apparent impossibility of quickening the people's understanding love of the Mass."⁴³⁰ By Young's estimation, the Tasmanian laity were not actively participating within worship. In response, he began a campaign to transform the liturgical praxis of the archdiocese. Directives for community Mass published by Young provide evidence of an early insistence that Catholics recite English prayers within the Latin Mass. "As priest ascends and kisses altar he gives time

⁴²⁷ "Called for Federal Aid to Schools," *Standard* 24 February 1961, 1.

⁴²⁸ "Must Accept More Responsibility for Financing Schools," *Standard* 9 June 1961, 14.

⁴²⁹ "Catechists' Course Planned in Hobart," *Standard* 25 May 1962, 5; "More than 100 will Train to be Catechists," *Standard* 15 June 1962, 5; "Big Plans for Catechists," *Standard* 31 August 1962, 1.

⁴³⁰ Guilford Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy - Correspondence and Instructions, Undated, Series No. 13.02, Archbishop's Office - Guilford Young - Liturgy: Information Circulated in Tasmania (August 16, 1957 - October 1969), A.6, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection. While this document is undated, according to archival records it is accompanied by an invitation sent in 1957 to the religious brothers and sisters of Tasmania for two liturgical workshops. See Guilford Young, Invitation for Liturgical Workshop, 16 August 1957, Series No. 13.02, Archbishop's Office - Guilford Young - Liturgy: Information Circulated in Tasmania (August 16, 1957 - October 1969), Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

to Congregation to say accompanying prayer in English. Then he says in loud voice the Introit.”⁴³¹ Liturgical workshops held for religious sisters and brothers (Monday and Tuesday, 2–3 September 1957) devoted sections of time for discussing the English community Mass and other Mass-forms enabling more active participation by the congregation and the practice of Compline in English, as well as the practice of English hymns for Mass and Benediction. Tuesday’s session concluded with a sung Compline and English Mass at which all could receive Holy Communion.⁴³²

Young’s instructions for the community Mass divide it into two phases, with the first coinciding with the “Fore-Mass” and the second with the “Sacrifice-Mass.” The former includes the *oratio*, *kyrie*, *gloria*, *creed*, *confiteor* and prayers introducing the sacrifice.⁴³³ The latter includes the offertory prayers, the reply to the *orate fratres*, *sanctus*, canon, *pater noster*, *agnus dei*, the priests prayers of communal recitation, prayers after the consecration, great doxology, *domine non sum dignus*, and the final devotional reading of the gospel.⁴³⁴ The primary elements and structure were drawn from the booklet “*A Missa, Figlioli*”, a liturgical directory for the parish Low Mass, by the Italian Cardinal Giacomo Lercaro.⁴³⁵ “In practice it is the low Mass that our people know better and attend most frequently and they are not, in general, able to manage Latin yet. Hence we make a beginning with this form of participation.”⁴³⁶ Young was concerned with proposing a liturgical formula which would be accessible to all people. The archbishop lists “indispensable” roles intended to encourage “people-participation” within the liturgy, including a liturgical “Leader”, “server”, and “one or two Readers”.⁴³⁷ The Leader reads prayers, including the collect, *oratio* and canon, specifically

⁴³¹ Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy: C.1.

⁴³² Young, Invitation for Liturgical Workshop.

⁴³³ Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy: D.1–2.

⁴³⁴ Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy: D.3–4.

⁴³⁵ Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy: D.1.

⁴³⁶ Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy: D.1.

⁴³⁷ Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy: C.2.

the “memento of the living and the dead”.⁴³⁸ They also “comment” before the beginning of the Mass, before the reading of the epistle or lesson, before the recitation of the *credo*, and while the priest says the offertory, recites the Secret prayer, and breaks the host.⁴³⁹ Servers say the *confiteor* in tandem with the congregation during the Fore-Mass, contribute aloud to the priests recitation of *kyrie eleison*, reply to *orate fratres*, and recite *confiteor* once more before communion.⁴⁴⁰ Readers proclaim both the epistles and the gospels before the congregation.⁴⁴¹ Finally, the whole congregation are encouraged to recite preparatory prayers at the beginning of the Fore-Mass, as well as the *confiteor*, *kyrie*, *gloria*, and creed.⁴⁴² These instructions provide evidence of Young’s desire, “to encourage the people to take an intelligent part in the liturgy by acting as a community and raising their voices in spoken prayer and song”.⁴⁴³ In 1960, Young continued to preach his understanding of the priesthood of the laity by publishing a pastoral letter addressed to the faithful of the archdiocese. In it he wrote that: “Christ and the Church act together as Priest to offer the Sacrifice of the Mass; each and all the members of the Church (including yourselves, My Brethren) exercise the priestly function because the whole Church offers the Sacrifice through Christ, and with Christ and in Christ; and the whole Church (all of you) is taken up on high with Christ before the throne of the Divine Majesty as the Victim of the Sacrifice.”⁴⁴⁴ For Young, the priesthood of Christ was universally shared amongst all the faithful. The archbishop believed liturgical renewal to be the work of the Holy Spirit, through which the faithful could receive and recover, “our common participation in the Priesthood of Christ.”⁴⁴⁵

⁴³⁸ Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy: C.1 and D.1–3.

⁴³⁹ Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy: C.1.

⁴⁴⁰ Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy: C.1.

⁴⁴¹ Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy: C.1.

⁴⁴² Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy: C.1 and D.1–2.

⁴⁴³ Young, Lay Participation in the Liturgy: A.1.

⁴⁴⁴ Guilford Young, Pastoral Letter on the Worship of God, 1960, Series No. 8.37, Archbishop’s Office - Guilford Young - Pastoral Letters: 1960–1986, 10, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁴⁴⁵ Young, Pastoral Letter on the Worship of God: 15.

Embracing Modern Church Architecture

Young believed that it was important to embrace modern church architectural styles that could facilitate changes in the liturgy. In this endeavor he enlisted the help of the Tasmanian Catholic architect Roderick Cooper. Born in Hobart in 1928, Cooper graduated from Hobart Technical College with a diploma in architecture in 1953. In the same year he married his wife, Rosemary Bottcher, at the Church of the Apostles in Launceston, with Fr. Lee Archer officiating. Through this meeting, Archer invited Cooper to design St. Therese of the Child Jesus Church at Avoca. This church was blessed and opened by Young on 17 February 1956. Impressed by the design, Young began a friendship with Cooper that would last thirty-years.⁴⁴⁶

Cooper's skills were valued so much that the archbishop invited him to join on an *ad limina* visit to Rome in 1960. There Cooper was given the chance to explore and draw inspiration from European church architecture. During this trip, Young and Cooper also travelled to London, Spain, France, Italy, and the USA. At St. Francis Xavier College, London, they met Fr. Clifford Howell SJ (1902–81) and Fr. Godfrey Diekmann, both important liturgists within the English-speaking world. In the USA they met Patty Crowley, a prominent member of C.F.M. in Chicago. Visiting overseas churches and speaking with liturgical experts prepared Cooper for the task of renovating St. Mary's Cathedral in order to accommodate the renewal of the liturgy.⁴⁴⁷ He began this project in 1961, alongside the sculptor Tom Bass (1916–2010) and craftsman Schulim Krimper (1893–1971). In September, a new high altar, archbishop's throne, choir screen, and communion rails were installed. It was Krimper, an Austrian who lived in St. Kilda, Victoria, who fashioned the throne, altar rails, pulpit and sanctuary screen. The promulgation of the conciliar Constitution of the Liturgy in 1963 prompted a number of changes and the only objects of Krimper's design that remained were part of the archbishop's chair and the pulpit.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ Lorraine Dooley, *Building on Firm Foundations: The Cooper Family in Tasmania, Stonemasons, Builders and Architects* (Lenah Valley, Tasmania: Lorraine Dooley, 2014), 172–73.

⁴⁴⁷ Dooley, *Building on Firm Foundations*, 199–200.

⁴⁴⁸ Dooley, *Building on Firm Foundations*, 201.

7. Tasmanians Preparing for Vatican II

On 25 January 1959, Pope John XXIII announced his intention to convene the Second Vatican Council.⁴⁴⁹ There is evidence to suggest that Young had consulted with lay Catholics regarding what subjects should be discussed prior to the Council. In an interview, former chairman of the Tasmanian D.P.C., Neville Behrens, remembers attending a gathering where Young gave him and others the opportunity to suggest topics for consideration: “I remember going to a meeting out at Professor Jim McAuley’s house, in the year before the Council started, where he [Young] asked a group of lay people: what do you think the Council should be looking at? What questions should it be looking at? And we told him.”⁴⁵⁰ By involving lay people and others in a consultative process, Young had begun to prepare the faithful for the Council. The archbishop was deeply enthusiastic about the forthcoming Council, writing a statement for the *Standard*: “The Second Vatican Council, through that unfailing guidance that Christ promised to His Church, will be at this momentous hour of history a signpost, an inspiration, a fountain of life and light sending forth into the Church and the world powerful, constructive energy whose divine influence will reach down into the lives of us all for centuries to come.”⁴⁵¹ Throughout 1961, he launched a crusade of prayer and exhorted Tasmanian Catholics to pray for the flourishing of Pope John XXIII’s venture.⁴⁵² Roughly two months before the opening on 11 October 1962 the *Standard* announced that an all-night prayer and penitence vigil at St. Mary’s cathedral in Hobart would be held, so that Catholics in his archdiocese could come together and pray for the Council’s success. In a letter published on the same page, Young asked the people of Tasmania for their prayers, promising to keep their needs in his heart as he prepared to travel to Rome.⁴⁵³ The prayer vigil itself proved to be a success.⁴⁵⁴ Behrens remembers it as

⁴⁴⁹ “Last General Council Held in 1870,” *Standard* 6 February 1959, 1.

⁴⁵⁰ Neville Behrens, “Interview Transcript,” interview by Callum Dawson, 12 July 2021, 3. I have inserted the name in square brackets. Behrens is referring to the prominent Australian academic and poet James (“Jim”) McAuley. For a biography see: Lyn McCredden, *James McAuley* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁴⁵¹ Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 177.

⁴⁵² Southerwood, *The Wisdom of Guilford Young*, 176.

⁴⁵³ “Varied Programme Planned for Prayer Vigil in Hobart Tonight,” *Standard* 31 August 1962, 3.

⁴⁵⁴ “Found Vigil Easier Than They Thought,” *Standard* 7 September 1962, 2.

an important event observing that Young, “was preparing us for the Council”.⁴⁵⁵ Similar vigils were held by bishops in other dioceses across Australia, praying for the success of Vatican II.⁴⁵⁶ According to the reporting of the *Standard*, a diversity of Tasmanian lay Catholics attended the cathedral, and remained all night in prayer.⁴⁵⁷

8. Conclusion

Though situated on the fringes of the mainland, the Archdiocese of Hobart participated in many of the driving forces of renewal received from overseas which were impacting the rest of the church in Australia before Vatican II. While the archbishop and various lay Catholic organizations in Tasmania were primarily concerned with addressing the material and social plight of people, especially in the area of education, Young’s campaign to embrace the laity’s active participation within the liturgy also ensured that Catholics were deeply embedded in a movement for renewal that would be vindicated at the Council. Amongst a plethora of factors, the expansion of archdiocesan administration led by Nicholls and others, as well as the embrace of modern church architecture pioneered by Cooper, would help to prepare the groundwork for the reception and implementation of the Council’s teachings. Before this could happen, however, Young would still need to attend Vatican II and bring home the vision.

⁴⁵⁵ Behrens, interview, 2.

⁴⁵⁶ Southerwood, *A Time-Line of Catholic Australia*, 156.

⁴⁵⁷ “Found Vigil Easier Than They Thought,” 2.

Chapter Six: Young and other Australians at the Council

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the activities of Young at the Second Vatican Council, where they intersected with the subject of the lay apostolate. The archbishop did not intervene directly on this topic amid the conciliar debates, but he was greatly involved in the implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*; intervened within discussions surrounding the Declaration on Religious Freedom, *Dignitatis Humanae*; closely observed debates over communism within the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes*, and even provided his signature to a controversial modification regarding nuclear war within this text. As established in chapter four, both liturgical renewal and C.S.T. were impactful movements which shaped the lay apostolate in Australia before Vatican II. How did Young's activities contribute to an emerging vision of the lay apostolate at the Council?

Statements of bishops at the Council (including Australians) are recorded in the *Acta Synodalia* (hereafter *AS*), Series I–IV (October 1962 to December 1965), Vatican Polyglot Press, 1970–83.⁴⁵⁸ Each of these four volumes represents an incomplete and, at times, truncated collection of the interventions and animadversions of cardinals, bishops, and prelates spoken publicly or dispensed during one of the four sessions of the Second Vatican Council. Each volume corresponds with a single session and is divided into several sections.⁴⁵⁹ Young intervened on behalf of other topics which were not directly related to the lay apostolate.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁸ *Acta Synodalia*, Series I–IV (October 1962 to December 1965), Vatican Polyglot Press, 1970–83.

⁴⁵⁹ In drawing from this resource, I am assisted by English translations of the Latin text prepared for Jeffrey Murphy's thesis on the contributions of bishops to Vatican II. These translations were prepared by Dr. Bronwen Neil (Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane) and Dr. Russell Davies MBBS (Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane). These translations are included as an appendix to Murphy's thesis. See Jeffrey Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 403–500. When I cite English translations of *AS*, I will provide references to the original Latin text, including the name of the author or speaker, volume, section, and page numbers.

⁴⁶⁰ These include a statement put forward by the bishops of England and Wales on the doctrine of Mary in the schema on the church (*AS* II/III: 816–24); an intervention on bishops and the government of diocese by the titular bishop of *Atena* and auxiliary of Sydney, James Carroll (*AS* II/IV: 528–30); and another on priestly life and ministry by the Archbishop-elect of Torino, Michael Pellegrino (*AS* IV/V: 200–05).

Conversely, there were Australians who contributed directly to discussions on the lay apostolate, both within debates surrounding the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, and the Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity, *Apostolicam Actuositatem*. For the sake of a richer portrait of Young amongst his peers, and Australian interventions on the lay apostolate at Vatican II, I will also analyse these contributions. Notable also are the animadversions of Archbishop Daniel Mannix criticising the schema *De Ecclesia*, which had been sent alongside a letter to Léon Joseph Cardinal Suenens (dated 22 February 1963), and rediscovered by Jeffrey Murphy in correspondence with the secretary to the Archbishop of Mechelen-Brussels. While this text was not presented to the Council and does not appear in the *Acta Synodalia*, it evidences a rich engagement with the schema on the church and Murphy speculates that its primary author may have actually been Eric D’Arcy. In summary, I will analyse Australian contributions (with a particular focus on Young) to five areas related (directly and indirectly) to the lay apostolate: 1) debates on the liturgy schema; 2) debates on the church; 3) debates on the lay apostolate; 4) debates on religious freedom; 5) and debates on the church in the modern world.

2. A Student of the Council

Young was a student of Vatican II and actively sought to learn from others. In his Council diary, Yves Congar recalled conversing with the archbishop regarding the status of the assembly during its earlier days (Friday 12 October 1962): “A little before 5 pm, visit from Mgr Young, an Australian bishop, young, mixture of straight-talking and solemnity. He has fed on Congar for twenty years. He told me how terribly disappointed he was in the schemata and in the ceremony in St. Peter’s, indeed almost to the point of being scandalised. We preach to the laity about participation, and look at the example they are given! He asked me to suggest the names of bishops for the voting for the Commissions tomorrow. We chatted. We will meet again.”⁴⁶¹ Jeffrey Murphy, who conducted his own interviews with Australian bishops, mentions the recollections of those who saw both Young and his friend, Francis Rush, running through St. Peter’s to reach a lecture by one of the theologians at the *Domus Mariae* during the third session.⁴⁶² At the close of the Council, Young brought the fruit of his discernment back

⁴⁶¹ Yves Congar, *My Journal of the Council*, ed. Denis Minns, trans. Mary John Ronayne and Mary Cecily Boulding (Adelaide, South Australia: ATF Press Australia, 2012), 89–90.

⁴⁶² Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 228–29.

to the Archdiocese of Hobart in the form of a lecture series on the history and documents of Vatican II (1966–69), conducted for the benefit of priests, religious, and laity. These lectures were an opportunity for him to (very occasionally) reflect upon his experiences at the Council and will provide additional insights.

3. Liturgical Reform and Ecclesial Renewal

Young in Rome

Arriving in Rome for the Council's first session, Young found dual accommodation with Rush at the *Pensione Gravina-Woodcock*, run by Sgra Gravina. Later Dr. John Wall, with the help of an aristocratic Milanese woman named Maria Melzi d'Eril, located for them a flat close to the Holy Office where they sojourned during future sessions.⁴⁶³ Both were deeply excited to attend the Council. In truth, so were all the Australian bishops in one way or another. Yet for those including William Brennan, James O'Collins, Bernard Stewart, and Thomas Fox much of the excitement had to do with the spectacle and grandeur of the event. Whereas for the "progressive enthusiasts" including Young, Rush, and their fellow Launcelot Goody the most thrilling aspect lay in what they hoped to be the Council's potential to bring about reform and renewal.⁴⁶⁴ The Council opened on 11 October 1962. In his opening address, Pope John XXIII counselled against all purely negative condemnations, desiring that the fathers not make their central focus the scholastic refinement of doctrine, but rather a fundamental renewal of the church as a whole in a real confrontation with the modern world and its problems. Reflecting upon his experiences during his post-conciliar lectures, Young claimed that this pastoral trajectory was crucial for the shaping of the Council.⁴⁶⁵

Australian Interventions on the Liturgy Schema

An advocate for liturgical renewal since his seminarian days, Young reserved a place as the twelfth speaker (out of a line-up of twenty-one) during the fourth general congregation (22 October 1962) in order to speak on the schema *De Sacra Liturgia*. However, when his turn finally came to speak, he only observed the following: "And, if it is permitted, and with respect,

⁴⁶³ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 125.

⁴⁶⁴ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 123.

⁴⁶⁵ Guilford Young, Seminar: The Shaping of the Council, January 1966, Series No. 12.29, Archbishop's Office - Guilford Young - Post Vatican II Seminars: Tutorial Group Seminar January 1966, 4, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

venerable Fathers in Christ. Those things which I wanted to say have already been said most elegantly by all those who have strongly endorsed this schema. Thus I give up my right (to speak).”⁴⁶⁶ Those who had come before Young included Cardinals Josef Frings (Germany), Ernesto Ruffini (Italy), Giacomo Lercaro (Italy), Giovanni Montini (Archbishop of Milan and future Pope Paul VI), Francis Joseph Spellman (USA), Julius Döpfner (Germany), Peter Tatsuo Doi (Japan), and Raúl Silva Henríquez (Chile). As Murphy notes, all had shown strong support for the schema except for Spellman, who had warned that there was too much emphasis on the participation of the faithful.⁴⁶⁷ Mathijs Lamberigts similarly observes that, despite reservations articulated by Spellman and Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, the schema’s emphasis on the active participation of the faithful was generally positively received.⁴⁶⁸

Murphy speculates that Young may have felt his speech would have seemed repetitious after so many personalities had already articulated their support.⁴⁶⁹ It is possible his humility had been reflective of his satisfaction with the responses of those who had come before, combined with a conscious respect for the time and patience of his audience, particularly Norman Cardinal Gilroy, who (as a member of the council of presidents) was presiding over the debates of the fourth congregation.⁴⁷⁰ Lamberigts notes that discussions on the liturgy were often repetitive, with speakers wandering off the point. This was an exhausting situation

⁴⁶⁶ « *Et, si licet, et salva reverentia, Fratres venerabiles in Christo. Iam ea quae ego volebam dicere, bene, pulcherrime dicta sunt ab omnibus illis qui valde commendarunt hoc schema. Proinde ius meum subiicio.* » Guilford Young (AS I/I: 328).

⁴⁶⁷ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 134–35. See Joseph Spellman (AS I/I: 316).

⁴⁶⁸ Mathijs Lamberigts, “The Liturgy Debate,” in *History of Vatican II: The Formation of the Council’s Identity - First Period and Intersession: October 1962 - September 1963*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak, vol. 2 (Maryknoll, Leuven: Orbis, Peeters, 1997), 127.

⁴⁶⁹ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 134–35.

⁴⁷⁰ AS I/I: 111. Before the Council’s opening, Gilroy had been appointed to a presiding board of ten cardinals by a *motu proprio* issued by Pope John XXIII (5 September 1962). According to Andrea Riccardi, a fairly international selection of presidents was chosen with the aim of showing that the leadership of the Council was being entrusted to the bishops of the world, rather than the curia. See Andrea Riccardi, “The Tumultuous Opening Days of the Council,” in *History of Vatican II: The Formation of the Council’s Identity - First Period and Intersession: October 1962 – September 1963*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak, vol. 2 (Maryknoll, Leuven: Orbis, Peeters, 1997), 57.

enabled by regulations which allowed fathers to speak on the schema either as a whole or on particular parts. As a result, more than one-hundred fathers were regularly absent from the Council hall.⁴⁷¹ Perhaps Young's decision to surrender his time was prompted by a dwindling number of bishops from the debate. In any case, it is likely that he would have commended the inclusion of provisions meant to encourage the active participation of the laity in the liturgy. Section two of the schema's first chapter dealt with the liturgical formation of priests and laity, encouraging the active participation of lay people and offering a number of provisions to attain this goal.⁴⁷²

The only other Australian to approach the platform and speak on the schema was Thomas Muldoon, the Auxiliary Bishop of Sydney, who similarly gave up his right to speak since much of what he had wanted to say had already been said by others. However, before resuming his seat he did recommend to the presiding Cardinal Ruffini that the whole text of the introduction be immediately subject to a vote, that debate on chapter one be finished immediately, and that others who intended to speak instead make their corrections in writing.⁴⁷³ Like Young, Muldoon had seemingly decided in favour of the schema, although the former had not been bold enough to suggest that other bishops give up their time to speak.⁴⁷⁴

A paragraph from Muldoon's second intervention on the liturgy, concerned with the way in which the faithful join the priest in the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice, constitutes an example of his critical mind in action.⁴⁷⁵ In line 11 of the liturgy schema, he professed that he did not consent to the words "along with the priest who performs the offering" (*una cum sacerdote offerendo*) for he believed these words came too close to an error condemned by Pius XII in the encyclical *Mediator Dei*, which would have regarded the eucharistic sacrifice as a true "con-celebration" (*concelebrationem*).⁴⁷⁶ For Muldoon, the faithful do not offer "along

⁴⁷¹ Lamberigts, "The Liturgy Debate," 112.

⁴⁷² Lamberigts, "The Liturgy Debate," 109.

⁴⁷³ Thomas Muldoon, (AS I/I: 547–48).

⁴⁷⁴ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 135.

⁴⁷⁵ Thomas Muldoon (AS I/II: 135–37).

⁴⁷⁶ Thomas Muldoon (AS I/II: 136). Here Muldoon is likely referring to *MD* no. 83, which describes "concelebration" as the act by which the baptised community perform the Eucharistic sacrifice along with the

with” (*cum*) the priest but they do so “through” (*per*) the priest. In proving his point, he cited Pope Pius XII, stating that the Christian faithful offer the sacrifice through the hands of the priest, since the minister acts in the person of Christ as the Head at the altar. Instead, he proposed that the following line should be inserted into the text: “thus along with the priest, because through the priest...” (*ita cum sacerdote ut per sacerdotem*).⁴⁷⁷ According to Murphy, Muldoon was effectively Gilroy’s *peritus*. With a rigorous and scholastic mind, his interventions are replete with great theological detail and he was highly adept at spotting problems within the schemas.⁴⁷⁸ In the Council’s second session, both he and Gilroy turned their attention to the lay apostolate within the schema on the church.

Promoting the Constitution on the Liturgy in the Media

The Constitution on the Liturgy was promulgated on 4 December 1963. In an article printed in the *Advocate* (20 February 1964) which had originally been produced for the US media publication “America” (New York, 4 January 1964), Young celebrated what he considered to be a pivotal moment in the unfolding of the Council. “Some may be misled into viewing the constitution as a mere catalogue of minor changes in the liturgical discipline of the Western Church. The fact is, however, that this catalogue adds up to a quiet but deep revolution, one whose impact will be measured only in generations to come. How could it be otherwise when you canonize the principle of perennial adaptation and change in that area of the Church where the precedent of centuries had come to be accepted as beyond question?”⁴⁷⁹ In Young’s mind, the promulgation of the Constitution on the Liturgy had vindicated both the goals of liturgical reform and the broader trajectory toward renewal which characterized the whole Council. Ever the liturgist, worship mirrored ecclesial life and what occurred in the sphere of sacred celebration should rightly be reflected in the life and mission of the whole church. The archbishop overtly expressed his belief that the constitution would stimulate the active

sacerdotal priest. This is decried as an error by the encyclical, since only the priest represents Jesus Christ at the altar and the laity can in no way possess this sacred power. See Claudia Carlen, ed., “*Mediator Dei*: Encyclical of Pope Pius XII on the Sacred Liturgy, November 20, 1937,” in *The Papal Encyclicals 1939–1958* (Wilmington, N.C.: McGrath, 1981), 133–34.

⁴⁷⁷ Thomas Muldoon (AS I/II: 136).

⁴⁷⁸ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 138.

⁴⁷⁹ Guilford Young, “Council’s Future Course Settled by Final Vote,” *Advocate* 20 February 1964, 26.

participation of the laity beyond the liturgical sphere. “One could list other instances in which the inner spirit of the constitution will inevitably make itself felt outside the confines of liturgical life as such. I would merely note, by way of conclusion, the field of the theology of the laity or lay apostolate [. . .]. Surely it would be hard to exaggerate the long-range effect of the document’s striking emphasis on liturgical participation by the whole community of the faithful, or its explicit provisions for active involvement of the laity in Sacrifice and sacraments.”⁴⁸⁰ Young would continue to promote the constitution throughout the month of February. In a statement published by the Melbourne *Advocate* on liturgical reform, he expressed a worry that the pragmatic application of the vernacular had overshadowed the deeper way in which the constitution might impact Catholic theology. The document represented a departure from a legalistic and apologetic ecclesiology, reaffirming the vital role of Scripture in the life of the church and opening up new possibilities for both missiology and ecumenism.⁴⁸¹ Notably, Young’s high regard for the implications of the constitution contrasted sharply with that of Cardinal Gilroy, who stated in an article that he did not think that liturgical reform would have a noticeable impact within Australia, beyond enabling Catholics to more fully appreciate the beauty of the liturgy in their own language.⁴⁸²

In the same article published in February, Young also observed that the new document on the liturgy implicitly leaned in the direction of a decentralized understanding of the church, since local episcopal conferences could now determine the broad lines of liturgical discipline.⁴⁸³ Similarly, in a statement on the implementation of the liturgy in Australia, Young once again noted that the document engendered, “the trend to break away from complete control by Rome”, since local bishops were empowered to adapt the liturgy to suit the conditions of their dioceses. The archbishop predicted that this trajectory toward decentralization would impact other fields in the church’s life and discipline, including the training of priests and handling of marriage cases.⁴⁸⁴ Around the same time, the *Advocate*

⁴⁸⁰ Young, “Council’s Future Course Settled by Final Vote,” 26.

⁴⁸¹ “Council Viewpoints: Archbishop Young - Liturgical Reform,” *Advocate* 20 February 1964, 14.

⁴⁸² “Council Viewpoints: Cardinal Gilroy - Application in Australia,” *Advocate* 20 February 1964, 14.

⁴⁸³ Young, “Council’s Future Course Settled by Final Vote,” 26.

⁴⁸⁴ “Council Viewpoints: Archbishop Young - Application in Australia,” *Advocate* 20 February 1964, 14.

published another statement by Young which evidenced an evolving understanding of episcopal authority.

Power is always a temptation. But the power of any office in the Church, be it the priesthood, the episcopate, or the papacy, has to be seen in the total context of a Church viewed no longer as a triumphal, juridical thing; it is the people of God; the Church of Christ who came to minister unto, not to be ministered unto. This concept of “ministry” is not new - writers have fastened on to St. Paul’s word “*diaconia*” - but the Council has certainly underlined the fact that all positions of authority in the Church are for the good of the people. Those who hold these offices will remember that with them goes not the power of a boss but the responsibility of a father. Together with this idea have come the upgrading of the layman and the recognition by the Church that he has very definite rights and that he may institute initiatives in the Church which authority may not quench.⁴⁸⁵

Both the relativization of episcopal power within the context of service to the whole church as the people of God and recognition of the inalienable rights of lay initiative (beyond any authority to nullify) were two themes which the archbishop would reflect further upon with greater depth when lecturing on the content of *LG*. Embracing an ethos of ministerial service demanded by the Council constituted one way in which Young attempted to transform his own sense of office and vocation.⁴⁸⁶

Consilium

In Australia, the bishops met with Cardinal Gilroy to discuss the application of the Council’s liturgical renewal (3–5 March 1964). According to Evangelista Vilanova, Gilroy maintained that these changes would not increase lay participation. By contrast, Young perceived liturgical reform in a fundamentally positive light. After receiving approval from Rome, the Australian bishops met in June to study concrete proposals for implementing reform. It was decided that

⁴⁸⁵ “Six Australian Bishops Look Back at 2nd Session: Archbishop Young - Episcopal Power,” *Advocate* 20 February 1964, 15.

⁴⁸⁶ “Six Australian Bishops Look Back at 2nd Session: Archbishop Young - Episcopal Dress,” *Advocate* 20 February 1964, 15.

implementation would begin on 1 July, however, each bishop had free reign to decide upon the most appropriate date for their diocese.⁴⁸⁷

On 3 March 1964, Young was appointed to the *Consilium* for the implementation of the new Constitution on the Liturgy. This body had been created by Pope Paul VI in January 1964.⁴⁸⁸ The *Advocate* announced that Young would travel to Rome to attend the first general meeting of the *Consilium* on 11 March, 1964.⁴⁸⁹ Annibale Bugnini (Secretary of the *Consilium*) recorded Young's attendance of their inaugural meeting in his book *Reform of the Liturgy* (1990). This gathering was held in Santa Marta, in a corridor on the buildings second floor.⁴⁹⁰ The general meetings of the *Consilium* were comparable with the plenary meetings of the other Roman agencies.⁴⁹¹ At this meeting, the letter of the Secretary of State (29 February 1964) which had established the *Consilium* and its duties was read aloud, confirming the responsibilities of the group. These included: suggesting the names of experts to the pope, coordinating the work of study groups, preparing instructions for the implementation of *Sacram Liturgiam* (apostolic letter on new liturgical norms), defining the competence of territorial ecclesiastical authorities, promoting the implementation of *SC*, and studying proposals from episcopal conferences as well as answering their questions.⁴⁹²

International Commission on English in the Liturgy

Toward the end of the Council's first period (1962), Young had participated in informal discussions with others who desired liturgical collaboration amongst the English-speaking bishops, including: Archbishops John Paul Hallinan (Atlanta, Georgia, USA), Francis Edward

⁴⁸⁷ Evangelista Vilanova, "The Intersession (1963–1964)," in *History of Vatican II: The Mature Council - Second Period and Intersession: September 1963 – September 1964*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak, vol. 3 (Maryknoll, Leuven: Orbis, Peeters, 2000), 476–77.

⁴⁸⁸ "Archbishop Young Named Member of Commission," *Advocate* 12 March 1964, 5.

⁴⁸⁹ "Meeting in Rome for New Liturgy Commission," *Advocate* 19 March 1964, 9; "Archbishop Young in Rome," *Advocate* 19 March 1964, 10.

⁴⁹⁰ Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy 1948–1975*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 140–42.

⁴⁹¹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 139.

⁴⁹² Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 141.

Joseph Grimshaw (Birmingham, England, Great Britain), and Denis Hurley (Durban, South Africa).⁴⁹³ Of the four, Frederick McManus describes Young as being “the best prepared in pastoral-liturgical matters, with a strong commitment dating back a quarter of a century and with the widest reading in the European literature on the liturgy and the liturgical movement as well as on ecclesiology and contemporary theology in general.”⁴⁹⁴ He contributed his extensive pastoral experiences and immense knowledge of the history and theology of the liturgical movement.⁴⁹⁵ On 17 October 1963, the International Commission on English in the Liturgy had their first meeting at the Venerable English College in Rome. Grimshaw was elected chairman, and Hallinan and Young were elected first and second vice-chairmen. At this stage the episcopal conference of ten countries were interested in membership, including: Australia, Canada, England and Wales, India, Ireland, New Zealand, Pakistan, Scotland, South Africa, and the USA (the conference of the Philippines was added later in 1967).⁴⁹⁶ In 1964, ICEL formed an advisory committee whose primary role was to review and revise the translated material that was to be commissioned.⁴⁹⁷ Young recommended for membership a priest from the Archdiocese of Melbourne, Fr. Percy Jones. An experienced parish priest who had long worked in church and school music programmes, Jones had graduated from the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music, was a reader in music in the faculty of the university of Melbourne, and had participated in the Pontifical Commission on the Liturgy prior to the Council.⁴⁹⁸

Young was conscious of the positive ecumenical implications which might arise from Catholic liturgical practice in English. Albert Stirling recalled a discussion during the Council’s second session, in which Young spoke of his work with ICEL. “He told how one proposal was

⁴⁹³ Frederick McManus, “ICEL: The First Years,” in *Shaping of the English Liturgy*, ed. Peter Finn and James Schellman (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1990), 436.

⁴⁹⁴ McManus, “ICEL: The First Years,” 441.

⁴⁹⁵ McManus, “ICEL: The First Years,” 442.

⁴⁹⁶ McManus, “ICEL: The First Years,” 440.

⁴⁹⁷ McManus, “ICEL: The First Years,” 451.

⁴⁹⁸ McManus, “ICEL: The First Years,” 453. For Jones’ biography see: Donald Cave, *Percy Jones: Priest, Musician, Teacher* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1988).

for the use, as an interim measure, of the (Standard) Revised Version of the Bible, which would be a good gesture to the Church of England.”⁴⁹⁹ After the Council, during a long drive returning from a function hosted at the Scots College in Rome, Young told Stirling about his work toward liturgical uniformity amongst Catholic English-speaking countries, as well as desires amongst his colleagues to keep as close as possible with Anglicans and Lutherans.⁵⁰⁰ For the archbishop, ecumenical dialogue was contemplated in tandem with liturgical change. As a member of the *Consilium* and ICEL, Young was contributing to the global reception of the Constitution on the Liturgy. Further, he was participating in a rich form of international collegiality with bishops from America, Great Britain, and South Africa, amongst others. In this work, Young pursued two trajectories which also shaped his reception and implementation of the Council’s vision of the lay apostolate within the Archdiocese of Hobart, namely, an openness to adaptation in response to the needs of the people (reflecting SC 1), and a receptivity to intellectual resources from overseas.

4. Australian Perspectives on the Lay Apostolate

The Animadversions of Daniel Mannix

Before the Council, the archdioceses of Melbourne and Sydney had been the centres of Catholic Action in Australia. Under Archbishop Daniel Mannix, Melbourne had undergone an intellectual renaissance spearheaded by the lay Champion Society resulting in renewed attention to C.S.T. and its content. By contrast, though Sydney shared in many of the same movements, it remained relatively dogmatic and apologetic in its intellectual approach to the lay apostolate, preferencing lay organizations such as the Knights of the Southern Cross which adopted a traditional stance supporting parishes, rather than those (including the Y.C.W.) which sought to go on the offensive and convert the world to Christ. The tension between innovation and tradition was represented amongst the Australian bishops who contributed toward or reflected upon the discussion on the lay apostolate within the schema on the church during the Council’s second session. Ever a supporter of the laity and their apostolate, the animadversions of Daniel Mannix represent one of the most surprising and intellectually nuanced documents produced by an Australian bishop during the conciliar period.

⁴⁹⁹ Stirling, *A Distant View of the Vatican*, 129.

⁵⁰⁰ Stirling, *A Distant View of the Vatican*, 188.

The Council's rejection of an initial schema on the church during the first session paved the way for a new vision. Drafted by the preparatory theological commission headed by Ottaviani, this document primarily characterized the church in neo-scholastic and juridical terms. Out of eleven chapters (and one appendix on the Virgin Mary), number six was devoted to the laity.⁵⁰¹ Through his animadversions, Mannix articulated his own rejection of the schema. These reflections are not found within the *Acta Synodalia*. Considering his advanced age, attendance of the Council would have been impossible. Instead, they were drafted alongside letters with the intention of sending them to different bishops significant within the conciliar process. It was Jeffrey Murphy who rediscovered these documents thanks to an interview with Dr. Boland, author of the biography of the Archbishop of Queensland, James Duhig.⁵⁰² During the 1960s, Boland had become aware that Mannix had prepared letters to be sent to Augustin Cardinal Bea (Germany, Christian Unity secretariat), Achille Cardinal Liénart (France), Léon Joseph Cardinal Suenens (Belgium), Lercaro, and Montini. This led to a phase of extensive research amongst international archives in search of the lost animadversions of Daniel Mannix.

For about six months following the interview with Dr Boland, information on the Mannix papers was sought from Belgium, Lille, Milan, Bologna, the Archive of Vatican II in Rome, the Vatican Archive (regarding Bea's papers especially) and the Munich province of the Jesuits in Germany (also for Bea's records). Of especial interest to any Church historian would be any surviving carbon copy of a response to Mannix from Cardinal Montini of Milan. As Pope Paul VI he would guide the Council away from extremes and towards reform in one of the great displays of papal churchmanship in recent centuries. Unfortunately, no records existed of Mannix's correspondence in Milan or any of the other targeted archives, including in Belgium. Several months later, however, the secretary to the Archbishop of Mechelen-Brussels wrote to say that Mannix's letter to Cardinal Suenens and about ten pages of criticisms of *De Ecclesia* (in Latin) had been found during a routine inventory of the Cardinal's papers. The letter and animadversions are dated 22 February 1963.⁵⁰³

⁵⁰¹ Gérard Philips, "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church: History of the Constitution," in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler, vol. 1 (London, New York: Burns & Oates; Herder and Herder, 1967).

⁵⁰² Thomas Boland, *James Duhig* (St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1986).

⁵⁰³ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 159–60. See also: Jeffrey Murphy, "The Lost (and Last) Animadversions of Daniel Mannix," *Australasian Catholic Record* 76, no. 1 (1999): 55. EBSCOhost.

Mannix's animadversions are divided into six sections: "General Notes" (*Animadversiones Generales*) consists of eight points. "Chapter VI: on the Laity" (*Caput IV: De Laicis*) is divided into two segments, each dedicated to three points. "Chapter VIII: On Authority and Obedience within the Church" (*Caput VIII: De Auctoritate et Oboedientia in Ecclesia*) consists of three points. "Chapter IX: On the Relationship between Church and State" (*Caput IX: De Relatione Inter Ecclesiam et Statum*) encompasses three separate sections. Mannix had drafted letters to be sent with a copy of his animadversions to a handful of international bishops, including: Valerian Cardinal Gracias (India), Suenens, Döpfner, Doi, Bea, and Liénart. While it is unknown if all letters were sent, at the very least, correspondence occurred between Mannix and Suenens. Though unable to attend the Council due to advanced age, Mannix had heard many stories about the Cardinals interventions. He praised Suenens' work on the role of the laity in the church, especially with the Legion of Mary, and his efforts to bridge the gap between the church and working-class people in Europe.⁵⁰⁴ Suenens responded to Mannix's letter quickly (5 March 1963), thanking him for his correspondence and expressing hope that some of his suggestions regarding *De Ecclesia* would be adopted during the next session of the Council.⁵⁰⁵

While he would have read and approved their drafting, it is possible that Mannix was not the primary author of his animadversions. At the time of authorship, the archbishop would have been nearly one hundred years old and it is difficult to imagine him penning such a lengthy theological treatise. Murphy credits Rev. Eric D'Arcy with their authorship.⁵⁰⁶ At the time, D'Arcy was a rising academic star and possibly one of the most accomplished Catholic scholars

Copies of Mannix and Suenens' correspondence (in English) and the English and Latin versions of Mannix's animadversions were given to me by Rachel Naughton, archivist of the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission. See: Of the Second Vatican Council: Notes on the Schema On the Church From the Archbishop of Melbourne, 22 February 1963, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission; *Concilii Vaticani Secundi: in Schema De Ecclesia animadversiones Archiepiscopi Melburnensis*, 22 February 1963, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission. (Hereafter: *animadversiones Archiepiscopi Melburnensis*).

⁵⁰⁴ Untitled Correspondence: Daniel Mannix to Léon Joseph Suenens, 22 February 1963, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

⁵⁰⁵ Untitled Correspondence: Léon Joseph Suenens to Daniel Mannix, 5 March 1963, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

⁵⁰⁶ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 160 footnote 12.

in Melbourne. In 1957, he graduated as a bachelor of arts with honours and was appointed to the position of tutor in the philosophy department at the University of Melbourne.⁵⁰⁷ Roughly two years later, he earned his MA degree.⁵⁰⁸ In his thesis, he had written on, “The Notion of Conscience, and its Relation to Religious Freedom, in Thomist Political Philosophy”, and had received first class honours. D’Arcy’s promotor had been Dr. Max Charlesworth, Lecturer in Philosophy at Melbourne University, who had obtained his own doctorate at Louvain. In September 1959, D’Arcy left for Oxford to study for a senior degree in Philosophy.⁵⁰⁹ In 1961, he was appointed lecturer in philosophy at Melbourne University, having returned from a six-month trip studying at the Pontifical Gregorian University.⁵¹⁰ In the same year he published a book entitled: *Conscience and its Right to Freedom*.⁵¹¹ In 1962, he successfully defended his doctoral thesis at the Gregorian University on the moral philosophy of Charles Stevenson (then Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan).⁵¹² At the same time, he published another book, this time on the moral evaluation of human acts which took the work of the English founder of modern utilitarianism, Jeremy Bentham, as its starting point.⁵¹³ In search of assistance drafting his animadversions, it is easy to see why Mannix might have decided upon D’Arcy as a candidate.

Yet the most convincing evidence of D’Arcy’s assistance to Mannix is to be found within the animadversions themselves. Writing for the *Advocate* on the Christian vocation in 1963, D’Arcy emphasized the unique apostolate of all the faithful which does not arise primarily from the call issued by popes and bishops but is bestowed through baptism and

⁵⁰⁷ “Students and Graduates Leaders in Catholic Life: University Sunday at Newman College,” *Advocate* 24 April 1958, 7.

⁵⁰⁸ “Fr. D’Arcy and Mr. Santamaria Receive M.A. Degrees,” *Advocate* 13 August 1959, 10.

⁵⁰⁹ “Masters of Arts,” *Advocate* 13 August 1959, 19; “Of General Interest,” *Advocate* 17 September 1959, 10.

⁵¹⁰ “Fr. E. D’Arcy Appointed University Lecturer,” *Advocate* 7 September 1961, 2.

⁵¹¹ Eric D’Arcy, *Conscience and its Right to Freedom* (London, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961).

⁵¹² “Melbourne Priests Defend Theses,” *Advocate* 23 February 1963, 15.

⁵¹³ Eric D’Arcy, *Human Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

confirmation.⁵¹⁴ It is possible his grasp of this vision flowed from specialized Catholic Action's assertion that the laity possess their own apostolate. This understanding is reflected in Mannix's animadversions with the affirmation that the mission or vocation of the lay apostolate arises from its character imparted by the sacraments.⁵¹⁵ D'Arcy's belief that Australia had got the balance right regarding civil religious freedoms can be seen reflected in Mannix's injunction that no definition should be passed regarding the formal union between church and state which might threaten the current "equilibrium" (*aequilibrium*) between spiritual and temporal powers.⁵¹⁶ The document even adopts his thesis (developed in his 1961 book) that it is the duty of the state to provide religious liberty to all citizens, giving both Catholics and those outside the church the freedom to follow the dictates of their own conscience.⁵¹⁷

Murphy believes that had Mannix's animadversions been delivered as an intervention at Vatican II, "it would undoubtedly have come to be regarded as the most important and intellectually advanced contribution of any Australian during the Council."⁵¹⁸ Indeed, its suggestions foreshadowed themes that would be taken up by the final version of *LG*. It criticized *De Ecclesia* for not drawing deeply from biblical sources.⁵¹⁹ An over-utilization of the mystical body metaphor was noted with regret and it encouraged the use of other ecclesiological images, including the people of God.⁵²⁰ Amongst other things, it complained that no other function was seen to be allotted to the church than carrying out the commands of the hierarchy.⁵²¹ The laity are not called to the same duties as the priest but instead possess a

⁵¹⁴ "'Christian Vocation': New Catechism's Theme - Father Eric D'Arcy Preaches at High Mass for University Sunday," *Advocate* 9 May 1963, 9.

⁵¹⁵ *Animadversiones Archiepiscopi Melburnensis. Caput VI: De Laicis*, M.D.H.C., I.1. Hereafter: *De Laicis*.

⁵¹⁶ *Animadversiones Archiepiscopi Melburnensis. Caput IX: De relatione inter Ecclesiam et Statum*, M.D.H.C., 2. Hereafter: *Ecclesiam et Statum*.

⁵¹⁷ *Ecclesiam et Statum*, 3. See also D'Arcy, *Conscience and its Right to Freedom*, ix.

⁵¹⁸ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 160.

⁵¹⁹ *Animadversiones Archiepiscopi Melburnensis. Animadversions generales*, M.D.H.C., 3. Hereafter: *Animadversions generales*.

⁵²⁰ *Animadversions generales*, 5.

⁵²¹ *Animadversions generales*, 6.

gift unique to them, namely, the consecration of the world for the building of the kingdom of God.⁵²² Despite this distinction, a novel recommendation is made that the church commend lay faithful who have adopted clerical pastoral duties in regions characterized by a dearth of priests.⁵²³ No doubt inspired by the annual practice of publishing an episcopal statement on social justice, the document proposed that the social doctrines of the church be actively promulgated.⁵²⁴ It maintained that the church should commend organizations whose role is to improve the situation of the poor and working class.⁵²⁵ Notably, while criticisms aimed at exploitative capitalism are evident, communism is not mentioned.

The second half of the document's treatment of the laity seems indebted to the prior experiences of Mannix and D'Arcy with the Movement. These animadversions confirm the proper field of the lay apostolate as being political, social, and economic life.⁵²⁶ Religious motives and moral strengths are not enough to transform the realm of industry and labour. Instead, practical experiences in the social and political realm are required for the formulation of "strategy and tactical methods" (*strategia et methodis tacticalibus*).⁵²⁷ The laity are not exempt from the authority of the pope and bishops in matters of faith and morals.⁵²⁸ However, in all other temporal activities they enjoy autonomy and must act on their own responsibilities.⁵²⁹ This is why these animadversions should not be viewed as proof that Mannix had been converted to a more dialogical position after spending most of his life promoting a militaristic understanding of the church in the face of the world. In Murphy's reading, novelty remains in service to old agendas. "Renewal was to be welcomed precisely as

⁵²² *De Laicis*, I.2.

⁵²³ *De Laicis*, I.3.

⁵²⁴ *Ecclesiam et Statum*, 1.3.

⁵²⁵ *Ecclesiam et Statum*, 1.5.

⁵²⁶ *De Laicis*, II.1.

⁵²⁷ *De Laicis*, II.2.

⁵²⁸ *De Laicis*, II.3.

⁵²⁹ *De Laicis*, II.4.

a means of getting the balance right for a Church unreservedly militant.”⁵³⁰ For Mannix, the Council presented an opportunity to rejuvenate the campaign of the laity to conquer the world for Christ. These animadversions were written toward the end of his life; he died not long after on 6 November 1963, aged ninety-nine years and eight months.⁵³¹

Apostolate of the Laity in the Schema on the Church

The new schema on the church was well received. Obtaining a copy for review during the Council’s first intersession (April 1963) Young had read the draft with joy, relating the experience in a lecture to his Tasmanian audience. “The change that had taken place, it was wonderful. It wasn’t perfect, but it was wonderful.”⁵³² Eleven chapters had been reduced to four and split between two fascicles. The first included: I) The mystery of the church; II) The hierarchical constitution of the church and the episcopate in particular. The second included: III) The people of God and the laity in particular; IV) The call to holiness in the church.⁵³³

As the fifteenth speaker during the fifty-first general congregation (18 October 1963), the Bishop of Bruges (Belgium) Aemilius Joseph de Smedt provided a comprehensive intervention regarding the third chapter. He requested that the biblical doctrine on the universal priesthood granted to all Christians by Christ (articulated in chapter three) be specifically applied to the life of lay people. The bishop laid out the implications of this doctrine for the laity in great detail. Amongst an enormous list of supporters, a single Australian attached their name: John O’Loughlin, the Bishop of Darwin.⁵³⁴ According to Murphy, though O’Loughlin began as relatively “indifferent” to the Council, he evidently came to believe that it was important to make some kind of contribution to its work.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁰ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 163–64.

⁵³¹ Noone, *Daniel Mannix: His Legacy*, viii.

⁵³² Guilford Young, First Tutorial Group Seminar (Talk 3): Typed Notes taken from Reel-to-Reel Tapes, January 1966, Archbishop’s Office - Post Vatican II Seminars - Tutorial Group Seminar, 54, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁵³³ Philips, “History of the Constitution,” 110.

⁵³⁴ Aemilius Joseph de Smedt (AS II/III: 101–06).

⁵³⁵ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 181.

Fourth in line to speak at the fifty-fifth general congregation (24 October 1963), Muldoon applied his mind to a critique of the chapter dealing with the laity in the schema on the church.⁵³⁶ First, he recommended that the title be changed to: “on the dignity and vocation of the Christian faithful” (*De christifidelium dignitate et vocatione*).⁵³⁷ He believed that any attempt to directly address the subjects of the laity or their apostolate should be relegated to the schema on the lay apostolate. Second, Muldoon wanted the goal of this chapter to be properly defined. Indeed, he observed that authors had attempted to address both the doctrinal and practical dimensions of the lay apostolate but failed to give proper credence to either. The document was not dogmatic enough for Muldoon’s taste, representing a confused mixture of ideas rather than a comprehensible body of doctrine. He believed that the goal of this chapter should be to expound the dogmatic foundation of the entire supernatural dignity of the faithful, as well as their office in the living organism of the church. In attempting to describe the Christian faithful, he suggested the following definition: “the Christian faithful is a member of the mystical body which, living from the life of Christ the head, is consecrated through the sacramental character of baptism and confirmation and becomes in some measure a participant in all the offices of the head, and is therefore deputed to building up the whole body, as much through the growth of its peculiar supernatural life as through its own apostolic works achieved under the guidance of pastors.”⁵³⁸ From this definition then a logical exposition of doctrine expounding the incorporation of the faithful in the mystical body of Christ could be articulated. Any attempt to consider the people of God without first laying down the necessary doctrinal foundation could only end poorly. From this doctrinal basis the rights and duties of the faithful to perform apostolic works and consecrate the world under the guidance of pastors could be stressed. In speaking about the equality and dignity of the faithful in their essential apostolic operation, Muldoon drew upon the doctrine of the threefold office of Christ. “Uniquely from this mystical union is understood how in each and every member flows that *common and initial* participation in Christ’s royal priesthood, through the character of baptism, and that

⁵³⁶ Thomas Muldoon (AS II/III: 286–88).

⁵³⁷ Thomas Muldoon (AS II/III: 288).

⁵³⁸ « *Christifidelis est Corporis mystici membrum, quod, de vita Christi capitis vivens, per sacramentales characteres baptismatis et confirmationis consecratur et aliquo gradu particeps fit omnium munerum capitis, atque ideo deputatur ad totum Corpus aedificandum, tum per incrementum propriae vitae supernaturalis, tum per opera sua apostolica sub ductu pastorum exercenda* ». Thomas Muldoon (AS II/III: 288).

participation in Christ's *prophetic* office, through the stamp of confirmation; for those who are drawn into the consortium of the head, by the selfsame step become sharers of all the *offices* of the Head."⁵³⁹ Muldoon's grasp of this theological concept is significant. The three offices would become an organizing principle for articulating the essential dignity and responsibilities of lay people, both in the final promulgated versions of the schema on the church and the lay apostolate. He claimed that nothing had been said in previous speeches which addressed his concerns, but as Murphy observes, this was partly an exaggeration since de Smedt had argued for the priestly, prophetic, and royal dimensions of the lay apostolate approximately six days earlier.⁵⁴⁰ Finally, Muldoon specified that important legal questions such as the relationship between church and state should be avoided. The Doctrinal Constitution on the Church must only deal with doctrinal questions. As Murphy observes, Muldoon demonstrated that his scholarly rigour could lead his dogmatic mind to the same conclusions as those held by more pastorally focused bishops.⁵⁴¹ The Sydney bishop's contribution was both positive and worthwhile.

The Auxiliary Bishop of Canberra-Goulburn, John Cullinane, contributed animadversions pre-occupied with a version of the schema on the church which had assumed its final chapter order.⁵⁴² In this version the second chapter was now devoted to the people of God, while chapter four was concerned with the laity. Cullinane's intervention was primarily concerned with avoiding the word "lay" (*laicus*) within a theological document. He believed this was primarily a negative term, being used in fields of medicine and law to denote someone who does not have special qualifications. He recommended that there be no special chapters "on the laity" (*de laicis*) and "on the vocation to sanctity" (*de vocatione ad sanctitatem*). Rather in chapter two, "on the people of God" (*de populo Dei*), he recommended that the common sacramental or priestly dignity of all the faithful in Christ and their common vocation to sanctity

⁵³⁹ « Unice ex hac unione mystica intelligitur quomodo in omnia et singula membra fluit illa communis et initialis participatio regalis sacerdotii Christi, per characterem baptismatis, et illa participatio muneris prophetici Christi, per characterem confirmationis; nam, qui in consortium capitis trahuntur, eo ipso quodam gradu participes fiunt omnium munerum Capitis. » Thomas Muldoon (AS II/III: 287).

⁵⁴⁰ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 181.

⁵⁴¹ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 183.

⁵⁴² John Cullinane (AS II/III: 433).

and apostolate be treated. Like Muldoon, Cullinane sought to sequester non-relevant themes to other schemas. He stated that all other points about the manner of the apostolate of the laity and of their relationship to the hierarchy should be treated in the disciplinary decree, “On the Apostolate of the Laity” (*de apostolatu laicorum*). Other questions about the relation between the common vocation to sanctity and the state of acquiring perfection should be referred to the constitution, “On the States of Acquiring Perfection” (*de statibus perfectionis acquirendae*). He accepted that the term “lay” could be used within a legal context but should be avoided within a theological constitution. As Murphy observes, where Muldoon had focused on doctrinal concerns, Cullinane embraced the pastoral orientation being sought by the council fathers and the pope.⁵⁴³ He proposed use of the expression: “all the faithful in Christ” (*christifideles omnes*); while qualifying terms should be avoided, including: “not excepting the laity” (*laicis non exceptis*) or “and likewise the laity” (*ideoque et laici*). For Cullinane, these expressions were characterized by clericalism.⁵⁴⁴

Gilroy was the final Australian voice to intervene on the schema on the church during the second session. He was the third speaker at the fifty-seventh congregation.⁵⁴⁵ Up to this date, Gilroy had seemingly been hesitant to actively embrace the project of renewal emerging from the Council. Unlike Young, he did not view liturgical reforms as significant. Finally, however, Gilroy took the opportunity to show support for a novel development. On 29 October 1963, he spoke in favour of the revised schema’s statement on the call to holiness shared by all who belong to or are nourished by the hierarchy. As Murphy observes, this was the first time he had referred to the emendations of other international bishops.⁵⁴⁶ He praised interventions from Scandinavia and Germany which encouraged bishops to pursue sanctity. By leading on this front, they might confer something great upon the faithful. He supported Archbishop Denis Hurley (Durban) and his observation that the parish priest can cultivate the closest relationship with the people. He also spoke favourably of Bishop Stephen Bäuerlein (Sirma, Yugoslavia) and his suggestion that priests should be recognized as existing in a vocational state of perfection like their bishops. This was a positive step forward and proved that Gilroy was

⁵⁴³ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 184.

⁵⁴⁴ John Cullinane (AS II/III: 433).

⁵⁴⁵ Norman Gilroy (AS II/III: 595–96).

⁵⁴⁶ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 184.

capable of recognizing and engaging with the valuable contributions of bishops from a diversity of countries. While constructive, it was also clear that Gilroy had not entirely embraced the new impetus for renewal. In the final paragraph of his intervention, he suggested that certain terms be deleted from the text, including: “In the mystery of the Church” (*In mysterio Ecclesiae*), “The people of God” (*Populum Dei*), and “charisms” (*charismata*). He claimed these terms were incomprehensible to the majority of ordinary people.⁵⁴⁷ At this stage of the debate these assertions were baffling. After all, the second chapter was named for the people of God. Murphy notes that Gilroy, unlike Muldoon, did not seem comfortable wading into such vague theological discussions. Instead, he preferred to engage with what he considered to be solid hierarchical and sacramental realities.⁵⁴⁸ All the same, this should not negate the importance of the increasing sense of collegiality that the highest-ranking Australian at the Council was beginning to display. In later animadversions concerned with the universal call to holiness (composed in the name of many fathers), Gilroy once more showed his support for his peers by attaching his signature. Amongst other requests, the document stressed that the special hierarchical call to holiness made bishops and priests different from lay people. Further, it also stated that the call to perfection in light of the sacrament of marriage should be treated.⁵⁴⁹ It is likely Gilroy would have been quite comfortable amongst these relatively straightforward topics, yet his active participation in the collegial process still reveals an evolution in his understanding of the Council’s purpose. Thoughtful and rich animadversions partially concerned with the laity in the church had been drafted in the name of the Archbishop of Melbourne, Daniel Mannix. All the same, the interventions of Sydney bishops, Gilroy and Muldoon, and others reveal that the former episcopal leader of Catholic Action in Australia was not the only one capable of reflecting on this topic in a positive and constructive way.

Australian Perspectives on the Schema on the Lay Apostolate

On 7 October 1964, during the Council’s third session, the schema on the apostolate of the laity was introduced and discussed for five days. It came under attack from bishops who criticized its structure and content. As Murphy observes, one area in which Australians could have spoken authoritatively was the subject of Catholic Action. Yet, no great Australian statement

⁵⁴⁷ Norman Gilroy (AS II/III: 596).

⁵⁴⁸ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 185.

⁵⁴⁹ Requests of many of the fathers (AS II/IV: 355–59).

on the lay apostolate was forthcoming. Instead, Archbishop James Gleeson and the bishops Patrick Lyons and Bernard Stewart contributed criticisms and suggestions. Murphy speculates that this silence may have been due to a number of reasons. First, many may have believed the lay apostolate had been treated satisfactorily in the schema on the church and they desired to avoid repetition. Second, there were those (including Francis Rush) who thought that it was more important for the lay vocation to be addressed within the broader context of a theology of the church. Third, two Australian contributions on the lay apostolate (Lyons and Stewart) were inspired by their experiences with the Movement in Victoria. For others, silence might have seemed a far more preferable route to discussing a highly divisive topic before the eyes of the world.⁵⁵⁰

Although Santamaria could not be present at the Council, his goal-oriented understanding of the lay apostolate was still represented by two Victorian bishops: Lyons and Stewart. Both had been supporters of the Movement's anti-communist efforts.⁵⁵¹ Consistent with the demands of his pre-conciliar *vota*, Lyons stated that an emendation should be made to the schema on the lay apostolate stressing that it was necessary for lay people to fight against communism.⁵⁵² He wrote that the text should contain the following: "Among the primary undertakings of the laity, place should definitely be given to the obligation of circumventing attempts of atheistic Communism to dominate each and every nation. Believers in Christ ought always to keep before their eyes the Warning that Communism is intrinsically evil and that no one who wishes to take part in Christian worship is permitted to bring aid to Communism in any way whatsoever."⁵⁵³ In a vision similar to that espoused by Mannix's animadversions, Stewart maintained that the laity must act in temporal and civil affairs in full liberty, both in

⁵⁵⁰ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 238–39.

⁵⁵¹ For example, Lyons promoted the Movement within his diocese of Sale even as the bishops awaited the Vatican decision regarding the organizations continued existence. For his part, Stewart continued to support the organizations which assumed the Movement's agenda after its dissolution, including the Democratic Labor Party and the secular National Civic Council. See Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy*, p. 338, 354.

⁵⁵² Patrick Lyons (AS III/IV: 741–42).

⁵⁵³ « *Inter incepta laicorum primaria, locum dari omnino oportet obligationi circumveniendi conata Communismi atheistici ad omnes et singulas nationes dominandas. Christifideles debeant ante oculos semper habere Monitum illum quod Communismus est intrinsece malum quodque nemini qui cultum christianum vellet servare permittitur communismo ullo quocumque modo ferre auxilium* ». Patrick Lyons (AS III/IV: 742).

the ends to be attained and in the means for attaining those ends.⁵⁵⁴ Murphy relates this statement to the Movement, which often acted with a degree of autonomy from the local bishop due to its ambiguous status in relation to Catholic Action.⁵⁵⁵ Writing in English, Gleeson expressed his dissatisfaction with the schema, observing that the doctrinal basis for the lay apostolate was stated clearly in *De Ecclesia*, but not described at the beginning of the schema on the lay apostolate. He believed that too many people were approaching the lay apostolate as a necessity brought about by the current state of the world, rather than as the full flowering of the life of the faithful. As a result, lay people lacked a positive formation for Christian leadership and failed to integrate within their lives the call to grow in holiness through union with the sacramental life, active participation in the liturgy, and apostolic endeavour. For improvement, he suggested changes to the text.

Therefore I suggest that the Paragraph on Page 5 in the *Prooemium* which begins with the words (in line 9): “*Licet nulla aetate defuerit...*” [Although he is not lacking in age] and concludes (in line 22) with the words “... *et Ecclesiae suscitantis*” [and of the awakening Church] be either omitted altogether or transferred to Page 6, line 2, after the words “... *quoque est ad apostolorum*” [also is to the apostolate].

I further suggest that the whole of the two paragraphs on Page 6 which commence on lines 3 and 9 with the words “*Apostolatus, qui nomen...*” [Apostolate, which name] and “*Hoc ius et officium...*” [This right and office] be transferred to the *Prooemium* on Page 5 in place of the Paragraph commencing on line 9 referred to above.⁵⁵⁶

These were intended to ensure that the theology of the lay apostolate would be stated more clearly and stand out more obviously within the schema. As Murphy observes, Gleeson’s interventions differed from the very utilitarian understanding of the lay apostolate conceived by Lyons and Stewart. It was a perspective inspired by the Y.C.W.’s vision. As the coadjutor of the Archdiocese of Adelaide, Gleeson would have benefited from the initiative of Archbishop Matthew Beovich, who took an interest in the Y.C.W. during the 1940s. No longer was it enough to direct the lay apostolate to a particular end over and against the world as the

⁵⁵⁴ Bernard Stewart (AS III/IV: 761).

⁵⁵⁵ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 240.

⁵⁵⁶ James Gleeson (AS III/IV: 807–08). English translations of the Latin text have been drawn from Murphy’s appendix and inserted in square brackets.

Movement had done. Rather lay people needed to grow in their personal sanctification and bring about the sanctification of the temporal sphere.⁵⁵⁷

The Contributions of Rosemary Goldie

Lay auditors were consulted during the development of the schema on the lay apostolate and the church in the modern world. Pope Paul VI had decided to invite women to participate in the proceedings of the Council, a decision officially announced on 24 September 1964.⁵⁵⁸ Amongst the seven lay female auditors selected was the Australian secretary for the Permanent Committee for International Congresses of the Lay Apostolate, Rosemary Goldie.⁵⁵⁹ She was made part of the sub-commission concerned with the church in the world, having been consulted earlier during meetings of the mixed commission (24–27 April 1963).⁵⁶⁰ According to Jan Grootaers, “Goldie’s most important contribution to the Council in 1963 was the communication to the fathers of her panoramic view of the activity of the laity in the world.”⁵⁶¹ She had a meaningful impact upon the evolution of the bishops understanding of the lay apostolate. Later, during the Council’s fourth session, she even directly influenced the development of *Apostolicam Actuositatem* by producing a simplified version of a sentence about the role of women in the church (AA 9).⁵⁶² Her contributions would continue after the

⁵⁵⁷ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 241.

⁵⁵⁸ Charles Moeller, “Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: History of the Constitution,” in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler, vol. 5 (London, New York: Burns & Oates; Herder and Herder, 1969), 15.

⁵⁵⁹ Joseph Komonchak, “Toward an Ecclesiology of Communion,” in *History of Vatican II: Church as Communion Third Period and Intersession September 1964 – September 1965*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak, vol. 4 (Maryknoll, Leuven: Orbis, Peeters, 2003), 23, footnote 70.

⁵⁶⁰ Moeller, “History of the Constitution,” 15.

⁵⁶¹ Jan Grootaers, “The Drama Continues between the Acts: the ‘Second Preparation’ and its Opponents,” in *History of Vatican II: The Formation of the Council’s Identity First Period and Intersession October 1962 – September 1963*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak, vol. 2 (Maryknoll, Leuven: Orbis, Peeters, 1997), 441, footnote 194.

⁵⁶² Mauro Velati, “Completing the Conciliar Agenda,” in *History of Vatican II: The Council and the Transition the Fourth Period and the End of the Council September 1965 – December 1965*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak, vol. 5 (Maryknoll, Leuven: Orbis, Peeters, 2006), 268.

Council and in 1966 she was appointed to the Roman Curia. According to Fr. Terrence Southerwood, having a woman in the curia was a “precedent-shattering” decision.⁵⁶³

5. The Church and Contemporary Issues

Contrasting Perspectives in Debates on the Schema on Religious Freedom

During the third and fourth sessions, a notable divide emerged amongst the Australian hierarchy over the schema on religious freedom. On the one side were progressives including Launcelot Goody, Eris O’Brien, Guilford Young, Francis Rush, and Justin Simonds who attached their names to an intervention by the English prelate John Carmel Heenan. He maintained that the schema should be praised for advocating for universal religious freedom based upon the common good. On the other was a mix of individuals, with primary contributors being Gilroy, Lyons, and Muldoon. Broadly, their position was that while there might be a case for the proclamation of religious freedom in civil and legal spheres, it was doubtful whether the Council should proclaim this right for all religions on moral or theological grounds. Doing so may empower non-Catholic denominations and religions to propagate error. That so many Australians supported the latter position is unusual in light of the fact that the church in Australia’s very existence depended upon religious tolerance as a constitutional reality. While this debate was not concerned with the lay apostolate *per se*, it raised questions of social justice, equity, and dignity which profoundly impacted lay people. In his intervention on religious freedom, Heenan (speaking in the name of the hierarchies of England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, France, and Belgium) expounded the benefits of religious liberty, which had soothed relations between English Protestants and Catholics who had persecuted each other since the sixteenth century. Though not a Catholic nation, the church in Britain still enjoyed equality and freedom. Notably, he mentioned that Anglican and Catholic schools shared the same privileges.⁵⁶⁴ In the eyes of Young this would have been an enviable situation; upon becoming Archbishop of Hobart, he had fought for federal funding for Catholic schools in Tasmania.

It is surprising that Gilroy and his supporters seemingly did not perceive a link between religious liberty for all and a possible resolution to the fight for federal funding for Catholic education in Australia. For Gilroy, the existence of religious pluralism within society had to be

⁵⁶³ Terrence W. Southerwood, *A Time-Line of Catholic Australia* (Sandy Bay: Stella Maris Books, 1993), 160.

⁵⁶⁴ John Carmel Heenan (AS III/II: 569–71).

tolerated, but only as a lesser evil. He argued that it would be an offence for the church to allow heretical religious communities to continue to propagate falsehood. At the same time, he did not deny the value of religious freedom, rather he maintained that an ecumenical council should not argue so strongly for its value. While Gilroy could perceive the value of religious liberty for Catholics within societies where they were not the majority, he feared its universal promulgation might lead to the proliferation of error. John Luttrell speculates that Gilroy comprehended the untenability of his position within Australian society, a theory which explains why he recommended that the council remain silent on the issue of universal religious liberty. "All along he must have recognised that in Australia, where Catholics were a minority of the population, other religions had a legal right to 'spread their falsehoods'. Nor would Australian Catholics win support for their own schools if they were unwilling to support religious liberty for other Christians. This may have influenced his recommending that the council simply be silent on religious liberty for all."⁵⁶⁵ His position was supported by a host of Australians, including: Matthew Beovich, Thomas McCabe, Patrick O'Donnell, Thomas Cahill, William Brennan, Francis Thomas, Patrick Farrelly, Bryan Gallagher, Bernard Stewart, James O'Collins, John O'Loughlin, John Toohey, and O'Brien, whose support for Gilroy seems inconsistent with his backing of Heenan.⁵⁶⁶

Young adopted a position similar to Heenan in his own animadversions on the schema on religious freedom.⁵⁶⁷ In general, he consented to the schema but identified a problem which had not yet been addressed. The problem was as follows: what were the just limitations of public powers in religious matters today? What does the church teach regarding this question? In a possible reference to Gilroy's intervention, Young observed that there were those who believed that the constitutional system of religious freedom which exists in Australia is nothing but a practical response to religious pluralism and ought only to be tolerated as a lesser evil. Many Catholics believed that the duty of civic powers is to establish Catholicism as the religion of the state. But Young maintained that this opinion was not true. It may be true that a system of religious freedom may not constitute an ideal constitutional civil right. Yet, it is also true that no ideal example of a constitutional civil right exists. Further, the usefulness of religious

⁵⁶⁵ Luttrell, *Norman Thomas Gilroy*, 313.

⁵⁶⁶ Norman Cardinal Gilroy (AS III/II: 611–12).

⁵⁶⁷ Guilford Young (AS III/II: 651–54).

liberty as a civil right has been proven by experience and agrees with Catholic principles. It is possible that the former point was a reference to Heenan's intervention, in which the prelate spoke of all the benefits of equality and freedom enjoyed by Catholic and Protestant British citizens.

In order to state authoritatively that the church promotes religious freedom and equality, Young sought to bring two principles to the fore. The first was the theological principle of the church's own freedom. In asking freedom for itself in civil society, the church requests that it be granted what is given to it by God. By divine right, the church asks for immunity from all public intervention and the ability to manage its own affairs. Notably, Young singled out a topic close to his own heart: that of the church's freedom from economic discrimination in the running of Catholic schools. The church asks for freedom by divine right. But importantly, that is the limit of its request. Young did not believe that the church should extract special favours from politicians, nor should it use public power for its own spiritual ends. It was not wrong that certain Catholic nations should enjoy privileges, but their maintenance cannot be pursued as an extension of Catholic doctrine, nor does it constitute the Catholic ideal.

The second principle was the legal and political principle of equity or civic equality. As Pope John XXIII has claimed, in modern society people are becoming more aware of their personal and civil dignity. It would not be permitted for the church to claim religious liberty for itself and deny it to others: "Justice forbids, equity forbids, a kind of double standard to be introduced into social and civil life, as regards religious freedom, as if there were one standard for Catholic citizens and another standard for non-Catholic citizens. A double standard of freedom of that kind would be against the very business of civil equality, which to-day ought to obtain in every well-ordered society, since it is an exigency of human dignity."⁵⁶⁸ Governments act according to the principles of justice when they recognize the equal dignity of their citizens and promote the freedom of religion for all peoples under their care. The church approves of this kind of constitutional civil right. Thus, for Young, the just limitations of public powers in religious matters today involves their maintenance of religious freedom through civil

⁵⁶⁸ « *Vetat iustitia, vetat aequitas, ne introducatur in vitam socialem et civilem duplex quaedam mensura (a double standard), quod attinet ad libertatem religiosam, ac si esset alia mensura pro civibus catholicis et alia mensura pro civibus non-catholicis. Eiusmodi duplex mensura libertatis esset contra ipsam rationem aequalitatis civilis, quae in omni societate bene ordinata debet hodie obtinere, cum sit exigentia quaedam dignitatis humanae.* » Guilford Young (AS III/II: 653).

and legal means and nothing else. This is the doctrine which he believed should be declared in the schema: public powers are obliged to become involved in religious matters in order to protect religious freedom and at the same time they are limited to this goal. In support of the theological principle of the church's freedom, he cited: Pope Leo XIII's *Au milieu des sollicitudes* (1892) and *Officio sanctissimo* (1887); Pius XI's *Firmissimam constantiam* (1937); and Pius XII's *Ci riesce* (1953).⁵⁶⁹ In support of the political and legal principle of civil equality concerned with religious freedom, he cited: Pope John XXIII's encyclical letter *Pacem in Terris* (11 April 1963).⁵⁷⁰ Undergirded by references to papal teachings, his intervention also reflected Australian, American, and British constitutional principles. According to Murphy, this was the longest, most erudite and "only truly nationally conscious" intervention on this schema by any Australian at the Council.⁵⁷¹

Aspects of Gilroy's position were echoed by Lyons in a later intervention during the third session. Submitting his observations to the Secretariat for promoting Christian Unity, Lyons maintained that the Catholic Church's status as the only true church of Christ must be championed. Situating the discussion around natural law, he believed that it would be a regrettable outcome if an ecumenical council were to promulgate the right of all religions (based on natural law) to propagate errors in the same way as truth.⁵⁷² The most articulate and detailed expression of this position came from Muldoon, who (during the fourth session) articulated deep disquiet believing that the Council had been invited to support false religion.

⁵⁶⁹ For English translations of these texts, see: Claudia Carlen, ed., "*Au milieu des sollicitudes*: Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the Church and the State in France, 16 February 1892," in *The Papal Encyclicals 1878–1903* (Wilmington, N.C.: McGrath, 1981), 277–283; Claudia Carlen, ed., "*Officio Sanctissimo*: Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the Church in Bavaria, 22 December 1887," in *The Papal Encyclicals 1878–1903* (Wilmington, N.C.: McGrath, 1981), 147–155; "*Firmissimam constantiam* (28 March 1937): Encyclical of Pope Pius XI," Vatican, accessed 9 September 2022, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19370328_firmissimam-constantiam.html; "*Ci riesce* (6 December 1953): Address of Pope Pius XII to the National Convention of Italian Catholic Jurists," EWTN Global Catholic Network, 19 August 2022, <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/ci-riesce-8948>.

⁵⁷⁰ For an English translation of this text see Henry Waterhouse, trans., *Pacem in Terris: Encyclical Letter of Pope John XXIII on Human Rights and Duties* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1980), 8.

⁵⁷¹ Murphy, "The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II," 221.

⁵⁷² Patrick Lyons (AS III/II: 717).

Muldoon asserted that, given the risk of error it is not proper for the Council to assert religious freedom for all as a moral and theological reality. While there are those who have argued that there is no desire to argue for religious liberty from a moral-theological position, but rather as a civil, legal, and practical reality, he did not think it was licit for the Council to ignore the moral-theological dimensions of this question. At the same time, his amendments to the text primarily focused on limiting the scope of the schema to the legal position of people in human society and civil freedom in religious matters.⁵⁷³ Intervening for a second time on this subject, Muldoon repeated his position, stating that a person has the civil right to embrace religion according to the honest dictates of their conscience, and a civil right to practice religion in both the private and public sphere (within moral and legal norms). He even stated that this civil right is founded on human dignity, which demands that no person be hindered from worshipping God according to their sincere conscience. Yet, he denied that anyone has the right to propagate false religion, adopting the position of Gilroy that, at best, this should be tolerated as a lesser evil for the sake of social peace.⁵⁷⁴

Communism and War in Debates on Schema 13

In the fourth session, the reassembled bishops first turned their attention to the document on religious liberty and then got to work on the new draft of the schema on the church in the modern world (also known as Schema 13). One of the topics for debate within this schema was that of atheism and communism. According to Routhier, the Council had long attempted to avoid condemning communism and provoke a confrontation with representatives from eastern countries. So far, they had succeeded, but at last they were required to turn to the subject. However, the text (no. 19, chapter one) was very clearly the result of compromise: “It juxtaposed a polemical tone with openness to dialogue; it gave a very precise description of Marxism while avoiding the name.”⁵⁷⁵ For Young, the debates surrounding the topic of atheism were particularly notable for how they challenged his own view on the handling of communism within the text. Bishops living in exile from communist countries argued for unambiguous

⁵⁷³ Thomas Muldoon (AS IV/I: 416–18).

⁵⁷⁴ Thomas Muldoon (AS IV/I: 821–22).

⁵⁷⁵ Gilles Routhier, “Chapter II: Finishing the Work Begun: The Trying Experience of the Fourth Period,” in *The Council and the Transition: The Fourth Period and the End of the Council September 1965 – December 1965*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak (Maryknoll, Leuven: Orbis, Peeters, 2006), 148.

condemnation, believing that silence meant giving consent.⁵⁷⁶ Routhier writes of the speech of the Czechoslovak Bishop, Msgr. Pavel Mária Hnilica, as one of the “harshest outbursts” against militant atheism. He had experienced life in a concentration camp and was living in exile in Rome. In a statement he claimed that it was one of the greatest threats of modern times and even suggested that a special schema be devoted to the subject.⁵⁷⁷

However, bishops who adopted this position were in the minority. According to Routhier, most followed the lead of the debate’s opening speaker, the Croatian Franjo Cardinal Šeper (who had experienced life under an atheistic regime). They advocated for a positive presentation of Catholic teachings and commitment to justice, rather than condemnation.⁵⁷⁸ Young noticed that those who actually were living in communist countries weren’t calling for strong condemnation. Remarking in front of a Tasmanian audience during a post-conciliar lecture on Vatican II, he stated that: “It was interesting to notice my own psychological development at this stage.”⁵⁷⁹ While initially inclined to agree with the minority, Young was finally convinced that condemnation would likely inflame persecution and increase the suffering of Catholics in communist countries. Thus, he aligned himself with the majority.⁵⁸⁰

This transformation in attitude was remarkable, though evidence suggests that it did not imply Young had adopted a pacifist attitude. According to Xavier Rynne’s account of the Council’s fourth session, Archbishop Hannan of New Orleans (USA) prepared three *modi* arguing that Schema 13 should not directly criticize the use of nuclear weapons in war; to do so risked disparaging America. Nuclear weapons ensured global peace and security in the face of communist threat. Hannan had these *modi* translated into six languages and distributed to

⁵⁷⁶ Guilford Young, Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: Lecture 1, May 1968, Series No. 12.41, Archbishop’s Office – Guilford Young – Post Vatican II Seminars: Church in the Modern World: May 18, 1968 – May 19, 1968, 33, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁵⁷⁷ Routhier, “Finishing the Work Begun,” 150. See Pavel Mária Hnilica (AS IV/II 629–31).

⁵⁷⁸ Routhier, “Finishing the Work Begun,” 148–49. See Franjo Šeper (AS IV/II: 435–37).

⁵⁷⁹ Young, GS Lecture 1: 33.

⁵⁸⁰ Young, GS Lecture 1: 33.

the council fathers.⁵⁸¹ In doing so he was supported by Australians both directly and indirectly. In a similar vein, Muldoon argued for the permissibility of defensive war.⁵⁸² Further, Hannan persuaded Young to sign his intervention alongside American bishops, including: Cardinal Spellman (New York); Patrick O’Boyle (Archbishop of Washington); and Lawrence Joseph Shehan (Archbishop of Baltimore). Murphy theorized that Young may have supported them out of friendship or a sense of loyalty. He had liaised with the American bishops and studied their work on the conciliar committees.⁵⁸³ Stirling described Young as being, “extremely tired”, in the fourth session.⁵⁸⁴ Murphy speculates that he might have been overextending himself regarding this issue.⁵⁸⁵ Yet, his commitment was effectively continuous with public statements of support for Australian involvement in the Vietnam War made previously in the same year (July 1965): “While aware of the basic moral debate about modern warfare in general and the unsolved problems, I, at this moment, accept with, I believe, most of my fellow Australians the right and duty of self-defence and the defence of others. Many see it - and I am with them - not only as a defence of man’s right relation to man, but also of man’s right relation to God.”⁵⁸⁶ Despite this rhetoric, Young argued primarily from a political rather than a theological standpoint, believing that communist victory would leave the rest of Asia and Australia exposed to Chinese aggression in the future. His statement was couched in pragmatic terms. The archbishop’s evolving perspective on communism emphasized his sense of practicality amid political and social questions. Direct condemnation by the Council might make life more difficult for Catholics living in communist countries. Yet, simultaneously, communism remained a threat to the socio-political order which supported the status of religious freedom

⁵⁸¹ Xavier Rynne, *The Fourth Session: The Debates and Decrees of Vatican Council II, September 14 to December 8, 1965* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 225–30.

⁵⁸² Thomas Muldoon (AS IV/III: 837–39).

⁵⁸³ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 311.

⁵⁸⁴ Stirling, *A Distant View of the Vatican*, 259.

⁵⁸⁵ Murphy, “The Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II,” 311.

⁵⁸⁶ “Australia Has Right And Duty To Be Involved In Vietnam: Statement by Archbishop Young,” *Advocate* 1 July 1965, 7.

from which the Catholic Church benefited. The possibility of defence needed to remain an option.

6. Conclusion

By the Council's conclusion, a handful of Australian bishops (and one lay *peritus*) had drafted or contributed their own consultative voices, amendments, and animadversions regarding the subject of the lay apostolate, and other related issues. Notably, the emerging international consciousness which had begun to blossom amongst Australian Catholics before the Council continued to evolve and grow. Between Mannix's correspondence with the Belgian Cardinal Suenens and Gilroy's support for the statements of bishops from Germany, Scandinavia, and other countries, prominent figures amongst the Australian hierarchy displayed their willingness to draw upon resources from countries and cultures beyond that of their Irish forebears. Even Young's gravitation toward American principles regarding war was tempered somewhat by a sympathetic ear which listened to the needs and desires of those who actually lived in communist countries. Although he had not intervened on behalf of the lay apostolate *per se* themes of liturgical participation, the de-centralization of episcopal authority, and the equality, dignity, and right to liberty reflected in Young's contributions to the Council through his work with the *Consilium* and ICEL, statements in the media, and participation in debates on religious freedom, would greatly impact his reception and implementation of the Council's teachings on the lay apostolate within the Archdiocese of Hobart.

Chapter Seven: Young Lecturing on the Council's Vision of the Lay Apostolate

1. Introduction

Alfred Stirling recalled that upon Young's return from the Council, he made assurances in an *Advocate* article (6 January 1966) that, "the whole of 1966 would be spent in getting its message across."⁵⁸⁷ Amongst numerous other projects, he began a lecture series on the history and documents of Vatican II for the benefit of Tasmanian priests, religious, and laity. Lectures were held in John Fisher College, Hobart. Employees of the Church Office both attended and assisted in their organization, including Peter Nicholls, Max Coghlan, and Bev Voss.⁵⁸⁸ In an interview, she described these lectures as: "Weekend things where there were selected priests and religious and lay people who came and he gave [. . .] a full two days of this sort of lecturing, with the idea that these key people could go back and they would spread it further."⁵⁸⁹ The archbishop articulated his goal at the beginning of one of his earliest lectures with the statement: "I have gathered the Priests, the Religious, the laity together in one body for this initial phase of trying to bring the council to the Archdiocese of the Church in Hobart because I think this very composition of our group shows forth that reality of the Church that has been focused by the teachings of Vatican Council II."⁵⁹⁰ Young was explicitly concerned to educate priests, religious, and lay people in the Council's teachings. According to Sr. Julianne Dunn MSS, the archbishop's secretary for eighteen years and a key figure in the Tasmanian D.P.C., representatives from C.F.M. were often invited to these meetings.⁵⁹¹ While Young had sought to draw a representation of the whole archdiocese to his lectures, this did not mean that

⁵⁸⁷ Stirling, *A Distant View of the Vatican*, 277.

⁵⁸⁸ Bev Voss, "Interview Transcript," interview by Callum Dawson, 6 July 2021, 4.

⁵⁸⁹ Voss, interview, 3.

⁵⁹⁰ Guilford Young, First Tutorial Group Seminar (Talk 1): Typed Notes taken from Reel-to-Reel Tapes, January 1966, Archbishop's Office – Post Vatican II Seminars – Tutorial Group Seminar, 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁵⁹¹ Julianne Dunn, A Series of Life-Changing Experiences, June 2012, Series No. 13.80, Celebrations for the Centenary of the Birth of Archbishop Guilford Young, 2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

everyone was provided with an opportunity to view them. In 1968, a sub-committee for the promotion of the study of Vatican II reported that few people from the North West Coast had been able to attend seminars in Hobart, a factor which would have restricted their pedagogical effectiveness. Thus, these lectures were described as playing: “a limited but valuable role” in the education of the archdiocese.⁵⁹²

For the purpose of this thesis, these seminars are a rich resource because they represent an early opportunity for Young to present a synthesis of the Council's theology. Records for these lectures include typed lectures notes and transcripts of audio recordings. Young hosted a broad number of conferences, including (but not limited to): a seminar for clergy on Vatican II's theology on the priesthood (undated); a seminar on the mind, mood, and spirit of Vatican II (January 1966); on the shaping of the Council (January 1966); on the evolution of *LG* (January 1966); a general survey of *LG* (three lectures, January 1966); on the hierarchical structure of the church and in particular the episcopate (January 1966); on the laity (January 1966); and seminars on *GS* (eight lectures, May 1968). What can these lectures tell us about Young's understanding of the Second Vatican Council's vision of the lay apostolate? Amid multiple seminars on *LG* and *GS* (which refer to other constitutions, decrees, and declarations), Young sought to analyse what he believed to be the Council's understanding of the lay apostolate. This chapter will primarily focus on the content of these records with reference to the promulgated texts themselves. In his lectures on *GS*, Young explicitly drew from English translations of the Latin texts edited by Walter Abbott.⁵⁹³ The archbishop expressed dislike for the title: “Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World,” which appears in this version. He worried it might identify the text with modernism. Instead, he preferred the title: “the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the World of Our Time.”⁵⁹⁴ This translation is

⁵⁹² Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council Sub-Committee for Promotion of the Study of Vatican II, 1 October 1968, Series No. 23.59, Diocesan Pastoral Council: Papers 1967–1969, 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁵⁹³ Walter Abbott, ed., *The Documents of Vatican II* (London, Dublin: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966).

⁵⁹⁴ Guilford Young, Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: Lecture 7, May 1968, Series No. 12.41, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Post Vatican II Seminars: Church in the Modern World: May 18, 1968 – May 19, 1968, 105, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

closer to the Latin title: *Constitutio pastoralis de ecclesia in mundo huius temporis*.⁵⁹⁵ Whether Young's lectures on *LG* (January 1966) relied upon these translations is less clear. Though published in 1966, the Walter Abbott edition did not receive official licence to print (*imprimatur*) until February. At the same time, it is possible he had access to an unpublished draft, since he had personally contributed an introduction to the Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests, *Presbyterorum Ordinis*.⁵⁹⁶ When quoting *LG*, Young rarely deviated in a significant way from the Abbott edition. This thesis will draw from the Abbott edition when required to quote directly from the conciliar documents.

2. The Church and the Laity

Ecclesiological Pluralism

Lecturing on *LG*, Young read through the text article by article, intending to follow the logic of the document. His seminar on chapter four concerned with the laity (no. 30–38) was dependent upon both an intra-textual and inter-textual reading. Understanding the lay apostolate required a prior ecclesiological excursion into chapter one (seminar five) on the mystery of the church (no. 1–8) and chapter two (seminar six) on the people of God (no. 9–17). Students who had missed these lectures might have found themselves lost when sitting in on Young's lecture on the lay apostolate (seminar eight).

In a previous lecture on the pre-history of the Council (seminar four) Young observed that the publication of Pope Pius XII's encyclical *MC* (1943) and promulgation of an understanding of the church as the mystical body of Christ was the culmination of an initial phase of scholarship within Catholic circles (1920–43) which had attempted to recover an understanding of the church as a mystery.⁵⁹⁷ This word signifies an understanding of the church beyond a juridical framework, emphasizing the communities participation in the divine reality. Commenting on the first chapter of *LG* on the church's mystery, he stated that: "The word is

⁵⁹⁵ See Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils: Trent-Vatican II*, vol. 2. (London, Washington D.C.: Sheed & Ward, Georgetown University Press, 1990), 1069.

⁵⁹⁶ Guilford Young, "Priests," in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter Abbott (London, Dublin: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), 526–31.

⁵⁹⁷ Guilford Young, A General Survey of the Constitution: Lecture 4, January 1966, Series No. 12.29, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Post Vatican II Seminars: Tutorial Group Seminar January 1966, 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

used here not primarily in the weaker sense of a hidden truth beyond our understanding, but in its strong sense, namely as referring to the divine reality inserted in history. The Church is the presence in the world and in history of God's self-disclosure and self-giving Truth and Love."⁵⁹⁸ For Young, the church makes God's truth and love present within the world. The vision of the mystical body of Christ is a particularly potent expression of the mysterious relationship between the church and God. But crucially, it only functions in tandem with other ecclesiological images. Commenting on chapter one (no. 6) which lists other images of the church used within scripture, Young singled out one in particular which he believed was meant to temper any excessive identification of the church with Christ's body, namely, the bride of Christ. This was a "necessary complement of the theme of the Body of Christ", since it intimated a deep connection between the church and Christ while also distinguishing them from one another.⁵⁹⁹

Commenting on article seven, Young identified Christ as the Head of the church and outlined five important consequences of the doctrine articulated within this section. First, Christ is not only the Head of the church, but also of the whole world. Second, members of the church are molded into the image of Christ communicated through the gospels. Responding to its message, the faithful are called to associate with his suffering and share in his glory. Third, Christ stimulates the growth of the church and the lives of its members. Fourth, Christ acts within the church through the power of the Spirit. And fifth, Christ loves the church as a spouse loves their bride. Through this love a plenitude of gifts manifest within the church.⁶⁰⁰ All points are building blocks foundational to the conciliar vision of the lay apostolate as understood by Young. The laity, alongside bishops, priests, and religious, are "members" of the Body which has Christ for its Head. Within the unity of the Body there exists a diversity of "members" and "functions" (*LG* 7), just as within the human body there exists a diversity of limbs and organs with their own specific purposes.

⁵⁹⁸ Guilford Young, *A General Survey of the Constitution: Lecture 5*, January 1966, Series No. 12.29, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Post Vatican II Seminars: Tutorial Group Seminar January 1966, 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁵⁹⁹ Young, *LG* Lecture 5: 3.

⁶⁰⁰ Young, *LG* Lecture 5: 3–4.

The second chapter of *LG* is entitled “On the People of God.” This is a biblical and specifically Pauline understanding which conceived of the church as a people bound together in loving, salvific relationship through both the covenant of Israel and the new covenant ratified by the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (*LG* 9). As Young noted in a previous lecture on the pre-history of the constitution, the vision of the church as the people of God was taken to be the “primitive and fundamental idea in Paul’s theology” in the work of Catholic biblical scholar Lucien Cerfaux, *La théologie de l’Eglise suivant Saint Paul* (1942).⁶⁰¹ An English version of this work was published in 1959 and it is possible that Young was familiar with its contents.⁶⁰² For Young, the relevance of the term people of God lay in its pastoral emphasis, highlighting the human reality of the church. This pastoral dimension had a deep impact at the Council. “For the bishops from the arena of life, struggle, dust, blood, failure and achievement to see the Church as the People of God meant that you did not talk about the Church as some kind of an ideal distraction, a remote platonic idea with seeming little relation to the actual reality of the Christian communities of which they were members, shepherds and servants. It keeps in touch with the human reality of the Church as a community and we are not inclined to lose sight of sin and failure within the Church.”⁶⁰³ Within the context of the people of God, the laity are a people of diverse nationalities, cultures, creeds, and sexes, who stand equal in dignity with the priests and bishops governing them. All lay people, priests, bishops and religious within the church are beloved by God, called to break the chains of sin, and commit to a holy life. Young would continue to draw upon other images of the church to discuss the lay apostolate throughout his lectures. The image of the people of God was crucial, since the fourth chapter on the laity begins with the observation that everything which has been said about the people of God in chapter two applies equally to laity, religious, and clergy (*LG* 30).

Defining the Lay Apostolate

During his lecture on the laity, Young laid out his own definition of their apostolate: “the apostolate of the laity is defined thus - through sacramental consecration and empowerment, every christian in the Church is constituted, qualified and in duty bound to a position and task

⁶⁰¹ Young, *LG* Lecture 4: 2.

⁶⁰² Lucien Cerfaux, *The Church in the Theology of St. Paul* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1959).

⁶⁰³ Young, *LG* Lecture 4: 2.

of active co-responsibility of work inside and outside the Church.”⁶⁰⁴ This definition provides three points worthy of note. First, the lay apostolate is sacramentally initiated. Second, it constitutes a binding to a mandate of work both inside and outside the church. Third, the use of the term “co-responsibility” to describe both the position and task of this apostolate is significant since this word does not appear within the conciliar documents. It would be deployed almost two years later in 1968 by Cardinal Suenens in writings published in French and English.⁶⁰⁵ That Young utilized this term in a 1966 lecture indicates that he may have received it from the cardinal himself at the Council. While the word itself is not present in *LG*, it is intended as a synthesis of important themes, including collegial relationships amongst bishops (*LG* 22) and the laity's participation in the mission of the church. It denotes a sense of shared responsibility which is prevalent throughout the text.

Young also articulated *LG*'s own definition of the lay apostolate for the benefit of his audience. “The lay apostolate, however, is a participation in the saving mission of the Church itself” (*LG* 33).⁶⁰⁶ For the archbishop, the laity share responsibility for the one mission of the church through a diversity of ministries, offices, and functions. Referring to article two of *AA*, Young stated that priests and lay people within the church differ in terms of their ministry, but not mission.⁶⁰⁷ There is one more point worth making regarding Young's understanding of the laity. While the archbishop had commenced his lecture by investigating the beginning of chapter four (*LG* 30), his language was evocative of *SC*. “And so No. 30 which is a kind of preface to this Chapter states clearly that lay people are living, active, complete members of the Church and are called to play their role in the ‘salvific mission of the Church toward the

⁶⁰⁴ Guilford Young, First Tutorial Group Seminar (Talk 8): Typed Notes taken from Reel-to-Reel Tapes, January 1966, Archbishop's Office – Post Vatican II Seminars – Tutorial Group Seminar, 156, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁶⁰⁵ Léon Joseph Suenens, *Co-responsabilité dans l'église d'aujourd'hui* (Bruges: Desclée De Brouwer, 1968); Léon Joseph Suenens, *Co-responsibility in the Church*, trans. Francis Martin (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968); Léon Joseph Suenens, “Co-Responsibility: Dominating Idea of the Council and Its Pastoral Consequences,” in *Theology of Renewal*, ed. L. K. Shook (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968).

⁶⁰⁶ Guilford Young, The Laity: Lecture 8, January 1966, Series No. 12.29, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Post Vatican II Seminars: Tutorial Group Seminar January 1966, 2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁶⁰⁷ Young, *LG* Lecture 8: 1.

world””.⁶⁰⁸ While article thirty evokes an active and lively understanding of lay people who, “contribute to the welfare of the entire Church”, it is likely that the archbishop was thinking of SC when he spoke of lay people as, “living, active, complete members”. Young was conscious that the Constitution on the Liturgy had paved the way for the development of the theology of church established in LG, as well as the whole Council.⁶⁰⁹ While in the eyes of the archbishop the Constitution on the Church might be the most pivotal text of the Council, it couldn't exist without the vision established in the former.⁶¹⁰ According to SC, the church desires that, “all the faithful be led to full (*plenam*), conscious (*consciam*), and active participation (*actuosa participationem*) in liturgical celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy” (SC 14).⁶¹¹ The language is highly reminiscent of Young's statement that the laity are living, active, and complete members of the church. Liturgical and sacramental themes would continue to impact Young's understanding of the lay apostolate throughout his lectures.⁶¹²

Sacramental Mandate

As described in chapter two of LG (no. 11), through the sacrament of baptism all the faithful receive their apostolate. Young stressed to his audience that their baptism was not only necessary for their own salvation, it also bestowed upon them a duty to participate in the saving mission of the church.⁶¹³ Through the sacrament of baptism people receive the means of salvation, but they are also bound to a mandate. There is something they are called to do and through grace they are given the power to achieve this end. Through baptism lay people are given a mandate to participate in the one mission of the church. It is Christ, sent by the Father, who is the source of this mission (LG 17) and it is through the Holy Spirit that the church is

⁶⁰⁸ Young, LG Lecture 8: 1.

⁶⁰⁹ Young, Typed Lecture Notes: Talk 1: 8.

⁶¹⁰ Young, LG Lecture 4: 1.

⁶¹¹ For references to the Latin text of SC 14 see: Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils: Trent-Vatican II*, 824.

⁶¹² The connection between liturgical participation and the lay apostolate is strengthened even further by an article in the Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity (AA 10), which directly states that the laity are strengthened to carry out their apostolate through active participation in the liturgical life of the community.

⁶¹³ Young, LG Lecture 8: 2.

compelled to bear witness and proclaim the gospel. As Young observed in his own definition of the lay apostolate, through the sacraments the laity not only receive a mandate but they are also *empowered* to act. Within *LG* the theological principle of the three offices, tasks, or functions of Christ is deployed to explore precisely how the laity are empowered to participate within the one mission of the church. This principle is also utilized within *AA*. "But the laity, too, share in the priestly, prophetic and royal office of Christ and therefore have their own role to play in the mission of the whole People of God in the Church and in the world" (*AA* 2). Lay people participate in these offices and share in these tasks.

Priestly Office of Christ

All the faithful, including the laity, participate in the priesthood of Christ. For Young, participation in this holy office is a consequence of the sacred nature of the people of God articulated by scripture. Citing Congar's *Lay People in the Church*, Young made this point in a seminar for clergy on Vatican II's theology of the priesthood. "The whole frame of reference in both Old and New Testament texts indicates that the People of God is considered to be sacerdotal and therefore sacred in opposition to the non-sacerdotal and, therefore, profane gentile nations. The '*laos tou theou*' is itself a sacerdotal reality: 'laity' is not a profane but a priestly term."⁶¹⁴ The priestly character of the faithful, including the laity, is explored in chapter two (*LG* 10, 11) and chapter four (*LG* 34). Through baptism, the faithful become members of a community of priests. All the faithful participate in the traditional roles of the priesthood, including worship and bearing witness to the truth of the gospel (*LG* 10). For Young, the unity of the faithful within the priesthood of Christ was proof that equality within the church is a far more fundamental reality than any distinction of rank or office.⁶¹⁵ The constitution distinguishes between the "common priesthood of the faithful" and the "ministerial or hierarchical priesthood" while also making them dependent upon one another (*LG* 10). Both forms of priestly activity participate within and owe their existence to the one priesthood of Christ. Critiquing a folk understanding of the priesthood in which Australian mothers believed

⁶¹⁴ Guilford Young, *The Priesthood of Vatican II: Typed Notes (Seminar for Clergy)*, Series No. 8.41, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Articles written by Archbishop Young, 2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁶¹⁵ Guilford Young, *A General Survey of the Constitution: Lecture 6*, January 1966, Series No. 12.29, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Post Vatican II Seminars: Tutorial Group Seminar January 1966, 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

their son was “joining the Church” when they became a cleric, Young stressed that it is not only priests but also lay people who are authentic members of the church. All the faithful share in the offering of the Eucharist and the practice of the sacraments. Similarly, while the teaching of doctrine belongs in a special way to bishops, the faithful, guided by the Holy Spirit, are called upon to give witness to their faith.⁶¹⁶

Discussing chapter two (no. 11), Young relativized the ruling power of the clergy, claiming that it is through the sacraments and practice of virtues, rather than the exercise of governing power, that the sacred nature and organic structure of the priestly community is brought into actuality.⁶¹⁷ Article eleven explores the sacraments and how they support the people of God in their life of faith. The eucharistic assembly, “is the high point at which this new People of God manifests its unity and through which its unity is most perfectly formed and intensified.”⁶¹⁸ It did not escape the archbishop's attention that *LG's* emphasis on the, “primacy of the liturgy”, is closely related to the doctrine promulgated by *Sacrosanctum Consilium*.⁶¹⁹ Participation in the sacrament of penance is no longer just about the faithful obtaining pardon for their sins from God, but also individuals are “reconciled with the Church” (*LG* 11). Young called attention to the “ecclesial emphasis” of the penitential sacrament, referring to his work with the *Consilium*.⁶²⁰

When you go to confession, therefore, and see yourself as a member of this people of God, remember that by your sin you have done harm to this people of God. Some indeed, make a complete rupture with it and return and are reconciled with this people of God. The priest's absolution is not merely the communication of the forgiveness of God, it is an act of reconciliation. We are hoping, we members of the *Consilium*, so to amplify and extend the form, the word, the formula of the liturgy of the sacrament of penance, that this idea will come home more fully to our people [...]. It's an act not only of absolution, but it's an act of

⁶¹⁶ Young, *LG* Lecture 6: 1.

⁶¹⁷ Guilford Young, First Tutorial Group Seminar (Talk 6): Typed Notes taken from Reel-to-Reel Tapes, January 1966, Archbishop's Office – Post Vatican II Seminars – Tutorial Group Seminar, 116, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁶¹⁸ Young, *LG* Lecture 6: 1.

⁶¹⁹ Young, First Tutorial Group Seminar (Talk 6): 116.

⁶²⁰ Young, First Tutorial Group Seminar (Talk 6): 117.

Chapter Seven: Young Lecturing on the Council's Vision of the Lay Apostolate

reconciliation with the Church with the people of God, which they have wounded by the sins, and which by its charity, example and prayer, labours for their conversion.⁶²¹

For the archbishop, there exists within the constitution a greater emphasis on the horizontal relationship between all members of the people of God, as well as the vertical relationship between the believer and God. The focus was on the way in which sin impacted the community, requiring reconciliation between members. Such a relationship required sacramental expression. Young did not elaborate on the sacrament of the sick and dying or ordination within his discussion. Instead, he moved to discuss the sacrament of marriage. "Have a look at marriage, your own marriage, see its characteristics, its functioning, and so on, and then after you have examined it remember that the Vatican Council said to you '... here is the domestic church', it's a microcosm of the Church. It not only mirrors this great reality the Church in which it is embedded, but it partakes of its very mystery."⁶²² Through "word and example" parents are the "first preachers of the faith" to their children (*LG* 11). They can foster within them the "vocation" which is proper to them, whilst remaining particularly attentive to any sign of a developing religious vocation. By taking on the role of their children's first preachers in the faith and building up a holy life together families become the "domestic church", perpetuating the people of God throughout the centuries (*LG* 11). In discussing the priesthood of the laity articulated within chapter four, article thirty-four, Young emphasized the link between the religious and secular lives of lay men and women. "To the Mass the layman brings his world, his standards and values, and his priestly action on the world's values, his problems, his natural gifts and skills and learning - and offers them with his priestly Head Christ. And he goes back to the world renewed and vitalised in furtherance of his priestly activity as a layman in the Church and a Christian in the world."⁶²³ In their priestly role, the laity are portrayed as offering up their works, prayers, and apostolic endeavours, their ordinary married and family life, their daily labour, their mental and physical relaxation. If patiently accepted in the Spirit these can become, "spiritual sacrifices", suitable for God through Jesus Christ. Through the exercise of their priesthood, expressed through prayer, witness, and the toil of daily existence lay people consecrate the world to God (*LG* 34). As the archbishop emphasized within his

⁶²¹ Young, First Tutorial Group Seminar (Talk 6): 117–18.

⁶²² Young, First Tutorial Group Seminar (Talk 6): 119.

⁶²³ Young, *LG* Lecture 8: 2–3.

definition of their apostolate, lay people are called to a mandate exercised both inside and outside the church. Though he placed a heavy emphasis on this vision, Young also believed that the Council's theology of the priesthood of the people of God was contributing to a dwindling number of seminarians. He said as much during his seminar for clergy. If the laity also exercised a noble form of priesthood, why not remain in the world and be fully involved in the human condition of the twentieth century? At the same time, he stated that this was the result of misunderstanding. More time was needed for the Council's teachings to be properly received and understood.⁶²⁴

Prophetic Office of Christ

The groundwork for a discussion of lay participation in the prophetic office of Christ (LG 35) is prepared through an analysis of the whole church's common participation (LG 12) in that office, both lay and ordained. By taking on the role of "witness" through a life of "faith", "charity", and "praise" of God, the faithful exercise their prophetic office (LG 12). Two gifts of the Holy Spirit are exercised within the context of the prophetic office. The first is the gift of "the sense of the faith" (LG 12). As Young observed, this concept was a favourite of John Henry Newman.⁶²⁵ The footnote commentary of the Walter Abbott version also describes this principle as a "favourite" of Newman's, further indicating that Young may have had access to a pre-published draft.⁶²⁶ Through this gift those who preach the gospel can do so in confidence, since the baptized "cannot err in matters of belief" when there is agreement amongst the whole church (LG 12). Young's own understanding is illuminating; he translated the plural "*sensus fidelium*" to mean "discernment in matters of faith".⁶²⁷ In the process of formulating and promulgating new doctrines, it is not enough for the hierarchy to rule upon a new teaching in a manner detached from the faith of the people. Instead, they must practice *discernment* amongst those they are called to serve. Through a process of authentic listening, dialogue and reflection, they will know better how to formulate new doctrines that can address the concerns of the people. At the same time, priests, religious and lay people must contribute to this exchange and listen to bishops in their role as teacher and preacher. It is the Holy Spirit which

⁶²⁴ Young, *The Priesthood of Vatican II*: 2.

⁶²⁵ Young, *First Tutorial Group Seminar* (Talk 6): 120.

⁶²⁶ Abbott, *The Documents of Vatican II*, 29 footnote 40.

⁶²⁷ Young, *LG Lecture 6*: 1.

makes this exchange possible. Through the gift of the *sensus fidei*, the baptized are called to the practice of faith based on listening or discernment, both to the Word of God and each other.⁶²⁸

The second way in which the Spirit prepares the faithful to exercise their prophetic office is through the distribution of “gifts” or “charisms” (*LG* 12). These gifts are freely given to anyone and are not the prerogative of the hierarchy, being distributed amongst every rank. Young emphasized both the free nature of charisms, their universal distribution amongst the faithful, and their origins within Pauline theology.⁶²⁹ Indeed, charisms were a feature of the early ecclesial communities with which the apostle Paul interacted as evidenced by his exchange with member of the church in Corinth. Charisms empowered the baptized to contribute to the building up of the life of the community. “The manifestation of the Spirit is given to everyone for profit (1 Cor. 12:7)” (*LG* 12). Charisms may be outstanding, yet more often than not they are “simple and widely diffused” and defined by their service to the community (*LG* 12). For Young, charisms are: “eminently contemporary and actual”. They are a living reality within the ordinary lives of people. All charisms are intended to assist in a person’s fulfillment of their God given mandate.⁶³⁰ He further observed that, through the distribution of charisms, the one Spirit acts as a principle of unity in diversity within the church.⁶³¹ At the same time, ordained bishops and priests perform a specific function in relation to these gifts which alone belongs to them. They are called to discern the presence of charismatic gifts amongst the faithful and encourage their proliferation, if they are genuine (*LG* 12).

In chapter four’s understanding of lay participation in the prophetic office, the Holy Spirit gives to the laity, “understanding of the faith and grace of speech” (*LG* 35). Exercising their prophetic mandate requires the laity to become preachers of the gospel and teachers of the faith, “so that the power of the gospel might shine forth in their daily social and family life” (*LG* 35). Married and family life is identified as a particularly important milieu for the exercise

⁶²⁸ Young, *LG* Lecture 6: 2.

⁶²⁹ Young, *LG* Lecture 6: 2.

⁶³⁰ Young, *LG* Lecture 6: 2.

⁶³¹ Young, *LG* Lecture 6: 2.

of the laity's prophetic function. Here spouses, "find their proper vocation", bearing witness to the love of Christ for the sake of their children and each other (*LG* 35). Lay people exercise their prophetic function in other environments and situations. They can provide, "sacred services when sacred ministers are lacking or are blocked by a persecuting regime" (*LG* 35). They can completely devote themselves to "apostolic work" (*LG* 35). All work, however, must be performed with the goal of cooperating in the, "spreading and intensifying of the kingdom of Christ in the world" (*LG* 35). In performing these tasks, the Council affirms the necessity for continued education in the faith since lay women and men are encouraged to acquire a more profound grasp of revealed truth (*LG* 35). This didactic dimension is also a part of Young's reading of article thirty-five. In particular, he called attention to the distinction between the way in which the hierarchy and laity exercise their teaching mandate. The hierarchy teach in an official capacity, whereas the laity are called to manifest the gospel within the midst of their everyday lives.⁶³²

Royal Office of Christ

Finally, Young turned his attention to the subject of lay participation within the royal office of Christ (*LG* 36). This office is concerned with how lay people express their royal mandate through freedom from sin and their calling to prepare for the reign of Christ's kingdom within the world. Thus, there is overlap between the royal and priestly offices, evidenced by the use of the term "royal priesthood" (*regale sacerdotium*) exercised by the faithful (*LG* 9, 10, 26).

The archbishop divided his analysis of the laity's participation within Christ's royal office within article thirty-six into four points. First, Christ has given to all the faithful the power to rule their own natures in the face of sin.⁶³³ The lay apostolate demands the confrontation of sin within oneself. The laity are also called to challenge the sinful nature of the world around them. This duty possesses an evangelistic dimension. Recall that within the language of the mystical body, Christ is both Head of the church and also the whole of creation. Lay people exercise their royal function by bringing the message of Christ's kingship to all humanity. This is the archbishop's second point: lay people must build up a Christian social order which conforms to the order of creation and redemption. "The laity are not asked to deny

⁶³² Young, *LG* Lecture 8: 3.

⁶³³ Young, *LG* Lecture 8: 3.

the world but to sanctify it and to bring the rule of Christ into its temporal structure.”⁶³⁴ As Young reminded his audience, this was the original impetus for Catholic Action.

Third, while the world is rife with sin, it is also within God's plan to extend salvation to all creation. The laity are called to learn the deepest meaning and value of all creation (*LG* 36). They must order the world to not only benefit the church but all human societies. There is a concern for social justice, as well as the fair and equitable distribution of material goods amongst those in need. Young emphasized that the laity must not evade their responsibilities to the world through flights of spiritual fantasy nor should they become so engrossed in the material world that they lose sight of the spiritual. Materialism cannot be the ultimate aim of any lay Catholic.⁶³⁵ The world is ultimately to be subjected to the salvific will of Christ, not human ambition.

Fourth, the final paragraph of this article demands that, “the rights and duties”, owed by the laity to the church and human society must be distinguished and harmonized. In every temporal affair they must be guided by a Christian conscience (*LG* 36). As Young put it: “Somehow the two must be reconciled but always the major point of reference must be kept clearly in view.”⁶³⁶ This major point of reference is God's dominion from which no human activity can be withdrawn (*LG* 36). Yet, neither the constitution nor Young's commentary expand concretely on how these two sets of rights and duties should interact with each other. *LG* does criticise any secular doctrine which seeks to build a society with no regard for religious liberty (*LG* 36). Societies that undermine the religious freedoms of their citizens could be viewed as a reference to countries under communist dictatorship. However, the Council never directly condemned communism.

Bishop as Servant

Consistent with media statements made previously in 1964, the archbishop concluded his lecture on the laity by relativizing episcopal power in light of the life of the community, mission of the church and Christ, and the Holy Spirit. Bishops rule the church, but they only do so in order to ensure the flourishing of the community, full participation of lay people within its

⁶³⁴ Young, *LG* Lecture 8: 3.

⁶³⁵ Young, *LG* Lecture 8: 3–4.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, 4

mission, and the receptivity of the faithful to Christ's Word and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. If the life of the faithful is not enriched, if lay people are not given the chance to participate, and if believers are cut-off from the activities of both Christ and the Spirit, then the power of bishops has no reason to exist.⁶³⁷ The conciliar vision of a Spirit-filled church had a particularly deep impact upon the archbishop's understanding of his own ministry. In a statement recorded in the transcripts of his lecture on the charismatic gifts of the Spirit within *LG*, chapter two, Young engaged with audience members while claiming that the nature of the conciliar vision of the pneumatic church demanded that bishops listen to all the faithful within their dioceses and parishes.

The implication, [is] both theological and far reaching. Albert Ogilvie might come to me with an idea. After I've looked at it, no matter what trouble it costs me, I owe it to the Holy Spirit, because this might be a gift from the Holy Spirit to this man for the good of the people of God. The Pope has to listen. No longer is the Church, this People of God, being chased from the top down, it is basically the action of the Holy Spirit that is working through the whole Church in this tremendously profound, extraordinarily contemporary and actual charismatic operation."⁶³⁸

By ignoring the humblest person, bishops and popes run the risk of rejecting the gifts of the Spirit. While the archbishop's understanding of the post-conciliar church was not explicitly democratic, his analysis of the Council's theology placed a heavy accent on consonant themes, including a common purpose, shared responsibility, listening and discernment, and the imperative of the Spirit that all people should have a voice within the governing discourse of the church. "This theology of the laity requires that laymen and women be truly co-opted in the Church's apostolate on the policy-making level. They have the right in virtue of their baptism itself to make their voices heard at this level."⁶³⁹ Even at the level of policy-making, a domain usually reserved for the authority of the bishop, the Council's renewed emphasis on the people of God and Holy Spirit demanded the recognition of lay voices.

⁶³⁷ Young, *LG* Lecture 8: 5.

⁶³⁸ Young, First Tutorial Group Seminar (Talk 6): 123. I have inserted the word in square brackets.

⁶³⁹ Young, *LG* Lecture 8: 5.

3. The Church in the World of our Time

Matrix of the Pastoral Constitution

In 1968, Young devoted eight lectures to exploring the history and content of *GS*. The first and second were devoted to an introduction and an overview of the history of the document during the Council. The third, fourth, and fifth explored what he referred to as the “matrix” of the constitution. “My dictionary tells me that the matrix is that which gives form and origin to what is embedded in it. Hence the title of this lecture is meant to suggest that we are going to consider those factors in our Christian world-view and the processes in history which originated and shaped this document.”⁶⁴⁰ Here the archbishop explored the most influential themes and ideas which had formed the content of the constitution, including debates surrounding the conciliar understanding of the “world” and the connection between faith and everyday life. Drawing upon the writings of Karl Rahner, lecture six analysed the conciliar vision of celibacy in the modern world. Lectures seven and eight were devoted to a general survey of the constitution and the subject of atheism. It is likely that Young had planned to continue this series in 1969, however, the publishing of the new order of the Mass prompted him to switch topics.⁶⁴¹

These lectures reveal an important dimension of the archbishop's understanding of the conciliar vision of the lay apostolate. For Young the content of *GS* is an extension of the truths revealed in *LG*.⁶⁴² The Constitution on the Church encouraged lay people to consecrate the world to God and bear witness to Christ in the midst of their everyday lives. The Constitution on the Church in the Modern World delves into the question of how the church should perceive and engage with the world of today. This section is based on Young's third, fourth, and fifth lectures on the matrix of the constitution (while also drawing upon other lectures where relevant), exploring what the archbishop understood to be core themes and how they relate to the apostolate of the laity.

⁶⁴⁰ Guilford Young, Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: Lecture 3, May 1968, Series No. 12.41, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Post Vatican II Seminars: Church in the Modern World: May 18, 1968 – May 19, 1968, 37, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁶⁴¹ Guilford Young, Study Weekend Lecture Notes ‘Revised Order of the Mass’ – Notes from Tape, 26–27 July 1969, Series No. 12.34, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Post Vatican II Seminars: Study Weekend August 1967, 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁶⁴² Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 46.

A New Vision of Humanity and the World

Young began his third lecture with a quote from Newman about how the church, “regards this world and all that is in it as a mere shadow - as dust and ashes, compared with the value of one single soul.”⁶⁴³ The archbishop did not disagree with this statement; however, he surmised that it represented an attitude toward the world which seemed to cast it in a negative light. By contrast, the constitution represented a complete transformation of this view, representing a positive turn toward the world. In turn, this document was a response to a broader historical transformation of humanity's vision of itself and relationship with the world. “And so the world now is not a prison - it is not Mother Nature under whose benign tutelage man lives - it is raw material - an instrument. Modern man has a sense of standing at a beginning ... a new age.”⁶⁴⁴ The council fathers desired to enter into dialogue with modern, secular societies which had a very different understanding of their place within the world. Informed by increasing rationalization, globalization, and the growth of technology, humanity no longer conceived the world through the lens of enchantment as it had done in the past, but rather as a raw resource. This change in perspective had brought about a true social and cultural transformation which continued to have ramifications for the religious life of human beings (*GS* 4).⁶⁴⁵ Changes in attitudes and human structures resulted in commonly accepted values being called into question, particularly amongst young people, many of whom have rebelled in their distress or sought to assume a formative role in society (*GS* 7).⁶⁴⁶ Laws, institutions, and modes of thought established in the past no longer seem well adapted to the contemporary world, resulting in great upheavals in the manner and norms of behaviour (*GS* 7).⁶⁴⁷ These upheavals had positively impacted religious thought, since many were able to critically distinguish between magical and authentically religious ways of thinking and behaving. On the other hand, they have also led to the abandonment of religious practice on a large scale (*GS* 7). As Young noted,

⁶⁴³ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 37.

⁶⁴⁴ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 39.

⁶⁴⁵ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 39–40.

⁶⁴⁶ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 40.

⁶⁴⁷ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 40.

atheism was no longer the mark of a strong individual will, rather it had become normative within many societies.⁶⁴⁸

In light of this changing world the church had to ask how such immense changes should be interpreted in light of the gospel. Further, it was possible that addressing contemporary problems may give rise to a deeper understanding of the gospel message. Young called this, “an extraordinary acknowledgment”.⁶⁴⁹ In light of a rapidly changing world, which many regarded as a danger to the established norms of the Catholic faith, the Council had asked whether this new situation might lead to a deeper understanding of the gospel. The archbishop noted that many might find the acknowledgement that the church could benefit from the world, “surprising”.⁶⁵⁰ Yet the text affirms that the riches of culture, science, and developing insights into the nature of humanity are incredibly beneficial for the church (*GS* 44).⁶⁵¹ Promoting such an exchange requires the help and expertise of those who live in the world, including not only the laity but the whole people of God. Pastors and theologians in particular are called to interpret and evaluate contemporary voices in light of the Word of God. In this way, revelation itself can be better understood to the advantage of the church (*GS* 44).⁶⁵² As Young expounded, the constitution is directly addressing his audience, calling them to assist the church in these tasks.

Debates on how the Church Should Define and Relate to the World

The archbishop spoke of the debates surrounding the meaning of the term “world” (*mundus*) which surrounded the drafting of *GS* during the third and fourth sessions. Individuals such as Cardinal Ruffini and Bishop Cantero of Saragozza worried that the text had adopted a position that was far too positive in the face of a sinful world, or else extended the church's reach into spheres properly belonging to secular powers.⁶⁵³ The German bishops too desired to emphasize

⁶⁴⁸ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 40–41.

⁶⁴⁹ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 41.

⁶⁵⁰ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 41.

⁶⁵¹ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 42.

⁶⁵² Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 42.

⁶⁵³ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 43.

a vision of the world as sinful and Young speculated that this might have been inspired by their experiences with Nazism.⁶⁵⁴ He characterized those bishops who wanted to stress the sinful nature of the world as responding to fears that the church might fall to the temptation of “secularism”, “Naturalism”, and “Pelagianism”.⁶⁵⁵ As for himself, however, the archbishop did not share in these anxieties. Dismissing the criticisms of post-conciliar commentators such as the English journalist Malcolm Muggeridge, he stated that the constitution had ultimately struck a good balance.⁶⁵⁶

Young also spoke of the observations of Abbott Reetz of Beuron during the conciliar debates, who had identified two ways of understanding the world detectable within the Bible. The first depicted the world as wounded by sin and could be found in the scripture writings of James and Paul.⁶⁵⁷ The second was primarily positive and supported by both the proclamation in Genesis that the world as created by God is good, a reality reaffirmed by the incarnation of Jesus Christ into matter.⁶⁵⁸ In the promulgated version of the constitution, the Council sought to give attention to both dimensions. It focused on the human world and the whole reality in which humanity lives, including its structures and organizations. The world is created and sustained by God's love. Though it is fallen into sin, Christ has liberated the world from evil so that it might be fashioned anew according to God's design (*GS* 2). For Young this was a very rich understanding of the world and he called it a “great passage”.⁶⁵⁹ Present are both a positive and negative understanding of the world, yet arguably the former is primary since the world is ultimately liberated from sin by Christ's saving action. The church must be in the world and proclaim the gospel to the world, or else it will fail in the mission that has been given

⁶⁵⁴ Guilford Young, Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: Lecture 8, May 1968, Series No. 12.41, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Post Vatican II Seminars: Church in the Modern World: May 18, 1968 – May 19, 1968, 118, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁶⁵⁵ Guilford Young, Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: Lecture 4, May 1968, Series No. 12.41, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Post Vatican II Seminars: Church in the Modern World: May 18, 1968 – May 19, 1968, 55, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁶⁵⁶ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 42.

⁶⁵⁷ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 44.

⁶⁵⁸ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 44.

⁶⁵⁹ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 45.

by Christ.⁶⁶⁰ Consequently, the laity's apostolate within the world is indispensable for the success of the whole mission of the church.

Understanding the Church Embedded in History

The Council's adoption of such a positive understanding of the world was dependent upon a deeper understanding of history in connection with the revelation of God. Young maintained that the modern world owed its understanding of history to the revelatory action of God, explicating three insights into the nature of history which owe their origins to ancient Jewish thought. First, the Genesis creation narrative de-divinized the cosmos, which was the prerequisite for the development of scientific thought. Second, the Jewish people conceived of history as a straight line, beginning in creation and heading towards an eschatological end. Third, Genesis maintained that human beings hold an important place within creation. These three points contrasted with the beliefs and traditions of other ancient cultures, including the Egyptians and Sumerians. Young maintained that these insights were given by God through the Judeo-Christian tradition and constituted the foundation of the modern world.⁶⁶¹ More than an academic excursion, the archbishop had a pastoral aim. He wanted to show his audience that they should not be afraid of the secular world in all its complexity. The interior dynamisms of the world and history had their roots in the revelation of God.⁶⁶² The secular modern world, as the milieu in which the laity exercise their apostolate, was not as detached from divine revelation as it might at first appear.

The Relationship between the Life of Faith and Daily Existence

The archbishop advocated for a holistic understanding of the relationship between the religious and secular life of the people. "There can be no gap between the life of faith and day-to-day existence. In other words - a Christian cannot confine himself to the performance of ecclesiastical duties while neglecting social tasks which await him."⁶⁶³ According to the constitution, the Christian who neglects the values of the world and their temporal duties, neglects their duties toward God. All earthly activities, including humane, domestic,

⁶⁶⁰ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 45.

⁶⁶¹ Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 48–52.

⁶⁶² Young, *GS* Lecture 3: 51.

⁶⁶³ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 56.

professional, social and technical enterprises must be brought into a vital synthesis with religious values (*GS* 43).⁶⁶⁴ By their own vision of the faith, Christians are more stringently bound to build up the world and support the welfare of all humanity (*LG* 34).⁶⁶⁵ Further, the archbishop preached that it was insufficient for the faithful to possess an individualistic moral code, rather they must work to ensure that all of society comes to reflect a Christian sense of justice and the common good.⁶⁶⁶ This point is grounded in the constitution, which claims that the order of redemption includes the order of creation (*GS* 15).⁶⁶⁷

As Young observed, the constitution identifies Christ as “the Final Adam” (*GS* 22).⁶⁶⁸ Through the incarnation Christ has identified with every human being (*GS* 22).⁶⁶⁹ In Christ, humanity has been re-oriented to God in the midst of the human family.⁶⁷⁰ Referring back to the first article of *LG*, Young reminded his audience that the church is a sign and instrument of union between humanity and God, as well as all people with each other.⁶⁷¹ The church must consciously put itself at the service of humanity, cooperating in order to shed light on the human condition and solve contemporary problems (*GS* 10).⁶⁷² In doing so, the Council advocated for the positive embrace of worldly values.⁶⁷³

The archbishop acknowledged that such a position seemingly clashed with a strict understanding of traditional evangelical theology, espoused by authors such as Karl Barth in

⁶⁶⁴ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 56.

⁶⁶⁵ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 56–57.

⁶⁶⁶ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 57.

⁶⁶⁷ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 57.

⁶⁶⁸ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 57.

⁶⁶⁹ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 57.

⁶⁷⁰ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 57–58.

⁶⁷¹ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 58.

⁶⁷² Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 58.

⁶⁷³ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 58.

his book on the epistle to the Romans.⁶⁷⁴ Salvation was conceived in terms of the cross alone and the embrace of worldly, humanistic values was rejected as sinful. In response to this perspective, Young stated that cooperation with the world does not entail accommodation to its standards. There still exist “dark powers” which control the secular life of modern human beings.⁶⁷⁵ Young found great worth in a press statement given in Rome by the Belgian theologian Edward Schillebeeckx during the debate surrounding the schema on the church in the modern world (1965). For the archbishop, this statement gave the “soundest” explanation of the theology underpinning the constitution.⁶⁷⁶ “The World [. . .] is that profane terrestrial and temporal reality which has its own structure. It has its own proper and its own immediate end but which has in the Incarnation of the Word been taken up into the presence of God.”⁶⁷⁷ The structures and principles of the world have been taken up by God through Christ and made holy. In Young’s words, the world is already characterized by an “implicit Christianity”.⁶⁷⁸ Through Christ, the world implicitly bears the marks of holiness.⁶⁷⁹ As a liturgist, Young was careful to distinguish between sanctification implicit within the world and the holiness of the sacraments. He claimed that human beings have a sense of the sacred, including sacred times, spaces and places, as separate from the profane world. While Christ, through his reconciling work, established an order of the sacred through the sacraments, eucharist, and the worshipping community, he also established the profane world as implicitly holy through his Incarnation. The church expresses the mystery of Christ, but this mystery envelops the whole of creation. Consequentially, the sacred and profane exist as two complementary orders. They are not

⁶⁷⁴ While the German original appeared in 1918, an English translation was published in 1933. A second edition English translation was available by 1950 and it is possible that Young was familiar with this version. See Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, trans. Edwyn Clement Hoskyns, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

⁶⁷⁵ Young, *GS Lecture 4*: 59.

⁶⁷⁶ Young, *GS Lecture 4*: 60.

⁶⁷⁷ Young, *GS Lecture 4*: 60.

⁶⁷⁸ Young, *GS Lecture 4*: 60.

⁶⁷⁹ Young, *GS Lecture 4*: 60–61.

oppositional to one another.⁶⁸⁰ The relationship between the church and the world is a, “dialogue between two complementary and authentically Christian expressions of one and the same divinised life hidden in the mystery of Christ.”⁶⁸¹ For Young, the idea that both the secular world and human history are caught up in Christ's mystery constituted a deeper penetration into the nature of revelation which was generated by the effort of the council fathers. “He becomes the Lord of human history - the centre, the goal, the fulcrum - he has taken all up into Himself [...] The Council has opened up the vision. We have seen more deeply into the mystery.”⁶⁸² The archbishop concluded that this vision of Christ at the centre of the world and human history is “inescapable” when reading *GS*.⁶⁸³ It is thus possible for the church to move out into the world without embracing secularism or an exaggerated humanism. In the eyes of Young, the constitution had got the balance right. However, he observed that many of his fellow Australians did not seem receptive to the nuance of this vision. “This is the balance that is lacking in much of the stuff that is coming out from minds that definitely are very anguished and are probing and searching - minds that are writing about the secular city - about the death of God - about a religionless Christianity - about a theology without God, very amateurish expressions of which you hear from certain pulpits in Melbourne over the past few weeks.”⁶⁸⁴ Australian reactions to *GS* had been diverse. Young evidently believed that how the constitution was interpreted would have a critical impact upon the future. Drawing from an “inspiring” Pastoral entitled “Growth or Decline” (1947) by the French Cardinal Emmanuel Suhard, Young stated that while the church had only a relatively minor impact upon the shape of culture compared with the past, it could still gain or lose much depending on the kind of spirituality it offered to humanity.⁶⁸⁵ For Young, *GS* embraced a spirituality which sought to initiate a dialogue between the church and the world, promulgating the inseparability between

⁶⁸⁰ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 61–62.

⁶⁸¹ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 62.

⁶⁸² Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 62.

⁶⁸³ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 63.

⁶⁸⁴ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 64.

⁶⁸⁵ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 64–65. The Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action had published an English translation of Suhard's book in 1948. It is likely Young was familiar with this version. See Emmanuel-Célestin Suhard and James A. Corbett, *Growth or Decline?: the Church Today*. (Melbourne: ANSCA, 1948).

the life of faith and everyday living. Within the intersection between the complementary realms of sacrality and the profane world taken up by Christ, the laity exercise their apostolate.

How Christians Should Work within the World

The archbishop submitted to his audience that the constitution provides directions towards embracing a living spirituality crucial for modern humanity.⁶⁸⁶ The world needed a spirituality capable of addressing the multitude of issues that plagued global human societies, including the threat of nuclear weapons, a rising population, poverty, and malnutrition.⁶⁸⁷ There existed tremendous imbalances between the economic privileges of nations with a small handful holding the majority of the world's wealth (*GS* 4).⁶⁸⁸ Communication and media enable people to talk with each other on different ends of the globe, yet this same technology could also produce vast gulfs of relational distance between women and men (*GS* 6).⁶⁸⁹ Greater personal freedom from inner and outer restrictions represented a danger if not engaged with a mature spirit (*GS* 4).⁶⁹⁰ Further, the major intellectual and scientific movements of the last 200 years have been characterized by an atheistic or anti-Christian ethos (*GS* 19).⁶⁹¹

On the other hand, modern humanity had also increasingly come to value the dignity of every human person and this trajectory has increasingly characterized the internal life of the church (*GS* 21).⁶⁹² The constitution directly recognized the plight of young people who were increasingly restless and assertive against what they considered to be (in Young's words), "a phoney generation" (*GS* 7).⁶⁹³ Most notably, Young enthusiastically proclaimed an increasing awareness of the important role women play within the life and mission of the church: "Half the world is woman and the status of woman has been changed with staggering speed in this

⁶⁸⁶ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 65.

⁶⁸⁷ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 65. For nuclear war see: *GS* 80–81. For economic development see: *GS* 63–72.

⁶⁸⁸ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 66.

⁶⁸⁹ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 66.

⁶⁹⁰ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 66.

⁶⁹¹ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 67.

⁶⁹² Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 66.

⁶⁹³ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 66.

century, making vast changes that we have just begun to perceive, in all our major institutions from the family outwards. Hence the roots of the debate regarding the possibility of the ordination of women. It is central to this whole change - it is not a peripheral and a marginal issue. It is not going to lessen - it is going to intensify. We are discovering woman. And it is certainly not going to be stopped by papal encyclicals or by bishops' pastorals."⁶⁹⁴ Such clear advocacy both for the importance of women within the church and also the centrality of the debate surrounding the ordination of women is a surprising statement. This was one area of thought in which Young was dramatically transformed by his experiences at the Council. Though nothing is said of their ordination, a similarly positive orientation towards women can be found in the constitution (*GS* 60).

Through their competence in secular fields and personal activity, the laity are given the specific task of working within the temporal sphere and consecrating the world to God (*GS* 36).⁶⁹⁵ However, Young found it difficult to accept an almost exclusive focus on the laity in this regard. Priests, nuns, and brothers also live and work within the world, participating in Christ's mission.⁶⁹⁶ The teachings surrounding the vision of the church as the people of God, promulgated in the second chapter of *LG*, established that all the baptized faithful are called to build up the life of the church and participate in Christ's mission to the world. This point is further emphasized by Young's understanding of the conciliar relationship between church and world. Both are conceived as inseparably linked.⁶⁹⁷ To divide mission within the world and church between laity and clergy is to dismiss or distort the subtle and positive relationship between both secular and sacral spheres. The eucharistic worship of the priest can become a sign of Christ's love for and unity with the world, while lay participation within social justice projects may powerfully invigorate a worshipping community who witness their prayers becoming fruitful action. Activity within the world builds up the life of the church and a holy life of prayer can become a positive sign of hope for all humanity. Within the conciliar vision there is no neat separation between the traditional spheres of church and world. For Young, the vision of the church as a sacrament, sign and instrument of God's salvation (*LG* 1) manifests

⁶⁹⁴ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 66–67.

⁶⁹⁵ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 68.

⁶⁹⁶ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 68.

⁶⁹⁷ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 69.

this close relationship. The church as sacrament, incarnate within history and revealing God's presence as a sign of hope for the world, countered traditional understandings which pitted the church as a perfect society over and against the world.⁶⁹⁸ Through their activities the laity also participate in this sacred function. During his 1966 lecture on the laity, Young had stated: "Each individual layman ought to stand before the world as a witness to the resurrection and life of the Lord Jesus Christ and as a symbol of the living God. Each one of you is a sacrament. Relate that to what we said about the Church as a sacrament. All the laity as a community, and each one according to his ability must nourish the world in the truth of the Spirit."⁶⁹⁹ In their lives, lay people can become a sign and instrument of intimate union with God and the unity of all humanity. For the archbishop, recognition of the inseparable relationship between church and world represented a tremendous advance for the Council's ecclesiology.⁷⁰⁰ The archbishop believed that *GS* could not be read without prior knowledge of *LG*.⁷⁰¹ More specifically, the archbishop claimed that the former followed logically from the latter's seventh chapter, on the eschatological nature of the pilgrim church and her union with the heavenly church.⁷⁰² The church moves through history with humanity as a pilgrim, sharing in the same experiences and troubles. The church serves as a leaven or soul for human society, transforming humanity into God's family (*GS* 40).⁷⁰³ The church calls all baptized believers under its jurisdiction, but respects the autonomy of secular institutions, as well as literature, economics, and politics (*LG* 36).⁷⁰⁴ There is a rich exchange between church and world, for the church has profited greatly from the development of humanity, culture, and the sciences (*GS* 44).⁷⁰⁵ Sr. Julianne Dunn MSS recalls Young speaking of a vision of the church as pilgrim during his post-conciliar

⁶⁹⁸ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 69.

⁶⁹⁹ Young, First Tutorial Group Seminar (Talk 8): 164.

⁷⁰⁰ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 69.

⁷⁰¹ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 69.

⁷⁰² Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 70.

⁷⁰³ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 70.

⁷⁰⁴ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 70.

⁷⁰⁵ Young, *GS* Lecture 4: 70.

lectures: "I remember the Archbishop equating the church to a wagon train, covered with mud and grime from over many years. He had been watching the TV show or film with John Wayne called 'Wagon Train'. It captured a different picture of the church. He was introducing us to the church (not as a building) but as the people of God. It was a very different theology from the church as a building. It was the time of the Laity."⁷⁰⁶ These recollections emphasize the importance of an ecclesiology of the people of God and pilgrim people for Young's understanding of the lay apostolate. Both stressed the primordial identity of the church as a people, rather than simply as an institution or building. Further, the church as pilgrim emphasizes the historical nature of the Catholic community, which cannot be detached from the principles of change and evolution that govern other human communities.

Engaging with the Modern Mind of Humanity

The archbishop believed that the real crisis of the world today was humanity's re-divinization of the cosmos.⁷⁰⁷ In recovering a positive understanding of the temporal sphere and humanity's place within it, has the modern world elevated human beings and culture to a sacred position? Do the positive values of the world become idols which distract from a relationship with God? In response to these questions, Young formulated a position which drew from both Christian and existentialist sources. He posited that modern philosophy had recovered the essential truth of human existence, namely that human beings cannot be satisfied with finitude.⁷⁰⁸ Referring to the philosophical writings of Albert Camus, as well as the literature of Franz Kafka and Samuel Beckett, Young gave voice to the perspective that the universe is absurd. Human beings possess an innate yearning for an Absolute which does not exist.⁷⁰⁹ Although this perspective provides no argument for the existence of God, it also renders powerless secular idols erected by humanity, which are equally absurd. There is no God, but there exists an irrefutable desire for something more than illusory reality.

On the other hand, the archbishop drew from Christian sources to state that, contrary to existentialist philosophers, this seemingly empty desire comes from God and can draw

⁷⁰⁶ Dunn, *A Series of Life-Changing Experiences*: 3.

⁷⁰⁷ Young, *GS Lecture 4*: 71.

⁷⁰⁸ Young, *GS Lecture 4*: 71–72.

⁷⁰⁹ Young, *GS Lecture 4*: 72–73.

humanity toward the divine. Quoting the Christian humanist Nikos Kazantzakis, author of *Zorba the Greek* and *Report to Greco*, Young characterized the existentialist yearning as a response to a divine "Cry" which shook all the natural world and evolution into motion.⁷¹⁰ The existentialist impulse to search for an Absolute is a response to a divine Cry drawing humanity to evolve beyond the stagnation of finitude.⁷¹¹ For Young, earthly values are dependent upon the infinity of God for their continued sustainability and existence. Advances in science, culture, art, and the cultivation of human dignity do not hold value in themselves. Ethical action makes no sense immersed in a world-view where everyone is simply a highly organized collection of atoms.⁷¹² Rather, their meaning is grounded in God as the creator of the world. In a sense it is only the believer who can take humanism seriously, because they can provide it with a solid foundation.⁷¹³

Responding to Atheism

Young recognized the systemic proliferation of atheism as characteristic of the modern world.⁷¹⁴ The subject of atheism was addressed by the constitution which similarly recognized its problematic ubiquity within modernity, even noting that at times it was perceived as a requirement for scientific enquiry and humanism (GS 7).⁷¹⁵ For the Council, atheism as a diverse phenomenon could be counted as one of the most serious problems for the contemporary church (GS 19).⁷¹⁶ There are forms of atheism which accuse God of hampering human creativity.⁷¹⁷ Human independence is stretched to the point that any form of dependence

⁷¹⁰ Young, GS Lecture 4: 73–74.

⁷¹¹ Young, GS Lecture 4: 74–75.

⁷¹² Young, GS Lecture 4: 75.

⁷¹³ Young, GS Lecture 4: 76.

⁷¹⁴ Guilford Young, Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: Lecture 5, May 1968, Series No. 12.41, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Post Vatican II Seminars: Church in the Modern World: May 18, 1968 – May 19, 1968, 79, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷¹⁵ Young, GS Lecture 5: 79–80.

⁷¹⁶ Young, GS Lecture 5: 80–81.

⁷¹⁷ Young, GS Lecture 5: 81.

upon God is portrayed as inconceivable (GS 20).⁷¹⁸ As a contemporary example, Young mentioned Paul van Buren and his 'death of God' theology which argued that theology must break away from God just as astronomy broke away from astrology and chemistry from alchemy. While the archbishop claimed that there was merit in van Buren's work, he ultimately rejected this proposal.⁷¹⁹

In fact, Paul van Buren may have taken issue in being identified with the 'death of God' as a theological movement. According to Thomas Ogletree, this stream of thought in America was initially introduced to the public through a *Time* magazine article (8 April 1966), with reference to four theologians: Thomas J. J. Alitzer of Emory University, Paul M. van Buren of Temple University, William Hamilton of Colgate-Rochester Theological Seminary, and Gabriel Vahanian of Syracuse University. Both Alitzer and Hamilton strongly identified with the 'death of God' as a radical theological movement. Vahanian's work differs markedly from the other three scholars, focusing on the 'death of God' as a cultural fact or the loss in contemporary culture of a horizon of transcendence which can only be substituted with a purely immanent perspective. By contrast, van Buren, author of the study *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel* (1963) which offers an interpretation of Christianity without reference to God, did not want to associate himself with any radical movement. Within the context of contemporary culture, he assumes that the term God and its various equivalents are meaningless and by extension, the phrase 'God is dead' is also equally meaningless.⁷²⁰ "What van Buren is offering in *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel* is a Christian theology consisting wholly of non-cognitive assertions. It has no need of a notion of God, nor does it claim insight into the ultimate nature of reality. It is rather a way of looking at man and his situation which has grown out of a particular historical community. It also involves a call for commitment to certain patterns of behaviour which consistently express its meaning in life."⁷²¹ This perspective is centred upon a vision of Jesus as a human being, grounded in the results of historical study, rather than reference to a transcendent God. At the same time, the meaning of Christianity is not exhausted

⁷¹⁸ Young, *GS Lecture 5*: 82.

⁷¹⁹ Young, *GS Lecture 5*: 81.

⁷²⁰ Thomas Ogletree, *The 'Death of God' Controversy* (Bloomsbury Street London: SCM Press LTD, 1966), 19–21.

⁷²¹ Ogletree, *The 'Death of God' Controversy*, 52.

by a characterisation of Jesus.⁷²² In light of this, Young's invocation of van Buren's work as an example of a theological perspective which focuses solely on human nature and excludes God seems pertinent. However, his identity as a 'death of God' theologian has more to do with an influential journalistic piece than any assertion on van Buren's part. Attentive to American sources, it would not be surprising if Young's first introduction to van Buren's work was through the original *Time* article.

The Council viewed atheism as problematic and Young recalled its final message to youth in which it encouraged young people to have nothing to do with atheism, "it is the weariness of old age."⁷²³ Yet the archbishop admitted the legitimacy of tensions underlying atheistic belief and expression. Religious images of God are always historically contextual and often flawed. Referencing both a reflection of Tolstoy and the apophatic dimension of Thomas Aquinas' thought, Young acknowledged that we know more about what God is not than what God is. Yet this is a legitimate and normal part of the life of faith.⁷²⁴ In fact, acknowledging the hiddenness of God is essential when consecrating earthly values since it ensures that they themselves will not become idols.⁷²⁵ Young encouraged his audience to imitate Christ and keep their gaze both on the Father and humanity.⁷²⁶ It is Christ who determines how Christians should engage with the rest of humanity. In light of the ravages of war and suffering within the world, Young encouraged Christians to be more human than the humanists. He stated that the humanism found within *GS* is a complete and Christological humanism insofar as it grounds the dignity of the human person in the mystery of Christ.⁷²⁷ Jesus, imaged as "the final Adam" illuminates the dignity and value of the human person (*GS* 22).⁷²⁸

⁷²² Ogletree, *The 'Death of God' Controversy*, 52.

⁷²³ Young, *GS* Lecture 5: 83.

⁷²⁴ Young, *GS* Lecture 5: 83–84.

⁷²⁵ Young, *GS* Lecture 5: 84–85.

⁷²⁶ Young, *GS* Lecture 5: 85.

⁷²⁷ Young, *GS* Lecture 5: 86.

⁷²⁸ Young, *GS* Lecture 5: 87.

In valuing the world, Young encouraged his audience not to forget the supernatural, for all human activity finds its perfection in the Paschal Mystery (*GS* 38).⁷²⁹ For the archbishop, the Council conceived of the liturgy as the ultimate pledge of the meaningfulness of earthly values. Within the eucharist, matter in the form of bread and wine is transformed into the body and blood of Christ, providing a meal of solidarity and foretaste of the heavenly banquet.⁷³⁰ “There is the key to the value of all terrestrial works”.⁷³¹ Ultimately for Young, the apostolate of the laity begins and ends with the liturgy and sacraments. It begins in baptism through which the laity are called to consecrate the world to God. And the highest form of consecration is participation in the eucharist, where matter becomes a physical sign of God's presence. Mission within the life of the church and the world are conceived holistically and indivisibly.

4. Conclusion

The theological scope of Young's lectures is remarkable and he drew upon a number of conciliar ecclesiological images to undergird his understanding of the Council's teachings on the lay apostolate. For the archbishop, the laity could not be defined negatively in relation to priests or religious. Instead, the character of the lay apostolate was informed by the nature of the church.⁷³² These lectures seem to indicate that, for Young, the Council's vision of an active lay apostolate within the life and mission of the church, emphasis on shared responsibility (or coresponsibility) amongst all the faithful, and renewed openness to the world in light of the historical nature of the church were important themes stimulated by the resources of liturgical reform. Young envisioned a dynamic body of lay Catholics consciously and actively participating in the life and mission of the church and drew upon language reminiscent of *SC* (no. 14) to articulate this vision; describing the laity as living, active, and complete members of the ecclesial community. As members of the people of God, the laity are empowered through their baptism to exercise their apostolate and participate within Christ's three offices of priest, prophet, and royalty. They contribute to the liturgical and sacramental life of the community, bear witness to the faith in daily life, and contest the reign of sin within the world.

⁷²⁹ Young, *GS* Lecture 5: 88.

⁷³⁰ Young, *GS* Lecture 5: 88–89.

⁷³¹ Young, *GS* Lecture 5: 88.

⁷³² Young, *LG* Lecture 8: 5.

The power of the bishop does not exist for its own sake, rather it must be used to build up the community, encourage the full participation of lay people within its mission, and ensure that the faithful are receptive to Christ's Word and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit dispenses charisms to all the faithful regardless of rank or station and a renewed appreciation for this reality provides theological imperative for an increasingly decentralized understanding of ecclesial power and responsibility when coupled with a vision of the church as the people of God. No longer does the pope or bishop exercise supreme authority in a top-down vision of the church, rather the hierarchy are members of the people of God and must listen to the voices of the laity, or else risk ignoring charisms given by the Spirit. Notably, Young's reflections on this subject were initially stimulated during Vatican II by the publication of *SC*, which implicitly leaned in the direction of a decentralized understanding of the church, since local episcopal conferences could determine the broad lines of liturgical discipline.⁷³³

Finally, the church can no longer be viewed as a perfect society standing over and against the world. Rather, it is a sacrament incarnate within the world and tasked with bearing witness to God's grace. The laity also participate within this function in the midst of their own lives. Young believed that the overemphasis *GS* places upon the role of the laity within the secular world does not do justice to the vision of the people of God developed within *LG*. Rather, the laity are called through their baptism to exercise their apostolate both within the church and the world. At the same time, clergy and religious are responsible for the life of the church and also participate within Christ's mission to the world. The world should not be viewed as immeasurably sinful in the first instance, rather its identity as God's good creation must be emphasised. The church is able to enter into dialogue with the world and draw upon new resources of culture and science in order to bring about renewal for the benefit of contemporary Catholics. All the same, openness to the world does not mean total conformity to the standards of secular society and the laity are called to challenge sin within the world. The church as pilgrim is a community of change which moves through history alongside humanity toward the horizon of an eschatological future. Recall that for Young during the Council it was *SC* that had promulgated the principle of adaptation and change within the church.⁷³⁴ While the ecclesial community is immersed within history and called to engage with

⁷³³ Young, "Council's Future Course Settled by Final Vote," 26.

⁷³⁴ Guilford Young, "Council's Future Course Settled by Final Vote," *Advocate* 20 February 1964, 26.

Chapter Seven: Young Lecturing on the Council's Vision of the Lay Apostolate

modern human beings, the world is consecrated by the faithful (including the laity), an activity which takes its highest form within the eucharist. For Young, *LG* and *GS* supported a renewed theological vision of the apostolate of the laity grounded within the nature of the church and participating within Christ's mission to the world. Yet, this vision could not exist without the prior promulgation of *SC*. Appropriately, the implementation of the Council's teachings within the Archdiocese of Hobart would also begin with liturgical reform.

Chapter Eight: Receiving and Implementing the Council

1. Introduction

Within this thesis, the post-conciliar history of the Archdiocese of Hobart during Young's episcopacy has been divided into two phases: 1) a period of structural reform and experimentation (1964–81); 2) and a period of research and consultation (1981–88) culminating in a Diocesan Assembly (1986) and concluding with the death of Young (1988). The purpose of this chapter is to trace the first phase of post-conciliar reception and implementation within the Archdiocese of Hobart (1964–81). Recall that for Young at the Council, *SC* had promulgated, “the principle of perennial adaptation and change”, as a norm for the life of the church. Just as the liturgy experienced significant changes in response to the Council, so would other areas of the ecclesial community, including the lay apostolate. I will explore how the Archdiocese of Hobart attempted to implement the teachings of the Council through structural reform. This chapter is divided into three sections: 1) the proliferation of new structural changes impacting the archdiocese (1964–67); 2) early reflection on the status of changes implemented in response to the Council (1967–72); and the activities of Tasmanian Catholic individuals and organisations exercising their apostolate (1964–81). All three sections will focus on the progress of reform for the purpose of liturgical adaptation in response to the needs of the faithful, the renewal of social justice initiatives involving the laity, the inclusion of lay people within new diocesan and parish structures of consultation, and the activities of Catholic lay organisations in Tasmania.

2. First Steps (1964–67)

Initiatives Begun Before the Close of the Council (1964)

Important steps were taken toward reform before the Council's close. In January 1964, the *Consilium* was created and approximately two months later Young was appointed to its ranks. Given the archbishop's involvement in the implementation of *SC* (promulgated 4 December 1963), it should be no surprise that one of the earliest structural changes to occur within the Archdiocese of Hobart was the establishing of a Diocesan Liturgical Commission. This was a response to the Council's directive regarding the formation of diocesan commissions composed of experts in liturgical science, art, and music, involving lay people where circumstances demand (*SC* 44–46). One of the earliest meetings of the D.L.C. was held on 30 August 1964,

approximately two weeks before the start of the third session (14 September 1964).⁷³⁵ It was announced in the *Standard* that six laymen, three nuns, and a brother were appointed as members.⁷³⁶ The D.L.C. wanted to promote the full and active participation of lay people within the liturgy. Accordingly, one of its first projects was the training of lay readers for worship services.⁷³⁷

In the same year (1964), the Australian bishops responded to the Council's renewed vision for social justice by establishing a national Catholic overseas aid organisation. This would be called Australian Catholic Relief (A.C.R.), and much later, Caritas Australia.⁷³⁸ The Council closed on 8 December 1965. Young began disseminating its teachings almost immediately, conducting seminars on the history of the Council and content of *Lumen Gentium* in January 1966. The practice of the bishops publishing Social Justice Statements (active since 1940) was temporarily halted, with the release of a pastoral letter on the moral code (1966). According to Michael Hogan: "the ideas of social justice which had concerned the Vatican Council had not yet been put in a form which the bishops regarded as suitable for popular consumption by Australian lay people."⁷³⁹ On 21 June 1966, the statutes of the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference (A.C.B.C.) were first approved by the Holy See (they were later approved definitively on 10 March 1979).⁷⁴⁰ In 1967, the Pontifical Justice and Peace Commission was established in Rome and A.C.B.C. delegated to the advisory committee of A.C.R. the task of establishing a national justice and peace commission.⁷⁴¹ This project would not bear fruit until 1973, when the National Commission for Justice and Peace (N.C.J.P.) broke

⁷³⁵ Minutes of the Diocesan Liturgical Commission, 30 August 1964, Diocesan Liturgical Commission Papers, 1964–88, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷³⁶ "Laymen Will Help Promote Liturgy," *Standard* 18 September 1964, 3.

⁷³⁷ D.L.C. Minutes, 30 August 1964: 2–3.

⁷³⁸ Michael Costigan, *Social Justice and the Australian Catholic Bishops* (Mulgrave: John Garratt Publishing, 2009), 14.

⁷³⁹ Hogan, *Justice Now!*, 243.

⁷⁴⁰ "Australian Catholic Bishops Conference," Catholic Church in Australia, accessed 15 September 2022, <https://www.catholic.org.au/about-us/australian-catholic-bishops-conference>.

⁷⁴¹ Costigan, *Social Justice and the Australian Catholic Bishops*, 14.

away from A.C.R. as an independent body and accepted responsibility for resuming publication (with episcopal approval) of the annual Social Justice Statements.⁷⁴²

A Liturgical Conference in Hobart (1967)

In 1967, a liturgical conference was held in the University of Tasmania (Hobart), which provided an opportunity to proclaim the Council's vision before an audience of Australian Catholics from different states (22–29 January 1967).⁷⁴³ Somewhere between 200–300 delegates attended. The event included talks by theology and scripture scholars, seminars and workshops, a concelebrated Mass and Bible services with folk hymns and guitars. Bishop Myles McKeon of Perth attended and celebrated Mass with twelve priests.⁷⁴⁴ Representatives from the Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches were also in attendance.⁷⁴⁵

Young's opening address wove together numerous conciliar themes. *GS* was drawn upon most frequently (thirty-one times), followed by *LG* (sixteen), *SC* (six), *Dei Verbum* (six), *AA* (four), *PO* (three), *Unitatis Redintegratio* (two), and *Nostra Aetate* (one). The church as the people of God / pilgrim people was by far his favoured ecclesiological image, mentioned thirty-seven times. This was followed by church as mystery (eight), body of Christ (six), sacrament (three), missionary (two), visible, bride, hierarchical, and leaven (once each). Both references to the church as missionary appear in passages where the archbishop described the lay apostolate, encouraging their participation according to ability, "the needs of the time" (*LG* 33, 34), and the recognition of their charismatic gifts by priests (*AA* 3).⁷⁴⁶ Young explicitly linked a renewed vision of lay participation within the mission of Christ with liturgical reform. This attitude was consistent with statements made in the Australian media after the promulgation of *SC*, where he claimed that renewal of worship galvanized the reform of the whole church. Coherent with his 1966 lectures on the Constitution on the Church and conciliar vision of the

⁷⁴² Costigan, *Social Justice and the Australian Catholic Bishops*, 14.

⁷⁴³ "High Hopes for Tas. Conference," *Standard* 6 January 1967, 1.

⁷⁴⁴ "Conference on Liturgy," *Standard* January 27 1967, 1.

⁷⁴⁵ "Parish is not a 'Service Station'," *Standard* 3 February 1967, 5.

⁷⁴⁶ Guilford Young, Welcome and Introductory Talk, 1967, Series No. 12.49, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Liturgical Conference: Tasmanian Liturgical Conference, 5–6, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

lay apostolate, the archbishop linked the centrality of charisms within church life to the need to empower lay people in their apostolate.⁷⁴⁷ Notably, he gave equal emphasis to the role of both Jesus Christ (referred to twenty-nine times) and the Holy Spirit (twenty-eight) in the church. The vision of the church he presented was not explicitly hierarchical or overly Christocentric. Rather he gave room for the impact of the Spirit, reflecting upon the charismatic gifts available to all the faithful. One final point worth noting is his insistence that SC 40, which permitted liturgical experimentation under certain conditions, should be subject to “a generous interpretation and the widest possible application.”⁷⁴⁸ He believed that the Roman liturgies estrangement from modern culture needed to be remedied. “No, the liturgy has to accept modern culture. It has to open itself to a plurality of forms suited to this given concrete assembly of the People of God. This is not anarchy, but a recovery of a tradition that was once operative in the Roman liturgy.”⁷⁴⁹ At the centre of the Archdiocese of Hobart’s initial reception and implementation of Vatican II was a willingness to experiment, grounded in Young’s passion for liturgical reform. It is possible that Young’s receptivity to adaptation inspired by liturgical renewal was further nourished by the diversity of liturgical celebrations he had likely experienced at Vatican II. Those who attended Eucharistic celebrations at the Council were exposed to both the wealth of liturgical diversity offered by Catholicism, as well as attempts to integrate elements and observers from other churches within worship. While the Constitution on the Liturgy had unlocked the potential for reform, liturgical experimentation had already begun during the Council. Young’s focus on liturgical renewal was the continuation of a trajectory which had begun with the life of the Second Vatican Council.⁷⁵⁰

Scholars were invited to the January 1967 conference and spoke on a variety of topics. While the lay apostolate itself was not a central topic of concern, two speakers made explicit

⁷⁴⁷ Young, Welcome and Introductory Talk: 5.

⁷⁴⁸ Young, Welcome and Introductory Talk: 13.

⁷⁴⁹ Young, Welcome and Introductory Talk: 13.

⁷⁵⁰ This insight is grounded in the research of Peter De Mey, who supports Sébastien Antoni’s conclusion that the liturgical reform of Vatican II is not only the application of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, “but rather the continuation of a dynamic of reform which proceeds from the conciliar life itself.” See Peter De Mey, “The Daily Eucharist at the Council as Stimulus and Test Case for Liturgical Reform,” *Questions liturgiques* 95 (2014): 51. EBSCOhost.

the intersection between this topic and that of the conference. In his talk on “Liturgy and Mission,” John Thornhill called his audiences attention toward the conciliar understanding of sacramental action enabling the participation of the faithful in the mission of Christ through the threefold office of priest, prophet, and king.⁷⁵¹ Through this teaching, Thornhill believed that church membership would be enriched beyond an identity that demanded obligation.⁷⁵² Another example was Mother Paris, who spoke on “Music in the Liturgy” and explicitly linked the use of music in worship with the Council’s call for the laity to be full, conscious, and active participants in the liturgy.⁷⁵³

Implementing New Diocesan Structures (1967)

The Decree on the Pastoral Office of Bishops in the Life of the Church, *Christus Dominus* (promulgated on 28 October 1965), envisioned new diocesan structures of consultation, including a senate of priests, and diocesan pastoral council (CD 27). The Apostolic Letter *Ecclesiae Sanctae* was issued on 6 August 1966, promulgating disciplinary norms for the implementation of *Christus Dominus*, *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, *Perfectae Caritatis*, and *Ad Gentes*. *Ecclesiae Sanctae* envisioned both the senate of priests and diocesan pastoral council in a consultative role, advising bishops in their duties (ES 15, 16).⁷⁵⁴ On 26 June 1967, the new Senate of Priests of the Archdiocese of Hobart had their inaugural meeting.⁷⁵⁵ The first item on their agenda was the formation of a Diocesan Pastoral Council. At the conclusion of the

⁷⁵¹ John Thornhill, *Liturgy and Mission*, 1967, Series No 12.49, Archbishop’s Office – Guilford Young – Liturgical Conference: Tasmanian Liturgical Conference, 8, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁵² Thornhill, *Liturgy and Mission*: 8.

⁷⁵³ Mother Paris, *Music in the Liturgy*, 1967, Series No. 12.49, Archbishop’s Office – Guilford Young – Liturgical Conference: Tasmanian Liturgical Conference, 2–3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁵⁴ *Norms for Bishops and Priests: Motu Proprio, Ecclesiae Sanctae* (Melbourne: A.C.T.S., 1966), 13–14.

⁷⁵⁵ Minutes of the Diocesan Senate of Priests, 26 June 1967, Series No. 26.82, Archbishop’s Office – Guilford Young – Senate of Priests: Meeting Minutes (1967–1980), Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

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meeting, priests were tasked with selecting and forming potential lay candidates for future participation in the new D.P.C.⁷⁵⁶

On 21 August, the Senate of Priests reorganised the Archdiocese of Hobart into three deaneries (West and North-West, North, South). Each deanery was further split into five areas and developed its own councils which represented the interests of groups of parishes.⁷⁵⁷ At the next session (22 August 1967), a report on the progress of lay formation commented that it was “obvious” the success of these groups depended upon a good formation in “the spirit” of the Council.⁷⁵⁸ A motion that clerics should personally choose lay representatives from their parishes was defeated. Instead, it was decided that each parish would select five lay people from their parishes, send them to a seminar about the role and function of the D.P.C., and allow the laity to select amongst themselves someone to represent their interests.⁷⁵⁹ Finally, the senate also agreed that lay people should hold a majority on the D.P.C.⁷⁶⁰ Initial membership was split between seven priests, nine religious, and twenty-two lay people.⁷⁶¹ The D.P.C. was never intended to be a lay council; however, from the beginning its implementation had been consciously designed to encourage a greater degree of autonomy and initiative amongst the Tasmanian laity.

Toward the end of the year (September 1967), Young announced the decision to create a D.P.C. and outlined his vision by invoking Cardinal Suenens’ principle of co-responsibility, as well as its connection to the teachings of Vatican II on collegiality and the status of the laity within the church.

⁷⁵⁶ D.S.P. Minutes, 26 June 1967: 2.

⁷⁵⁷ Minutes of the Diocesan Senate of Priests, 21–22 August 1967, Series No. 26.82, Archbishop’s Office – Guilford Young – Senate of Priests: Meeting Minutes (1967–1980), 2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁵⁸ D.S.P. Minutes, 21–22 August 1967: 3.

⁷⁵⁹ D.S.P. Minutes, 21–22 August 1967: 2.

⁷⁶⁰ D.S.P. Minutes, 21–22 August 1967: 1.

⁷⁶¹ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 28 October 1967, Series No. 23.59, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Papers: 1967–1969, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

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Cardinal Suenens said somewhere recently that you could see that one of the major practical themes of the Council was co-responsibility. The hard-fought doctrine of collegiality, he pointed out, tells us that all the bishops of the Church with the Pope must have a sense of co-responsibility for the whole Church and that when this realisation is deepened it will lead to greater co-operation and open the possibility of tackling effectively many pressing problems. The documents about the bishop surrounded by and extended by his presbyterium also points in the same direction. The doctrine about the laity and their status and role in the Church does the same.⁷⁶²

For the archbishop, the concept of co-responsibility expressed the sense of shared obligation given to all baptized Christians, enabling them to work together and participate more effectively in the life and mission of the church. The D.P.C. was intended to be an institutional manifestation of this principle. “The diocesan pastoral council, in a sense, is the expression of the community of responsibility existing between bishop, priests, religious, and laity.”⁷⁶³

D.P.C. members had their first meeting on 28 October 1967. The archbishop addressed the group, affirming their mandate: “to investigate all aspects of pastoral work and make practical conclusions on such.”⁷⁶⁴ In this respect, his vision was in line with *ES*. He stated that their first purpose was to foster an experience of responsibility for the life of the church amongst all Catholics in Tasmania. “A living community is one which functions by the normal human relationship of consultation and cooperation between all members. The Church as a community of members joined by Faith and Love must be a model to the world. The first problem is to make this an experienced reality. This will be achieved only by creating an awareness of the Church as a community. It is the first purpose of the D.P.C. to foster this sense of community by shared (among all) responsibility for pastoral activity in the Diocese.”⁷⁶⁵ Not only was this body formed to make practical decisions about pastoral matters, it was also intended to generate an experience of shared responsibility amongst all the faithful for the mission of the church. Further, Young described the D.P.C. at its inaugural meeting: “as a sort

⁷⁶² Guilford Young, “The Diocesan Pastoral Council: Bishops, Priests, People,” *Standard* 29 September 1967.

⁷⁶³ Young, “The Diocesan Pastoral Council.”

⁷⁶⁴ D.P.C. Minutes, 28 October 1967: 2.

⁷⁶⁵ D.P.C. Minutes, 28 October 1967: 1.

of parliament of the Church in Tasmania”.⁷⁶⁶ He claimed that he would have to take into consideration a two-thirds majority vote and would only go against the will of the majority if there were reasons he could not reveal. This system had also been applied to the Senate of Priests.⁷⁶⁷

3. Reflecting on Reform (1968–72)

A Survey of Catholic Organisations in Tasmania (1968)

At the first meeting of the D.P.C. in October 1967, it was proposed that a survey be conducted of Catholic lay organisations in Tasmania. This was undertaken by a sub-committee whose mandate was to “obtain as good an appreciation as possible of organised Catholic Action in the Diocese.”⁷⁶⁸ Questionnaires were distributed by Council delegates assisted by parish priests. These were designed to gather information about the structure, purpose, activities, sources of finance, and meeting patterns of organisations. A total of seventy-one forms were received. The results of this survey were dispensed to D.P.C. members along with a report summarising general conclusions. Generally speaking, organisations fell into two broad classifications: those engaged in the social field (including St. Vincent de Paul, Parents & Friends Federations, and parish finance committees) and those working for the spiritual good of members (including the Christian Family Movement, Catholic Womens’ League, Legion of Mary, Young Christian Workers, and Young Christian Students). While acknowledging that overlap existed between these classifications, the report estimated that there were about 1500 active individuals in the first category and 1900 in the second. Active members attended regular meetings, and it was likely that certain individuals had been counted twice (as a member serving on two committees).⁷⁶⁹ This estimate excludes figures for the Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima,

⁷⁶⁶ D.P.C. Minutes, 28 October 1967: 2.

⁷⁶⁷ D.P.C. Minutes, 28 October 1967: 2.

⁷⁶⁸ Diocesan Pastoral Council: Report of the Sub-Committee Charged with Making a Survey of Catholic Organisations in Tasmania, 1968, Series No. 23.85, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Reports, Submissions, Proposals & Presentations (1968–1987), 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁶⁹ Report: Catholic Organisations in Tasmania: 1.

whose own membership numbers were easily the highest (3500).⁷⁷⁰ Generally, married people made up the majority of membership (excluding Y.C.W. and Y.C.S.). Men were found in slightly greater numbers in organisations contributing to the social apostolate, while women made up a definite majority in organisations devoted to the spiritual apostolate. Where women form the majority of membership, attendance of group meetings was significantly higher than average (for example, in the Legion of Mary).⁷⁷¹

Encyclical on Birth Control (1968)

In May 1968, Young conducted seminars on the “matrix” of *Gaudium et Spes*. In the same year (25 July), Pope Paul VI published the Encyclical on contraception and birth control, *Humanae Vitae*.⁷⁷² According to Edmund Campion, this document inspired great confusion in Australia. The Catholic population had become increasingly educated and middle class, with many finding it difficult (if not impossible) to adhere to the ban on contraception reiterated by this text.⁷⁷³ A sense of bewilderment was also noted by the D.P.C. within the Archdiocese of Hobart.⁷⁷⁴ Because of his public objections the moral theologian and Melbourne priest, Fr. Nicholas Crotty, was disciplined by the bishops.⁷⁷⁵ By contrast, Young believed that it was important for his priests to hear an articulate dissenting voice and thus invited Crotty to speak in Hobart.⁷⁷⁶ While the archbishop did not make public his own views on the encyclical, in a

⁷⁷⁰ Summary of Information Gained from Questionnaire, April 1968, Series No. 23.85, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Reports, Submissions, Proposals & Presentations (1968–1987), 2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁷¹ Report: Catholic Organisations in Tasmania: 2.

⁷⁷² For an English translation of this text see: Claudia Carlen, ed., “*Humanae Vitae*: Encyclical of Pope Paul VI on the Regulation of Birth, 25 July 1968,” in *The Papal Encyclicals 1958–1981* (Wilmington, N.C.: McGrath, 1981), 223–236.

⁷⁷³ Edmund Campion, *Australian Catholics* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1988), 221.

⁷⁷⁴ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 26 October 1968, Series No. 23.59, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Papers: 1967–1969, 2–3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁷⁵ Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 221.

⁷⁷⁶ Guilford Young, Introductory Address: Encyclical on the Regulation of Birth, 1968, Series No. 9.74, Archbishop’s Office – Guilford Young – Homilies, Addresses and Lectures, Inventory No. 383, 5, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

closing address following Crotty's lecture in Hobart he beseeched his priests to recognize the deplorable wielding of authority which led to a detrimental paternalization of lay people.⁷⁷⁷

New Order of the Mass (1969)

On 3 April 1969, Pope Paul VI issued the Apostolic Constitution, *Missale Romanum*, promulgating new instructions and directions for the celebration of Catholic Mass throughout the liturgical year. While Young had conducted extensive seminars on the matrix of *Gaudium et Spes* in 1968, the publishing of Pope Paul VI's Apostolic Constitution promulgating the Roman Missal restored by the decree of the Second Vatican Council, *Missale Romanum* (3 April 1969), prompted him to turn to this topic.⁷⁷⁸ Commenting in a seminar on the status of liturgical reception in Australia (26–27 July 1969), Young said: "I do think, as I move around, not only Tasmania, but particularly the other parts of Australia, that the need for, what we call a catechesis, an explanation of the liturgical changes and the new forms that are coming in and the reasons behind them, is very great indeed. The renewal that is taking place is not taking in some minds and in some hearts because of the lack of understanding."⁷⁷⁹ Concerned for the reception and implementation of liturgical changes, Young responded as he had done over the past few years since the close of the Council, lecturing on conciliar teachings for the sake of catechesis. As he had done in seminars on *Gaudium et Spes*, Young emphasised the close connectivity between eucharistic celebration and the lives of Christians working within family life, religious life, work, and recreation. He linked these themes to the content of *GS* and *AA*.⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁷ Guilford Young, Closing Address: Encyclical on the Regulation of Birth, 1968, Series No. 9.74,

Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Homilies, Addresses and Lectures, Inventory No. 384, 6, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁷⁸ An English translation of the Order of the Mass approved for use in Australia by the Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship and issued by the authority of the Australian Episcopal Conference was first published in January 1970. This text includes an English translation of *Missale Romanum*. See "Apostolic Constitution: Promulgation of the Roman Missal Restored by Decree of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council," in *The Order of the Mass* (Australia: E. J. Dwyer, 1970), ix–xiii.

⁷⁷⁹ Guilford Young, Study Weekend Lecture Notes 'Revised Order of the Mass' – Notes from Tape, 26–27 July 1969, Series No. 12.34, Archbishop's Office – Guilford Young – Post Vatican II Seminars: Study Weekend August 1967, 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁸⁰ Young, Lecture: Revised Order of the Mass: 3.

New Horizons (1969)

While the archbishop had attempted to encourage the reception of the Council amongst the faithful through his lectures, other efforts were made at catechesis. A diocese wide programme called “New Horizons” was held during Lent in 1969 encouraging small groups to meet in parish homes and discuss themes grounded in the teachings of the Council, including: the church today, authority and conscience, and the liturgical experience. The programme had full support from Young, who offered to promote its content by writing to all parish priests.⁷⁸¹ Despite initial success, feedback gathered in 1970 indicated that many parishioners found the material too difficult.⁷⁸² This led to “New Horizons” being incorporated into a broader religious education programme in 1972.⁷⁸³

Structures of Consultation (1969)

In 1969, Young established a committee to consider the relationship between the new structures of consultation which had been established. This committee met three times and then compiled a report the same year.⁷⁸⁴ Their report reflected upon the relationship between archdiocesan advisory bodies and the bishop. This new consultation network encompassed established organisations, such as the Parents & Friends Federation, as well as new bodies, such as the Senate of Priests, Diocesan Liturgical Commission, and D.P.C. In reflecting on the role of the D.P.C., this committee identified “the structuring of co-ordination” with other consultative bodies as a particularly important topic, since the scope of the D.P.C.’s responsibilities included the investigation and consideration of all “pastoral activity” within the archdiocese.⁷⁸⁵ In particular, the report recommended coordination with the Senate of Priests, Diocesan Liturgical

⁷⁸¹ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 24 May 1969, Series No. 23.59, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Papers: 1967–1969, 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁸² Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 17 October 1970, Series No. 23.60, Pastoral Pastoral Council – Papers: 1970, 3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁸³ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 20 February 1971, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Papers 1971, 3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁸⁴ Structures of Consultation in the Archdiocese, 1969, Series No. 23.85, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Reports, Submissions, Proposals & Presentations (1968–1987), 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁸⁵ Structures of Consultation in the Archdiocese: 6.

Commission, Advisory Council on Education (which at this juncture was being re-constituted), Diocesan Ecumenical Commission, and Finance Committee (neither had been established at this point).⁷⁸⁶ Deanery and parish councils were conceived as the most appropriate way to obtain representative lay delegates for the D.P.C., with members selected from amongst parishes through elections facilitated by parish councils.⁷⁸⁷

First Annual Report (1971)

Chairman of the D.P.C., Peter Roach, gave his first annual report on the organisations progress (1971). He stated that: “[...] it would be pleasant indeed to report that the high ideals set before the people of this Diocese by the Second Vatican Council and confirmed by His Grace, our Archbishop, had been achieved. Such a report, however, would be inaccurate.”⁷⁸⁸ Roach outlined three major issues facing the body. The first was a continued sense of division amongst clergy, religious, and laity. Individuals failed to realize that all are fully members of the church with different gifts and charisms. As a result, many were unable to speak their minds. The second was that members remained poorly informed about church decisions and many were unable to think about their faith beyond what they were taught in school, a situation which had been entrenched for generations. As an example, he raised recent debates over whether it was acceptable to receive communion in the hand. When the subject was first introduced no background information had been given and as a result many were resistant. Yet, only later when the history and principles underlying this practice were made known did D.P.C. members show their support. The third was a lack of enthusiasm and confidence in the mission of the church.⁷⁸⁹ While representatives of parish councils had attended D.P.C. meetings, a survey indicated that their attendance had been dropping. Roach surmised that they did not view their participation as being integral to the continued running of the archdiocese. Notably, the chairman called out Young’s failure to include the D.P.C. in three of the biggest decisions of the past twelve months. These were the application for full membership in the Tasmanian

⁷⁸⁶ Structures of Consultation in the Archdiocese: 8–10.

⁷⁸⁷ Structures of Consultation in the Archdiocese: 11.

⁷⁸⁸ Peter Roach, First Formal Annual Report, 20 February 1971, Series No. 23.62, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Papers: 1971, 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁸⁹ Roach, First Formal Annual Report: 1–2.

Council of Churches; acceptance of a common syllabus for religious education of children in state schools; and the establishment of boards of management for managing school debt.⁷⁹⁰

Growth of Parish Councils (1972)

In 1970, Peter McManus was asked by the D.P.C. to conduct a survey of parish councils within the Archdiocese of Hobart. He prepared questionnaires and sent them out to forty-six parishes, all of whom were represented by parish council members on the D.P.C. In total, thirty-five replied.⁷⁹¹ His report on the results of this questionnaire was distributed to the D.P.C. in 1972.⁷⁹² His general impression was that parish councils were alive and well.⁷⁹³ The majority of parish councils were formed in 1968 and 1969, with some as early as 1966. One claimed to have been formed in June 1965 (before the close of the Council). Others were formed in 1966, 1967, and 1970. In nearly all cases the parish priest took a leading role in formation, while in one parish a group of parishioners specifically requested permission to form a council.⁷⁹⁴ Most council members were chosen by secret ballot after nominations. Usually, the parish priest had the right to appoint a few members. A total of seventeen councils recorded representatives from groups such as St. Vincent De Paul, C.W.L., Knights of the Southern Cross, and local tennis clubs.⁷⁹⁵ Approximately nineteen parishes had some form of written constitution. Most showed signs of having read the documents of Vatican II.⁷⁹⁶ One response sent by a parish priest claimed that their constitution gave him full veto rights, enabling him to waive any majority decision. He claimed authority to use the expertise of the council whenever he wished and stated that members should not feel themselves free to comment on pastoral matters that were

⁷⁹⁰ Roach, First Formal Annual Report: 2–3.

⁷⁹¹ Peter McManus, Diocesan Pastoral Council: Report on Result of a Survey of Parish Councils, 19 February 1972, Series No. 23.85, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Reports, Submissions, Proposals & Presentations (1968–1987), 3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁷⁹² McManus, Survey of Parish Councils: 2.

⁷⁹³ McManus, Survey of Parish Councils: 2.

⁷⁹⁴ McManus, Survey of Parish Councils: 3.

⁷⁹⁵ McManus, Survey of Parish Councils: 4.

⁷⁹⁶ McManus, Survey of Parish Councils: 5.

appropriate to the clergy. His answers to the questionnaire had no input from pastoral council members and were singularly authoritarian.⁷⁹⁷

Most councils encouraged youth members to join (ages sixteen to seventeen). Approximately twenty-two parish councils had a layman as chair and nine had a priest.⁷⁹⁸ Fourteen confirmed that they were able to reach decisions in opposition to the priest. Topics most frequently discussed by councils including: finance, buildings, schools, education and school administration, liturgy, and matters to be settled around the parish. Ecumenism was of great interest, as were D.P.C. discussion matters. One council was already discussing the Melbourne Eucharistic Congress programme scheduled for 1973. It expected to have over twenty parish groups in attendance.⁷⁹⁹ Positively, most councils exhibited great enthusiasm for taking on new jobs formerly managed by priests. However, some responses indicated that priests were ignoring councils, or that councils believed they could not lend any effective expertise. One comment indicated that the parish priest did not really want a council but was only doing it out of loyalty to the archbishop.⁸⁰⁰

On the whole, replies were optimistic and enthusiastic about the future role of parish councils. Many had a list of positive and satisfying accomplishments. For example, they promoted lay involvement, improved communications between laity and the parish priests, provided laity with a better understanding of tasks performed by priests, restrained the power of parish priests, represented the views of parishioners to parish priests, and promoted ecumenical activity. Examples of failures included: the inability to get parish priests to give up control and act within the council, failure to overcome lay apathy, and failure to become recognized as a proper parish structure by priests and laity.⁸⁰¹ Desired changes for the future included: increased lay involvement, a proper constitution with lay chairman and control of finance, and better definitions for the powers of the council. Notably, only one parish recorded

⁷⁹⁷ McManus, *Survey of Parish Councils*: 5–6.

⁷⁹⁸ McManus, *Survey of Parish Councils*: 7.

⁷⁹⁹ McManus, *Survey of Parish Councils*: 8.

⁸⁰⁰ McManus, *Survey of Parish Councils*: 9.

⁸⁰¹ McManus, *Survey of Parish Councils*: 10.

direct contact with other councils. Most existed in isolation from one another, relying instead on informal contact between parishioners.⁸⁰²

By the early 1970s parish councils within Tasmania had experienced significant growth and development. Approximately seven years after Vatican II they had become a tentative (but concrete) reality amongst local parishes. While concerned with the D.P.C. and generally reliant on informal communication, parish councils were (generally) isolated entities and required more time to become effective nodes of consultation. Negatively, councils were perceived by a minority of priests as a threat to their power. There were priests and laity who lacked confidence in their ability to fulfill their new roles. Positively, they were perceived by many as an effective means for enabling greater levels of lay participation within the parish.

4. Tasmanian Laity Exercising their Apostolate (1964–81)

Tasmanian Catholics in the Liturgy

New structures of consultation established during the late 1960s provided lay Catholics in Tasmania with more ways to participate in the evolution of the archdiocese than ever before. As the form and style of worship changed, lay people played a role. For example, the D.P.C. engaged in debates over whether women could serve as readers during Mass. This question was raised at a meeting in February 1968. In response, Young stated that the current ruling of the liturgical *Consilium* did not allow for their involvement. However, he believed this view would change quickly in light of the many requests being received in Rome.⁸⁰³ Two months later, the archbishop reported that the *Consilium* was considering permitting women to act as readers on special occasions and in special circumstances.⁸⁰⁴ By December 1970, A.C.B.C. had the power to decide whether or not women could read at Mass, and Young believed that it would become a topic at the next conference.⁸⁰⁵ Indeed, the conference held at the beginning

⁸⁰² McManus, Survey of Parish Councils: 11.

⁸⁰³ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 17 February 1968, Series No. 23.59, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Papers: 1967–1969, 2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁰⁴ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 20 April 1968, Series No. 23.59, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Papers: 1967–1969, 4, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁰⁵ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 12 December 1970, Series No. 23.60, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Papers: 1970, 3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

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of 1971 agreed that women lectors may be admitted at the discretion of the bishop.⁸⁰⁶ Yet, it would take more than a year (February 1973) when A.C.B.C. announced their approval of women serving as lectors.⁸⁰⁷

In 1971, a book of Catholic hymns in English was published by Tony Newman and Peter Stone, entitled: “Travelling to Freedom.”⁸⁰⁸ An introduction by Young was included in the preface. In an interview, Pru Francis spoke of this book as a new resource for the organisation of liturgies, especially youth liturgies.⁸⁰⁹ In the introduction Young wrote: “This new book of Songs for Christians to sing turns my mind to some of the great passages composed by the Second Vatican Council.”⁸¹⁰ The phrase “turns my mind” may have been more prophetic than intended; Newman and Stone would print Young’s words in a spiral shape. In an interview, Pru Francis recalls: “I understand he was shocked when he saw his preface in the round (laughter).”⁸¹¹ All the same, Young was supportive of this publication and its aim to explore the liturgy in new ways.⁸¹²

In February 1973, the fortieth International Eucharistic Conference was held in Melbourne and attended by representatives from all over the world and nation, including various groups from Tasmanian parishes.⁸¹³ Theological and sociological lectures were held by speakers, including B. A. Santamaria, whose talk on the dangers of abortion was published and distributed by the National Civic Council.⁸¹⁴ Unique amongst the liturgical events held at

⁸⁰⁶ D.P.C. Minutes, 20 February 1971: 1.

⁸⁰⁷ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 10 March 1973, Series No. 23.64, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Papers: 1973, 4, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁰⁸ Tony Newman and Peter Stone, *Travelling to Freedom*, Living Parish Series, (Harbord, N.S.W.: LPS Publishing, 1971).

⁸⁰⁹ Pru Francis, “Interview Transcript,” interview by Callum Dawson, 15 July 2021, 3.

⁸¹⁰ See “Preface” in Newman and Stone, *Travelling to Freedom*.

⁸¹¹ Francis, interview, 3.

⁸¹² Francis, interview, 3.

⁸¹³ D.P.C. Minutes, 10 March 1973: 6.

⁸¹⁴ Bartholomew Santamaria, *Philosophies in Collision* (Hawthorn, Victoria: National Civic Council, 1973).

the Melbourne Cricket Ground was the performance of a liturgy combining elements of Catholic worship and traditional Australian Aboriginal spirituality.⁸¹⁵

Tasmanian Catholics in the World

Beyond liturgical developments, Tasmanian Catholics also participated in ecumenical, catechetical, and social justice initiatives. In pursuing these enterprises, they were united with others outside the boundaries of the Catholic Archdiocese of Hobart by a desire to address social concerns. Shared concerns in the fields of welfare, family, marriage, sex, and education provided an opportunity for Tasmanian Catholics to respond to the Second Vatican Council's ecumenical mandate and build positive relations with neighbouring churches. After Vatican II, the Christian Family Movement opened its arms to inter-denominational couples, further normalizing inter-church relations through the shared experience of marriage and family life.⁸¹⁶ In an interview Maureen Cooper, a former president of the Tasmanian branch of the Christian Family Movement, highlighted that: "it wasn't the Catholic Family Movement, it was the Christian Family Movement for a reason."⁸¹⁷ As early as 1965, branches of the Catholic Womens' League made contact with women's groups in other denominations. In February 1965, the C.W.L. branch in Burnie arranged for Young to speak on ecumenism to 800 people. In 1967, the state conference of C.W.L. was held at Smithton and included hospitable contributions (lunch) from Methodist, Baptist, and Anglican women.⁸¹⁸ The Diocesan Ecumenical Commission had its inaugural meeting on 27 June 1970 and was attended by Young, as well as three religious, three lay people, and two priests (with one absent). At the conclusion of the meeting, a lay person named Mr R. Baker was elected chairman of the commission.⁸¹⁹ In the same year, the Archdiocese of Hobart attained full membership in the Tasmanian Council of Churches (T.C.C.). Membership of this body also included: the Anglican

⁸¹⁵ Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 241–42.

⁸¹⁶ Maureen Cooper, "Interview Transcript," interview by Callum Dawson, 5 July 2021, 4–5.

⁸¹⁷ Maureen Cooper, "Interview Transcript," interview by Callum Dawson, 5 July 2021, 4.

⁸¹⁸ Terrence W. Southerwood, Report from Archdiocese of Hobart on Ecumenical Affairs, 1984–85, Series No. 9.81, Archbishop's Office - Guilford Young - Ecumenism: Ecumenical Commission, 2–3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸¹⁹ Minutes of the Diocesan Ecumenical Commission, 27 June 1970, 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

Church, Uniting Church, Baptist Church, Christian Revival Centre, Churches of Christ, Salvation Army, Society of Friends, and Greek Orthodox Church. Cooperation developed in a variety of areas, including: welfare, social work, development and peace concerns, shared religious education programmes in government schools, and combined bible study, prayer and various services, including Good Friday and Pentecost.⁸²⁰

In 1973, the N.C.J.P. resumed the practice of drafting and publishing the Australian bishops Social Justice Statements.⁸²¹ These statements were studied by D.P.C. members. For example, in 1974 a portion of their meeting was devoted to reading the statement, “Lucky Australia - Affluence”, which was concerned with the human rights bill, nuclear weapons, and pornography.⁸²² In, 1976, the N.C.J.P. was replaced with the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (C.C.J.P.).⁸²³ The Archdiocese of Hobart would strengthen relations with this body over the coming years.

Over two days in April 1976, a conference on the Australian Catholic laity was held in Sydney and attended by 88 delegates from various dioceses. This had been organized by a steering committee which included a Tasmanian woman named Betty Picot. Amongst the topics discussed, Catholic education and catechesis, social and economic life, and Christian family life and sexuality proved to be the most controversial and polarising. Other topics included adult education, Christian formation, spirituality and mission, liturgy and sacraments, ecumenism, communication, consultation, and participation in the church, and the role of women in the church. The results of the conference were discussed by the D.P.C. and amongst parishes.⁸²⁴ While Patrick O’Farrell characterised this conference as a “tame affair” in terms of its subject matter; he also remarked at how participants had been able to positively work toward

⁸²⁰ Southerwood, Report from Archdiocese of Hobart on Ecumenical Affairs: 1.

⁸²¹ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 13 October 1973, Series No. 23.64, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1973, 8, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸²² Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 9 March 1974, Series No. 23.65, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1974, 2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸²³ Costigan, *Social Justice and the Australian Catholic Bishops*, 5.

⁸²⁴ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 29 May 1976, Series No. 23.67, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1976, 3–4, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

unity by gathering together a microcosm of the church in Australia, “ranging from radicals to conservatives”.⁸²⁵

In March 1978, a report grounded in statistical and survey data on young people and the church was published by a working party set up by the D.P.C.⁸²⁶ The party included David Freeman, the D.P.C.’s youth representative and a full-time member of the Young Christian Students.⁸²⁷ The body of the report examined the situation and needs of students, young workers, and unemployed people. It also considered responses which the church should make in order to meet the needs of young people.⁸²⁸ Amongst their extensive conclusions, a more general awareness was emphasised that the future of pastoral renewal may rely on the fostering of small communities in parishes to meet the needs of youth.⁸²⁹ In making this recommendation, they cited Pope Paul VI’s Apostolic Exhortation on evangelisation, *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (no. 58, promulgated 8 December 1975).⁸³⁰ In laying out principles upon which the working party based its recommendations, an attentiveness to Catholic Social Teachings was evident: “In extending youth initiatives the principle stated in the social teaching of the Church that priority be given to the needy and the oppressed should be affirmed.”⁸³¹ The report urged greater participation of young people in existing structures, including parish councils and groups preparing the Sunday liturgy, as well as the implementation of programmes for youth,

⁸²⁵ O’Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 413.

⁸²⁶ Young People and the Church: Report of a Working Party Set up by the Diocesan Pastoral Council, Tasmania, March 1978, Series No. 23.70, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1978, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸²⁷ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 7 May 1977, Series No. 23.69, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1977, 4, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸²⁸ Young People and the Church: 65.

⁸²⁹ Young People and the Church: 65–66.

⁸³⁰ In 1976 an English translation of this document was published in Australia. See *Apostolic Exhortation: Evangelii Nuntiandi of His Holiness Pope Paul VI - To the Episcopate, to the Clergy and to All the World on Evangelization in the Modern World* (Homebush N.S.W.: Society of St. Paul, 1976).

⁸³¹ Young People and the Church: 66.

enabling young people from the same milieu to come together, reflect on their life, and confront basic issues important to them.⁸³²

At a meeting of the D.P.C. held on 5 August 1978, Sergio Giudici, an original member of the body and now vice-chairman, addressed members as the Archdiocese of Hobart's C.C.J.P. representative appointed by Archbishop Young.⁸³³ According to Sr. Julianne Dunn MSS, Sergio Giudici was a Rhodes scholar and a family man. He had a job in the Tasmanian Hydropower industry and a deep admiration for the French Jesuit Teilhard de Chardin.⁸³⁴ On 12 May 1979, the national secretary of the C.C.J.P., David Pollard, addressed Tasmanian D.P.C. members and spoke on the need for stronger bonds between the C.C.J.P. and local churches. He hoped that a local social justice group might emerge from discussions.⁸³⁵ At the next meeting (4 August 1979), it was reported that three groups had been formed to strengthen the relationship between the C.C.J.P. and the archdiocese. One was devoted to studying documents on social justice, a second tasked with contributing to the formulation of the bishops Social Justice Statements, and a third meant to draw up a curriculum on justice and peace for Catholic schools.⁸³⁶

In the same month, two days (9–10 August 1979) were set aside by the D.P.C. for a seminar set in John Fisher College to discuss Pope John Paul II's newly released Encyclical, *Redemptor Hominis* (promulgated 4 March 1979).⁸³⁷ Themes covered by speakers included the documents understanding of the mystery of redemption, human dignity, and freedom. Giudici spoke of how the encyclical's insistence on human dignity meant that redemption was for the

⁸³² Young People and the Church: 67.

⁸³³ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 5 August 1978, Series No. 23.70, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1978, 4, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸³⁴ Dunn, A Series of Life-Changing Experiences: 4.

⁸³⁵ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 12 May 1979, Series No. 23.71, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1979, 2–3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸³⁶ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 4 August 1979, Series No. 23.71, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1979, 5, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸³⁷ An English translation of this document was published in Australia in 1979. See *Encyclical: Redemptor Hominis - Redeemer of Man - by John Paul II* (Homebush, N.S.W.: Society of St. Paul, 1979).

whole person and not just their soul. This meant that high priority should be given to eradicating inhuman conditions. Representatives from St. Vincent De Paul and Marriage Encounter spoke on the consistency between this document and their work. On the second day, topics covered the need to transform economic systems through self-conversion and the renewal of parish structures. Young's concluding address hailed the encyclical as a milestone. He used the opportunity to remind Tasmanians of Vatican II teachings which encouraged lay people to foster a feeling for their own diocese, of which the parish composed a cell.⁸³⁸ Reception of the encyclical was a reminder that interest in issues pertaining to human dignity was both directly encouraged by the new Pope John Paul II and supported by diocesan structures.

5. Conclusion

According to Patrick O'Farrell, in places such as Sydney and Melbourne, many of the new diocesan and parish bodies designed for lay participation had collapsed by 1970 or become entirely dominated by bishops and clergy.⁸³⁹ By contrast, lay participation and initiatives supported by structural reform continued to thrive within the Archdiocese of Hobart in the decades after the Council. In 1967, Young had promised to abide by a two-third majority vote in relation to decisions made by the D.P.C. This rule was also active in the Senate of Priests and likely amid other bodies, such as the liturgical and ecumenical commissions. It is probable that this 'democratic orientation' was sharpened by the archbishop's reception of the post-conciliar principle of co-responsibility. This concept emphasized the Council's vision for the church as a community where all the faithful (including the laity) share equally in responsibility for the life and mission of the community. For Cardinal Suenens there was a democratic element to this vision. In his 1968 book *Co-responsibility in the Church* Suenens argued that, as a historical reality, the church adopts forms of governance from the world with which it engages. "Within the church there is at one and the same time one principle of unity (monarchy), a pluralism of hierarchical responsibilities (oligarchy), and a fundamental equality of all in the communion of the people of God (democracy)".⁸⁴⁰ All are essential to the truth of

⁸³⁸ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 9–10 August 1980, Series No. 23.74, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1980, 1–2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸³⁹ O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community*, 413.

⁸⁴⁰ Léon Joseph Suenens, *Co-responsibility in the Church*, trans. Francis Martin (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), 190.

the church and none can be exclusively relied upon.⁸⁴¹ It is likely that, for Young, the new post-conciliar network of consultation involving lay people was intended to be a structural manifestation of this ‘democratic’ element; which was really an expression of baptismal equality and a diversity of ministries shared amongst all the people of God, articulated by *Lumen Gentium* (no. 32). This is not to say that Young had wanted to turn the archdiocese into a democracy. Suenens’ vision demanded a balance between monarchical, oligarchical, and democratic elements. *ES* had restricted diocesan pastoral councils and priest senates to an advisory role. Young had begun his episcopal career before the Council and had been accustomed to obedience from clergy, religious, and laity. In light of this, it is remarkable that he gave the D.P.C. such freedom. In a speech on the history of the D.P.C. (1984), Sergio Giudici remarked on the significance of Young’s promise (made at their inaugural meeting) to abide by a two-third majority vote.

Now, that is a very important statement the Archbishop made. He, in effect, said to the Council, “I know you are only a consultative body, an advisory body, but if I hear advice on a matter of importance from a two-thirds majority taken in a secret ballot I will not disregard it”; and he has not disregarded it. On many occasions I knew that the Archbishop’s view on a matter was contrary to what was coming up in the Council - he kept his peace and, in fact, honoured his statement that he would not act contrary to the Council’s wishes.”⁸⁴²

In his own study on the reception of Vatican II in the Archdiocese of Quebec, Gilles Routhier describes, amongst early conciliar documents, more expansive proposals for diocesan pastoral councils which envisioned a “*consilium coordinans*, which not only advises the bishop about the works of the apostolate but also ensures the coordination of these works in the diocese”.⁸⁴³

⁸⁴¹ Suenens, *Co-responsibility in the Church*, 190.

⁸⁴² Sergio Giudici, Speech on the Role, Structure, and History of the D.P.C., Undated, Series No. 23.80, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Background Information: 1969 – 4 September 1991, 3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection. Note that while the physical manuscript is undated, there is record in the D.P.C. minutes of Giudici giving his talk. See Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 27 October 1984, Series No. 23.78, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1984, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁴³ Gilles Routhier, “Vatican II and the Quiet Revolution in the Archdiocese of Québec,” ed. Kathleen Cummings, Timothy Matovina, and Robert Orsi, *Catholics in the Vatican II Era. Local Histories of a Global Event* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), ProQuest. 62–63, footnote 15.

There is little historical evidence of Young engaging with conciliar documents about diocesan pastoral councils, beyond the content of *CD* during the post-conciliar period. However, by adopting co-responsibility as a guiding principle of interpretation, it seems likely that Young had been inspired to promote the D.P.C. (and other bodies) as a kind of parliamentary analogue. This decision was not democratic in a strict political sense, insofar as the power of majority rule had no legal foundation in canon law (the new code would not be promulgated until 1983 in any case). However, it may be perceived as an attempt to structurally manifest the Council's vision of the people of God, who in light of their baptism possess equal dignity and share in responsibility for the life and mission of the church.

Recall that during the Council, Young had reflected in the media upon his own evolving apostolate as a servant leader: "Those who hold these offices will remember that with them goes not the power of a boss but the responsibility of a father. Together with this idea have come the upgrading of the layman and the recognition by the Church that he has very definite rights and that he may institute initiatives in the Church which authority may not quench."⁸⁴⁴ In light of these reflections, it is likely that the D.P.C. was an attempt to express, solidify, and channel the definite rights of the faithful, including the laity. Doubtless, it was also the realisation of a strong statement made by Young during his lecture on the Council's vision of the lay apostolate (1966): "This theology of the laity requires that laymen and women be truly co-opted in the Church's apostolate on the policy-making level. They have the right in virtue of their baptism itself to make their voices heard at this level."⁸⁴⁵ Amid the network of new consultative structures, the D.P.C. was a platform for the voices of the faithful (including the laity) within the archdiocese.

⁸⁴⁴ "Six Australian Bishops Look Back at 2nd Session: Archbishop Young - Episcopal Power," *Advocate* 20 February 1964, 15.

⁸⁴⁵ Guilford Young, *The Laity*: Lecture 8, January 1966, Series No. 12.29, Archbishop's Office - Guilford Young - Post Vatican II Seminars: Tutorial Group Seminar January 1966, 5, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

Chapter Nine: Road to the Diocesan Assembly

1. Introduction

In 1981 Young initiated an extensive consultation of the whole archdiocese which took place over an eight-year period, becoming enmeshed with preparatory efforts for the International Synod on the Laity in 1987. Consultation was intended to facilitate an understanding of the present context of the archdiocese and envision a new future, prompted in-part by declining numbers of priests and religious. Stats given by Young in a 1986 pastoral letter reveal the growth of the Catholic population in Tasmania and contrasting decline of those called to ordination and religious life.⁸⁴⁶

	1960	1970	1980	1986
Diocesan Priests	57	71	59	45
Religious Priests	33	40	39	28
Religious Brothers	37	37	36	31
Religious Sisters	308	354	259	231
Catholic Population	53,042	71,089	73,524	78,143

As the archbishop himself observed, these figures can be read as an alarming decline in the number of those called to ordination and religious life, “or one could read them as a sign from God that the Church must explore new ways in which the laity must exercise their proper role”.⁸⁴⁷ The twin themes of attempting to address a serious pastoral crisis and reading the signs of the times as a genuine opportunity to expand lay ministry would characterize the

⁸⁴⁶ Guilford Young, Pastoral Letter to the People of God in Tasmania, 1986, Series No. 8.37, Archbishop’s Office - Guilford Young - Pastoral Letters, 5, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁴⁷ Young, Pastoral Letter to the People of God in Tasmania: 5.

consultation process extending throughout the 1980s. The end result of this process was the first Diocesan Assembly of the Catholic Church in Tasmania.

This chapter is primarily concerned with the build-up to the Diocesan Assembly, the event itself, and its aftermath. I will trace the concentrated process of planning and consultation which characterized the Archdiocese of Hobart between 1981–88. I have identified this as the second phase of post-conciliar ecclesial renewal which occurred during Young's episcopacy. In 1981, Young gave a mandate to a body composed of priests, religious, and lay leaders, known as the Diocesan Task Force, to study concerns within the archdiocese and commit to researching possible strategies for renewal. The result of their study and recommendations (1981–84) led to a Priests' Assembly within the archdiocese (1984), providing clergy with an opportunity to discuss internal issues, including the future of the church and the lay apostolate. In turn, their recommendations were taken up by a Diocesan Forward Planning Committee, whose preparatory work (1985–86) paved the way for the Diocesan Assembly (1986). Implementation of recommendations for renewal generated by this event became intertwined with the preparations for the International Synod on the Laity (1986–87). All of these efforts were interrupted, however, by the death of Young in 1988.

2. The Diocesan Task Force (1981–84)

The Joys and Hopes of the People

In August 1981, Young created the Diocesan Task Force. Its membership was intended to represent the whole archdiocese and consisted of one priest and one lay person from each of the three deaneries in Tasmania (north-west, north, and south), as well as the chairman of the D.P.C., the major superior for womens religious, a representative for religious order priests, and the Catholic Education Office. This body was given a mandate: "to investigate ways and means of developing a diocesan strategy that will investigate the issues that will face the Church in Tasmania in the years that lie ahead. Its basic aims are: 1) to discover the joys and hopes, the fears and anxieties of all the people who belong to the Church in Tasmania, 2) to discover and develop new ways of making Christ's presence more effective in Tasmania, to establish priorities and direction for the Church in Tasmania to follow in the eighties."⁸⁴⁸ The pastoral focus of the Task Force would set the tone for the Archdiocese of Hobart throughout

⁸⁴⁸ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 14 November 1981, Series No. 23.75, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1981, 2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

the 1980s. Notably, the opening lines of its mission statement reflect the first words of the Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, revealing a concern for the joys, hopes, fears, and anxieties of the people. In order to take account of these expectations, parishioners themselves would need to be consulted. Supported by the executive of the D.P.C., a meeting of all parish councillors and representatives of various Catholic organisations active in Tasmania was organized in each of the three deaneries. This gave parish representatives a chance to learn of the work of the Task Force. It was decided that these meetings would take place in March and be themed along the lines of the Prayer of the Faithful petition used throughout masses in the archdiocese: “For our Parish Councils - that they may be truly pastoral in their concern for all the members of the community and help to make Christ present in their midst”.⁸⁴⁹ These meetings attracted large crowds with more than 267 people in attendance. Representatives from Penguin, Glenorchy, and Lindisfarne reported to the D.P.C. that great interest had been aroused within their communities regarding the work of the Task Force.⁸⁵⁰ This body committed itself to an extensive process of research in an attempt to discern both the nature of the pastoral crisis impacting the archdiocese and what could be done to plan for the future. The research of the Task Force involved drawing upon both census data from their own surveys, as well as information from similar studies being conducted both locally and internationally. At a D.P.C. meeting in June 1982, it was revealed that the Task Force was planning a census to measure both the number and age-range of those attending Mass on a particular Sunday. Members had also studied a report produced by a conference in Liverpool, UK (1980) entitled “The Easter People”, as well as a number of studies conducted in Australia.⁸⁵¹

The Vision of the Task Force

A position paper was produced and printed in the *New Standard* (February 1983), in order to continue the process of diocesan consultation, requesting that parish councils, Catholic

⁸⁴⁹ Minutes of the D.P.C., 14 November 1981: 4.

⁸⁵⁰ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 24 April 1982, Series No. 23.76, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1982, 1–2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁵¹ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 12 June 1982, Series No. 23.76, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1982, 3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection. It is likely they are referring to a document produced in 1980 by the National Pastoral Congress of England and Wales, see *The Easter People* (Slough: St. Paul Publications, 1980).

organizations, and individual Catholics discuss the report and send written comments to the D.P.C. secretary. As a pastoral document, the paper is notable both for its diagnosis of the crisis impacting the archdiocese, as well as its vision for the church of the future.⁸⁵² It begins optimistically, outlining the accomplishments of the archdiocese over the past few years. These include an increase in liturgical and pastoral participation of lay people through parishes and apostolic organisations; the emergence of a shared sense of ministry between clergy and laity, with lay people taking up a greater leadership role; the growth of Catholic participation in education and welfare fields; and the continued evolution of the D.P.C. as an important collaborative body.⁸⁵³

The paper then outlines six areas of concern within the church in Tasmania. First, there exists an ever-widening gap between the official teachings of the church and the self-understanding of Catholics. Second, changes in the practices and teachings of the church have provoked both confusion and even anger amongst sacramentally-active Catholics, with many feeling they do not belong to the church as they once did. Third, these Catholics have no forum at which their feelings can be heard, no place where ministry can be offered to them and through which they can extend their own form of ministry. Quoting Pope John Paul II's message to the National Pastoral Congress, Liverpool (1980), the paper stated that all the baptized are called to participate actively in the church's mission.⁸⁵⁴ Fourth, though many are aware of their dignity within the church, they still feel, "voiceless, insignificant and at times very frustrated".⁸⁵⁵ Fifth, many Catholics continue to "drift away from the Church", particularly the young.⁸⁵⁶ Sixth, many indicate an "inner emptiness" within their lives. By contrast, the church should be an "Easter People", quoting a speech by Pope John Paul II to the people of Harlem

⁸⁵² "Diocesan Task Force," *New Standard* February 1983, 3–6.

⁸⁵³ "Diocesan Task Force," 3.

⁸⁵⁴ "Diocesan Task Force," 3. For the speech of Pope John Paul II see "Tape-Recorded Message of Pope John Paul II." In *Liverpool 1980: Official Report of the National Pastoral Congress* (Slough: St. Paul Publications, 1981), 103–04.

⁸⁵⁵ "Diocesan Task Force," 3.

⁸⁵⁶ "Diocesan Task Force," 3.

(USA).⁸⁵⁷ Collectively, these areas of concern point to a crisis of identity within the post-conciliar Archdiocese of Hobart. The Second Vatican Council had brought about many changes and those unable to receive them had been left in a state of disenfranchisement.

In response to these grievances, the paper then lists eight key features of a vision of the church of the future. First, the church of the future will be *missionary* in nature, where all members of the church, including the laity, actively and enthusiastically bring the gospel into secular society rather than maintain a static defence of the status-quo. In order to achieve this authentic sense of mission, the Archdiocese of Hobart must confront the fact that Australian society as a whole is secular and requires conversion. Second, building the church of the future will require a renewal of the parish. In turn, this will require continued renewal of the liturgy and the church must encourage all Catholics to participate within worship. “The Vatican Council has taught us that the liturgy is both the summit of the Church’s activity and its source. In the liturgical assembly we both become one with Christ and experience a sharing with each other: the parish comes alive when it assembles for worship.”⁸⁵⁸ Third, the church of the future will encourage the formation of small communities within the parish, a phenomenon which the authors acknowledge has emerged in many parts of the world as well as Australia. Small groups provide a flexible environment for people to work out their faith commitment in dialogue with others, without feeling lost within the larger parish community. The authors argue that small community groups provide an ideal environment for people, and particularly young people, to work out their faith commitment. Lay and clerical “animators” are required to assist in the development of these communities.⁸⁵⁹ Fourth, the church of the future will renew its evangelisation of youth. The paper offers three strategies to achieve this vision: the encouragement of a deep commitment to Christ within the family; the development of new structures that encourage young people to continue in the journey of their faith when they become independent of parents and schools; and the offering of new opportunities for fellowship to young people who do decide to continue in the Catholic faith. In this section, the

⁸⁵⁷ “Diocesan Task Force,” 3. For the speech by Pope John Paul II see “Apostolic Journey to the United States of America. Address of His Holiness John Paul II, Harlem, New York (2 October 1979),” Vatican, accessed 9 September 2022, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1979/october/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19791002_usa-neri-america.html.

⁸⁵⁸ “Diocesan Task Force,” 4.

⁸⁵⁹ “Diocesan Task Force,” 4.

authors draw from Fr. Paul Duffy in his analysis of the church in Australia, observing that there are no longer social support systems which reinforce faith. Thus, each generation of children must have the invitation to accept the gospel newly addressed to them.⁸⁶⁰ Fifth, the church of the future will recognize “the shared responsibility” between priests and laity for the activity of ministry. Building up the church requires a “multiplicity of ministries” within which all Catholics participate.⁸⁶¹ This point references *RH* (no. 5), where the existence of shared ministries between priests and laity is praised. At the same time, the authors feel it necessary to stress that only the priest is called to a charism of church leadership.⁸⁶² Sixth, the church of the future will encourage a robust prayer life amongst the laity, appropriate to the context of their lives. A widespread sense of spiritual desolation will be met by the resources of the charismatic movement, the study of scripture, the practice of meditation, the Divine Office, and organization of spiritual retreats.⁸⁶³ Seventh, the church of the future will be focused on the family. Catholics must support the institution of marriage and enlighten others as to its value, while also practically assisting those who are in a difficult marriage situation. Here the authors refer to Pope John Paul II’s Apostolic Exhortation on the role of the Christian family in the modern world, *Familiaris Consortio* (22 November 1981), and its call to support couples who are married, enlighten those who are uncertain about marriage, and assist those in difficult marriage situations (no. 1).⁸⁶⁴ Eighth, the church of the future will be committed to social and economic justice as well as a preferential option for the poor. The authors list *GS*, the document of the 1971 Synod of Bishops, *Justitia in Mundo* (Justice in the World), and Pope Paul VI’s Apostolic Letter to Cardinal Maurice Roy, *Octogesima Adveniens* (14 May 1971), as sources

⁸⁶⁰ “Diocesan Task Force,” 4–5.

⁸⁶¹ “Diocesan Task Force,” 5.

⁸⁶² “Diocesan Task Force,” 5.

⁸⁶³ “Diocesan Task Force,” 5.

⁸⁶⁴ “Diocesan Task Force,” 5. An English translation of *Familiaris Consortio* was published in Australia in 1982. See *Apostolic Exhortation: Familiaris Consortio of Pope John Paul II on the Role of the Christian Family in the Modern World* (Melbourne: A.C.T.S. Publications, 1982).

of inspiration.⁸⁶⁵ They also note that, at present, those in the Catholic Church in Australia who try to act on the social teachings of the church are treated with suspicion by many Catholics.⁸⁶⁶

Parish councillors coordinated responses to the Task Force's paper, encouraging feedback by hosting discussion groups, distributing questionnaires, discussing the content of the report at meetings and using the document to stimulate a Lenten project.⁸⁶⁷ The Task Force met with Archbishop Young one last time (19 September 1983), before publishing its recommendations as to how the archdiocese could initiate a new phase of ecclesial renewal.⁸⁶⁸ Their primary proposal was to host a Priests' Assembly, which had been announced to the D.P.C. earlier in November.⁸⁶⁹

The results of the Task Force's consultation were published in the *New Standard* in November 1983.⁸⁷⁰ The articles state that many parishes and organizations within the archdiocese were eager to move in the direction outlined by the position paper. However, there was a great sense of uncertainty amongst respondents as to what should happen next. The Task Force highlighted three inter-related areas in which the Archdiocese of Hobart needed to develop in order to meet the needs of the people. First, the priests of the archdiocese need the opportunity to participate in a programme of spiritual and pastoral planning in order to promote positive leadership skills. This would also entail training priests to help lay people become responsive to the needs of the parish. Second, the liturgical life should be further promoted in parishes. It needs to be rich, meaningful and actively involve more people. Third, the clergy must continue to foster leadership at all levels of the parish developing a stronger, "attitude of

⁸⁶⁵ The Apostolic Letter was written on the 80th anniversary of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*. See *Apostolic Letter of His Holiness, Pope Paul VI to His Eminence, Maurice Cardinal Roy: The Coming Eightieth, Octogesima Adveniens* (Boston, Mass: St. Paul, 14 May 1971).

⁸⁶⁶ "Diocesan Task Force," 5.

⁸⁶⁷ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 19 March 1983, Series No. 23.77, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1983, 4-5, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁶⁸ "Diocesan Task Force ... 'A Thank You'," *New Standard* October 1983, 1.

⁸⁶⁹ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 11 November 1983, Series No. 23.77, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1983, 2-4, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁷⁰ "Diocesan Task Force," *New Standard* November 1983, 4.

shared responsibility between clergy and laity. At the same time, the clergy must aim, through every sort of ministry, to bring about on-going parish renewal. The laity need total involvement.”⁸⁷¹ This total involvement encompasses both a commitment to engaging with young people, as well as the poor, and underprivileged. Parishes must address the pastoral needs of their youth, and in turn young people should be encouraged to serve the community.

The paper claims that at present the Archdiocese of Hobart does not meet these obligations. The church is described: “as middle-class - not a body of people which cherishes and supports the poor and others facing a crisis or a longer-term problem”.⁸⁷² The paper did recognize a number of recent developments within the archdiocese which have helped to grow the community in these areas, including the establishing of the Antioch Movement, the success of the recently held Tasmanian Liturgical Congress, and a two-day meeting held by the D.P.C. on the topic of justice. However, more work needed to be done and as a next step the Task Force stated that a programme for discernment, renewal, and pastoral planning would be held for Tasmanian priests in 1984. In preparation for this programme, they recommended that the vision of the church of the future outlined in their position paper be used as a guide.⁸⁷³

3. The Priests’ Assembly (1984)

Calling Together the Priests of Tasmania

A letter by Young was read during Mass throughout the archdiocese in early 1984, announcing that the renewal programme for priests would take place from 29 April to 5 May.⁸⁷⁴ In order to encourage lay participation, summaries of papers prepared for the Priests’ Assembly were to be printed in the *New Standard* during Lent. Archbishop Young encouraged all parishes to create programmes for lay people to discuss these summaries. A statement from the Task Force printed alongside Young’s letter read: “It is hoped to give all the laity every encouragement and opportunity to share in the preparation for the week, and to be very much a part of the week through their prayerful support and response during the Lenten Programme [. . .].”⁸⁷⁵ In order

⁸⁷¹ “Diocesan Task Force,” 4.

⁸⁷² “Diocesan Task Force,” 4.

⁸⁷³ “Diocesan Task Force,” 4.

⁸⁷⁴ “Priests’ Assembly 1984,” *New Standard* 1984.

⁸⁷⁵ “Priests’ Assembly 1984.”

to encourage widespread participation, a Lenten programme was created based around the papers of the Priests' Assembly. In an effort to ensure that every Tasmanian priest could attend, "Eucharistic Services" would be conducted by chosen members of the parish community during the week of the assembly, in lieu of daily Mass.⁸⁷⁶ At a meeting of the D.P.C. in March 1984, parish delegates from Newnham, Queenstown, and Glenorchy all reported that groups had been formed and the Lenten programme would be implemented. A representative from Moonah stated that a parish weekend was being planned for the purpose of discussing Priests' Assembly papers and emphasis would be placed on the training of special ministers. The chairman closed the discussion by stating that the Priests' Assembly was only a first step and further action was needed to include the whole archdiocese and the D.P.C. in preparations for continued renewal. He expressed a hope that further steps would be taken in the following years.⁸⁷⁷

The Documents of the Priests' Assembly

Five documents were drafted to be read at the Priests' Assembly.⁸⁷⁸ The first entitled, "The History of Faith and the Priesthood in Tasmania", provides a short introduction to the history of priestly ministry in Tasmania. The second, "Deployment of Resources", is a practical evaluation of the status of the priesthood in Tasmania at the time, including a summary of the number of priests currently employed and the nature of their work.⁸⁷⁹ Third, "The Role of the Priest" (prepared by the southern deanery), is a reflection on the experiences of priestly ministry within Tasmania in light of the changes brought about by Vatican II. A section of this paper is devoted to the relationship between priests and the laity.⁸⁸⁰ The fourth document, "The

⁸⁷⁶ "Priests' Assembly 1984."

⁸⁷⁷ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 10 March 1984, Series No. 23.78, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1984, 3-4, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁷⁸ The details of who prepared these texts comes from the preparatory document: Priests' Assembly Week: Purpose - Papers - Process, 1984, Priests' Assembly - Papers: 1984, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁷⁹ Deployment of Resources: How Do We Serve?, 1984, Priests' Assembly - Papers: 1984, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁸⁰ The Role of the Priest: How Do We Serve?, 1984, Priests' Assembly - Papers: 1984, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

Role of the Laity” (prepared by the northern deanery), explores the apostolate of lay people in light of the documents of the Second Vatican Council and the current pastoral situation in Tasmania.⁸⁸¹ The fifth document entitled, “The Future?” (prepared by the north-west deanery), outlines potential ideas for future renewal within the archdiocese.

Papers produced for the Priests’ Assembly were pre-occupied with a dual pastoral reality. On the one hand, the number of young seminarians being trained for the priesthood in Tasmania was dropping and in a few years this shortage of applicants for the priesthood would become unmanageable. Priests currently working within the archdiocese were feeling the strain with many finding it difficult to cope. On the other hand, lay ministry within the archdiocese was flourishing and a core body of lay people were eager to take up greater responsibilities in support of the life of the church and its mission to the world, both on the local and diocesan levels.⁸⁸² However, these men and women required greater levels of support since the rate of Catholics drifting to the fringes of parish life and even away from the church all together was on the rise. The church’s teachings on contraception, divorce, Mass attendance, and mixed marriages seemed to have lost credibility within many Australian parishes.⁸⁸³ Renewal initiatives were being hampered by lay dependence on the clergy, as well as a culture of individualism, indifference, and an entrenched resistance to change amongst the faithful.⁸⁸⁴

This pastoral crisis was conceived both as a serious issue, but also a potentially beneficial sign of the times. The decision of the Priests’ Assembly to further engage with the laity of the archdiocese was viewed as an authentic opportunity to live out the vision of the Second Vatican Council.⁸⁸⁵ The theological vision of the Catholic lay apostolate conceived

⁸⁸¹ The Role of the Laity: How Do We Serve?, 1984, Priests’ Assembly - Papers: 1984, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁸² The Role of the Laity: 37.

⁸⁸³ The Role of the Priest: 4.

⁸⁸⁴ The Future?: How Do We Serve?, 1984, Priests’ Assembly - Papers: 1984, 50, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁸⁸⁵ Deployment of Resources: How Do We Serve?: 8.

within these papers draws from the documents of Vatican II, including *LG*, *GS*, and *AA*.⁸⁸⁶ Other more modern sources include the 1983 code of canon law where they refer to canon 204, which identifies the Christian faithful within the church as the people of God, who share in the threefold office of Christ and the mission of the church within the world; canon 206 which identifies catechumens as those who are explicitly joined to the church through the Holy Spirit, as well as their lives of faith, hope, and love; and canon 207 which negatively identifies the laity in contrast with the clergy.⁸⁸⁷

When discussing the role of the laity an attempt was made to emphasize both the *unity* of their apostolate with the *common* vocation of all Christians, including clergy, as well as the *uniqueness* and *diversity* of lay ministry. First, the lay apostolate is grounded in the common vocation of all Christ's faithful (*Christifideles*), bestowed by baptism and confirmation. Drawing upon the second chapter of *LG*, the authors recognize the primordial identity of the laity as members of the people of God.⁸⁸⁸ Through the sacraments, the laity become sharers in the threefold office of Christ (priest, prophet, royalty) and their ministry is united with that of the clergy and religious. Quoting *AA*, the authors underline the unity of the lay apostolate with Christ (*AA* 4), the interrelated nature of lay and priestly ministry (*AA* 2), and the laity's share in the threefold offices of Christ which draws them into the mission of the whole people of God in the church and the world (*AA* 2).⁸⁸⁹ Both the common priesthood of the laity and the ministerial priesthood of the clergy share in the holy priesthood of Christ. All are members of the people of God who are called to contribute to the mission of the church and pursue a life of holiness. Second, the ministries that support the church are pluriform and the unique way in which they are exercised distinguishes the apostolate of the laity from that of the clergy. The authors do note *LG*'s claim that the common priesthood of the laity and that of the ministerial priesthood differ in "essence" and not only in "degree" (*LG* 10), however, they do not attempt

⁸⁸⁶ When referencing the documents of Vatican II the authors cite the Walter Abbott English translation. See Walter Abbott, ed., *The Documents of Vatican II* (London, Dublin: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966).

⁸⁸⁷ The Role of the Laity: 32.

⁸⁸⁸ The Role of the Laity: 33.

⁸⁸⁹ The Role of the Laity: 34.

to unpack this statement and it doesn't seem to have any impact upon their pastoral reflections.⁸⁹⁰

Both laity and clergy are gifted by the Holy Spirit with special charisms that help them persevere in the fulfillment of their authentic mission. The authors recognize the distribution of charisms to the laity by the Holy Spirit as stated in the constitution (*LG* 12).⁸⁹¹ Lay Catholics are indispensable for the proper functioning of liturgical praxis, pastoral support of the poor, and the maintenance of ecclesial administration, particularly in light of the decreasing number of priests called to service. However, their continued contributions to the life of the church are not a stop-gap only intended to be operational until more clergy can be initiated. Increased lay involvement within the church is desired by the Holy Spirit and promoted by the documents of Vatican II. Lay people actively contribute to the life of the church; however, the clergy must increasingly promote the mission of the laity both within and for the world. The authors reference *LG* when they claim that the mission of the laity is to direct temporal affairs according to God's will (no. 31).⁸⁹² The laity are called to engage in open dialogue with the world and within the midst of their ordinary lives consecrate the temporal order for God.⁸⁹³ The authors recognize that *GS* expands the mission of the laity to embrace a concern, not only for the well-being of the church, but all of humanity. In order to further underline the laity's mission to the world, the authors quote an address of Pope Paul VI to the Third World Congress of the Lay Apostolate, at which he said that the laity were called to "consecrate the world to God".⁸⁹⁴

The reception and implementation of the teachings of Vatican II for the sake of the whole people of God, and particularly the laity, is presented as an ongoing challenge to the Archdiocese of Hobart.⁸⁹⁵ Both priests and lay people must cooperate for the sake of renewal and each should support the other. As the leader of the parish, priests must adopt a style of

⁸⁹⁰ The Role of the Laity: 33–34.

⁸⁹¹ The Role of the Laity: 34.

⁸⁹² The Role of the Laity: 34.

⁸⁹³ The Role of the Priest: 21–22.

⁸⁹⁴ The Role of the Priest: 21.

⁸⁹⁵ The Role of the Laity: 34.

leadership based on service, supporting the laity in the fulfilment of both their “common” and “specific” apostolates. The common apostolate refers to tasks which all lay people are given to achieve, including: creating a climate amicable for good human and Christian relations; creating just economic, social, and political institutions; bringing the spirit of the gospel into the professional world, as well as the arts and sciences and technology; and protecting and supporting family life and marriage. Priests can aid the laity in these tasks through encouraging homilies, counselling, personal friendship, home visitation and the support of personal initiatives.⁸⁹⁶ Priests are also called to aid the laity in the fulfillment of their “specific” apostolate. This refers to any special mandate given to an individual or group of lay people by the hierarchy and in collaboration with the clergy. These mandates might be given in the fields of catechesis or social justice.⁸⁹⁷

Ten principles for the furtherance of ecclesial renewal were created and promulgated by the Priests’ Assembly.⁸⁹⁸ Principles nine and ten were the richest regarding the potential future for the apostolate of the laity within the archdiocese. The former vocalized the continuing importance of the formation and ministry of lay Catholics. In particular, the authors supported the expansion of adult education to assist in the formation of the laity. In support of adult education, the authors cite Pope John Paul II’s post-synodal Apostolic Exhortation on catechesis, *Catechesi Tradendae* (no. 43), as well as his 1983 address “Confidence in his Laity” which promulgated the spiritual, moral, and theological importance of lay people.⁸⁹⁹ The

⁸⁹⁶ The Role of the Laity: 42.

⁸⁹⁷ The Role of the Laity: 38. The terms “common” and “specific” apostolate are drawn from: James Esler, “The Role of the Laity in the Church and the World According to the Canon Law of the Future,” in *An Introduction to the New Code of Canon Law*, ed. Geoffrey Robinson (Sydney: Canon Law Society of Australia and New Zealand, 1982), 90.

⁸⁹⁸ These ten principles are summarized in the news article: “Ten Principles,” *New Standard* September 1984, 1.

⁸⁹⁹ The Role of the Laity: 40. In 1979 an English translation of *Catechesi Tradendae* was published in Australia. See *Apostolic Exhortation: Catechesi Tradendae by John Paul II - Catechesis in Our Time* (Homebush, N.S.W.: Society of Saint Paul, 1979). The address “Confidence in his Laity” was given by Pope John Paul II to an audience of Australian bishops during an *ad limina* visit in 1983. See “Address of Pope John Paul II to a Group of Bishops from Australia on their « *Ad Limina Apostolorum* » (11 November 1983): Speech of Pope John Paul II,” Vatican, accessed 9 September 2022, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1983/november/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19831111_australia-ad-limina.html.

document “Easter People” produced by the National Pastoral Congress of England and Wales (1980) inspired the authors to promote a vision of Catholic adult education and formation centred upon fellowship, which strives to reach out to people in the midst of their ordinary lives.⁹⁰⁰

The latter confirms the centrality of the parish as the source of Christian life and worship. The parish community is at the heart of the authors’ vision of a new future for the Archdiocese of Hobart. This vision focused upon three interconnected concepts: the family, small base communities, and the parish. The family as a domestic church (an allusion to *LG* 11), is presented as the best opportunity for members to develop in the Christian faith and grow in the fullness of communion. The role of the family is to be a model of Christ’s love for the church, bearing witness to the gospel and stimulating ecclesial renewal.⁹⁰¹ Small base communities are envisioned as being made up of families, single men and women (with the authors positing thirty to forty adults) and children. They must be, “small enough for all to develop genuine relationships, but large enough to give variety”.⁹⁰² These communities are based on the principle of “co-responsibility” and promote Christian witness. They are a community of worship and of service, both for each other and the world. Together their goal is to manifest the experience of fellowship and communion with God and each other.⁹⁰³ Small base communities are groups who hold a shared vision of the faith and might be made up of neighbourhood groups, renewal movements, professional common interest groups, and ethnic communities. The authors’ emphasis on both the family and small communities was inspired by a paper from a recent ecclesial assembly held within the archdiocese of Brisbane (1983), entitled “The Christ we Proclaim”. The authors observed that *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (no. 58) spoke of the pastoral value of small communities. In support of small base communities, the authors also cited the Australian Jesuit Charles Mayne, who claimed that small groups have changed history.⁹⁰⁴

⁹⁰⁰ The Role of the Laity: 40.

⁹⁰¹ The Future: 52.

⁹⁰² The Future: 53.

⁹⁰³ The Future: 53.

⁹⁰⁴ The Role of the Laity: 38–39.

Small communities were envisioned as forming the nucleus of parishes.⁹⁰⁵ The authors define the parish as: “the People of God living in an organic and dynamic communion of Smaller Communities with the local Church”.⁹⁰⁶ The parish is conceived as a community of faith in action, love, service and worship, which evolves in accordance with the lives and needs of its members, rather than as a solid institution or organization which tells its members how to live.⁹⁰⁷ Lay Catholics could be trained to support the parish as “parish animators”, engaging with parishioners and promoting their involvement in tandem with the priest.⁹⁰⁸ Women are conceived as playing a “practical” role within the parish, contributing their “friendship” and “maternal instinct”.⁹⁰⁹ In summary, this vision of the church of the future is community focused, emphasising the vocation and mission to fellowship with Christ and humanity shared by all the people of God.⁹¹⁰

4. Diocesan Forward Planning Committee (1985–86)

Implementing the Priests’ Assembly

The Priests’ Assembly generated, refined and promulgated nineteen proposals concerning what the archdiocese should do moving forward into the future.⁹¹¹ A Diocesan Forward Planning Committee was elected to practically implement its proposals. It would be made up of twelve members, including four priests, four non-clerical religious, and four lay people; all accountable to the archbishop and intended to act in concert with the Council of Priests.⁹¹² Members of the Priests’ Assembly sent a letter to the lay people of Tasmania, “stressing the

⁹⁰⁵ The Future: 51.

⁹⁰⁶ The Future: 51.

⁹⁰⁷ The Future: 53.

⁹⁰⁸ The Role of the Laity: 39.

⁹⁰⁹ The Role of the Laity: 43.

⁹¹⁰ The Future: 52.

⁹¹¹ A full list of these proposals were printed in the following document: *Shaping our Future: Parish Preparation Programme*, 1986, Series No. 23.87, Diocesan Assembly 1986, 36–39, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁹¹² “Tasmanian Church Moves Forward,” *New Standard* July 1984, 3.

unique value of every person and affirming their dignity and role in the Church”.⁹¹³ They reminded the archdiocese that their meeting had only been a first step in the ongoing process of renewal. Notably they proposed, “that future assemblies be held at least every three years”.⁹¹⁴ The active process of consultation begun by the Priests’ Assembly was intended to be a continuous reality within the archdiocese.

Two prominent insights emerged from the Priests’ Assembly which would remain consistent throughout the discourse of this second phase of renewal. The first was that the decline in the number of priests and the flourishing of lay ministry were promptings from the Holy Spirit indicating that the archdiocese must embrace a new way of being church. The second was that the image of the parish must be re-thought in a new way, with small pastoral groups actively working to stimulate the life of the faithful. In their August discussions of the plethora of proposals generated by the Priests’ Assembly, the D.P.C. identified and supported both the need for continued lay formation and the establishment of small pastoral groups within parishes.⁹¹⁵

A New Way

Both themes were also actively taken up by an experimental paper put forward to the Council of Priests and Archbishop Young by Fr. C. Kilby entitled “A New Way”. Produced a year after the Priests’ Assembly, the paper encouraged the archdiocese to begin acting on its proposals.⁹¹⁶ In light of a worsening pastoral crisis in which the numbers of the priests had continued to drop, this paper sketched out a plan for promoting the growth of lay ministries through small base communities. At this time, the Catholic Church in Tasmania had forty-three parishes, four of which lacked a priest: Oatlands, Campbell Town, Newham, and Ellendale. By the year 2000, the author estimated that there would only be approximately thirty priests working within the

⁹¹³ “Tasmanian Church Moves Forward,” 3.

⁹¹⁴ “Tasmanian Church Moves Forward,” 3.

⁹¹⁵ Minutes of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 12 August 1984, Series No. 23.78, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1984, 1–2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁹¹⁶ “Priests Discuss ‘A New Way’,” *New Standard* September 1985, 3.

archdiocese.⁹¹⁷ The paper proposed that the forty-three parishes in Tasmania could be subdivided into local communities (approximately 153). Each local community would have a pastoral care group composed of roughly five-to-six lay people, “who are given the primary responsibility of the pastoral care of these communities”.⁹¹⁸ Certain members of these care groups might be employed as full-time lay ministers. The author suggests that a two-year theological and pastoral formation programme could be implemented to train members of these care groups. Further, the author states that in this new structure the ministry of the priest would need to be adapted. A priest should have pastoral care of an aggregation of small communities being responsible for their spiritual and educational development. The priest’s ministry would be one of unity and pastoral oversight of the collection of local communities. The sacramental life of these communities might also need to take on new shapes, where it is no longer possible for the traditional patterns to exist.⁹¹⁹ The author notes that their plan is not without precedent; the model proposed is inspired by the contemporary situation in France, where over 3000 small lay-based communities functioned under the guidance of a regional pastor who takes responsibility for multiple communities. The paper is optimistic, sharing in the belief that discerning the contemporary pastoral crisis is the first step towards living in a new way desired by the Holy Spirit.⁹²⁰

5. Diocesan Assembly (1986)

Preparations

The decision to host a Diocesan Assembly was announced after meetings of the Council of Priests and a special meeting called for by the D.F.P.C. with Young and executive members of the D.P.C., as well as members of the Priests’ Council, and Council of Major Religious Superiors (22 February 1986).⁹²¹ It was set to be held in Albert Hall in Launceston, 8–10 August. Preparatory regional meetings would be held in the three deaneries, with the first in

⁹¹⁷ A New Way (A Submission to the Council of Priests), 1985, Series No. 26.90, Archbishop’s Office - Guilford Young - Council of Priests: Minutes, 1–2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁹¹⁸ A New Way: 3.

⁹¹⁹ A New Way: 4.

⁹²⁰ A New Way: 5.

⁹²¹ “Diocesan Assembly for August,” *New Standard* April 1986, 2.

Ulverstone (21 June), the second in Hobart (28 June), and the third in Launceston (5 July). The changing nature of the church in a rapidly evolving world was to be its central theme. This was the next logical step in the process of preparing for a future renewal of the church begun by the Diocesan Task Force. While the Priests' Assembly had provided an opportunity for all clergy within Tasmania to be consulted, a Diocesan Assembly would offer the same opportunity for a wider swathe of the archdiocese, including lay representatives.⁹²²

Young officially called together an Assembly of the Archdiocese of Hobart through the publication of a pastoral letter.⁹²³ Quoting *GS* (no. 4) and its call to scrutinize the signs of the times and interpret them in light of the gospel, the archbishop made clear that the mission of the Diocesan Assembly was grounded in the trajectory towards ecclesial renewal begun by Vatican II.⁹²⁴ Further, this letter was an opportunity for Young to articulate his prevailing attitude toward the contemporary pastoral crisis. Expanding the role of the laity within the church was not conceived as a short-term solution that could be disbanded as soon as recruitment numbers for priests picked up again. Quoting *AA* (no. 3), he reminded his readers of the sacramental origins of the lay apostolate.⁹²⁵ Rather, this situation was perceived as an authentic sign of the Holy Spirit within the world guiding the Archdiocese of Hobart towards a new future, one in which the laity would continue to take on an increasingly diverse array of responsibilities.⁹²⁶ For Young, the Diocesan Assembly was intended to be a turning point that could usher in a new phase of history within the archdiocese.⁹²⁷ It was an opportunity for all the people of God within the Archdiocese of Hobart to lend their voices to the post-conciliar project of ecclesial renewal.⁹²⁸

⁹²² "Regional Meetings for Diocesan Assembly," *New Standard* June 1986, 1.

⁹²³ "Archbishop Writes Pastoral Letter," *New Standard* July 1986, 1.

⁹²⁴ Young, Pastoral Letter to the People of God in Tasmania: 8.

⁹²⁵ Young, Pastoral Letter to the People of God in Tasmania: 5.

⁹²⁶ Young, Pastoral Letter to the People of God in Tasmania: 10.

⁹²⁷ Young, Pastoral Letter to the People of God in Tasmania: 9.

⁹²⁸ Young, Pastoral Letter to the People of God in Tasmania: 11–12.

Chapter Nine: Road to the Diocesan Assembly

In the wake of Young's pastoral letter, a preparatory pastoral programme was organized for July entitled: "Shaping our Future: Parish Preparatory Programme". Divided into three sessions, it was designed to encourage parishioners to reflect on the past, present, and future of the archdiocese in anticipation of the Diocesan Assembly.⁹²⁹ The third session, reflecting on the future of the church in Tasmania, is notable for the emphasis it places on lay ministry and mission as a subject of discussion. A long quote from *Lineamenta* (no. 25–26), drafted by Rome in preparation for the forthcoming International Synod on the Laity (1987), was utilized to stimulate discussion.⁹³⁰ This passage emphasised the role of lay ministries within the church, the importance of returning to historical sources when reflecting upon the apostolate of the laity, and the secular "condition" of the laity.⁹³¹ The programme's vision of the future was also informed by the paper "A New Way", promoting the continued expansion of lay ministry and reimagining the parish in terms of local communities and pastoral care groups.⁹³²

The Archdiocese of Hobart would receive help from the Archdiocese of Adelaide in the execution of the Diocesan Assembly. Like Young, James William Gleeson, Archbishop of Adelaide (1971–85), had set up a task force in 1981 in order to formulate a new pastoral plan for the future of the archdiocese.⁹³³ As the culmination of their efforts, a diocesan assembly was held (29 November – 1 December 1985) at Loreto College, Marryatville with the theme: "sent forth". At this time Gleeson had retired and Leonard Faulkner had become archbishop (19 July 1985).⁹³⁴ An article in the *New Standard* (published in August 1986) suggested that Tasmanians could learn much from the final report of this assembly.⁹³⁵ Assistance would arrive

⁹²⁹ Shaping our Future: Parish Preparation Programme: 1.

⁹³⁰ An English translation of this document was published in Australia in 1985. See *Vocation and Mission of the Laity in the Church and in the World: Twenty Years after the Second Vatican Council - Lineamenta* (Homebush, N.S.W.: St. Paul Publications, 1985).

⁹³¹ Shaping our Future: Parish Preparation Programme: 19–20.

⁹³² Shaping our Future: Parish Preparation Programme: 20–22.

⁹³³ Robert Rice, "James William Gleeson" (PhD diss., Flinders University, 1 March 2019), 274.

⁹³⁴ Rice, "James William Gleeson," 284.

⁹³⁵ "Adelaide Proposals for Diocesan Assembly," *New Standard* August 1986, 5.

in the form of the director of pastoral renewal in Adelaide, David Shinnick, who had accepted an invitation to act as a facilitator of the Diocesan Assembly.⁹³⁶

Gathered Together in Consultation

The Diocesan Assembly took place over three days (8–10 August 1986) of continued consultation with representatives of the whole people of God within the Archdiocese of Hobart, with more than 350 delegates from all parishes and schools in attendance. The liturgical life of the event echoed the process of reflection on the past, present, and future of the church taking place amongst its members.⁹³⁷ Day one (Friday) began with an official welcome and opening liturgy centred on the theme: “In God’s Presence”. Its purpose was to call upon the Holy Spirit to bless the Assembly. Participants were encouraged to reflect on the church’s past and tableaux were displayed throughout the ceremony of the communities’ ancestors, including teachers, children, families, mothers, friends, fathers, grandparents, priests, religious, and archbishops. Afterwards, delegates were divided into thirty-five small groups to discuss current issues, concerns, and challenges of the church on the level of the parish, region, and the archdiocese. The first night of the Assembly concluded with a session discussing feedback from these groups.

On day two (Saturday), sixteen separate issues were examined by special interest groups, including: the place of small groups in the life of the church, community building, youth, faith-formation of teachers in Catholic schools, country parishes, parish outreach, ministries, women in the church, family, clergy-laity relations, justice, parish councils, liturgy, media, ecumenism, and religious catechesis. The day’s liturgical event emphasized a vision of the pilgrim church, with the theme: “In Search of Our True Homeland”. Its purpose was to pray to God for the strength to pursue ecclesial renewal. This sentiment was continued at a late-night Vigil Mass, celebrated with the theme: “Do not be afraid I am with you”.

Day three (Sunday) began with morning prayer, where delegates asked the Holy Spirit for wisdom and understanding to guide their decisions. During discussions, a number of participants gave their personal impressions of the event. Amongst them was Shinnick who

⁹³⁶ “Adelaide Speaker for First Tasmanian Diocesan Assembly,” *New Standard* July 1986.

⁹³⁷ This description of the Diocesan Assembly has been synthesized from two newspaper articles: “Assembly Helps to Shape Church Future,” *New Standard* September 1986, 1–2; “Liturgies were Features of the Diocesan Assembly 1986,” *New Standard* 1986, 1.

used the opportunity to call for greater education and faith formation of the laity. He commended the dialogue that had been demonstrated between priests and lay people and praised the Assembly's commitment to reaching out to those who existed on the fringes of church life, including the divorced, unemployed and poor, through pastoral care groups. He also noted a deep desire amongst participants for greater leadership training amongst all church members on the local, regional and diocesan levels. The final session concluded with a liturgy of commitment to the ideals on display at the Assembly and the proposals generated by its participants.⁹³⁸

Integrated Mission and Ministry

For the benefit of the Assembly, David Shinnick gave a speech on social justice and the lay apostolate, entitled: "Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry."⁹³⁹ From the outset, he framed his reflections in light of *GS* (no. 1, 4), advocating for a vision of the faithful who positively engage with the modern world, its questions, and desires.⁹⁴⁰ Two principles constitute the primary pillars for this vision: "integrated mission" and "integrated ministry". The former principle refers to a baptized person's integration within the mission of the church to the world. Integrated mission begins with the personal renewal of an individual, aligning their life with the gospel, and revealing to them the necessity of proclamation and witness in the name of Jesus Christ.⁹⁴¹ Shinnick developed a three-part framework for understanding personal renewal in relationship with God, drawing upon Pope Paul VI's Apostolic Exhortation on Evangelisation, *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (1975). Drawing upon this document, he observed that personal renewal requires inner conversion, social conversion, and an educated understanding of the Gospel message.⁹⁴² Both inner conversion and social conversion are connected, since the church seeks to bring the Gospel to all humanity, but there can be no conversion without interior change (*EN* 18). Social conversion is a powerful form of proclamation, since the most

⁹³⁸ "Liturgies were Features of the Diocesan Assembly 1986," 1.

⁹³⁹ David Shinnick, *Shaping our Future: Together Shaping our Future - Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*, 1986, Series No. 23.87, Diocesan Assembly 1986, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁹⁴⁰ Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 2.

⁹⁴¹ Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 5–6.

⁹⁴² Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 3–7.

effective form of witness is the living of an authentic Christian life (EN 41). Finally, personal renewal requires an unequivocal proclamation of the Gospel message bolstered by an educated understanding of its content. Christian witness will be ineffective if the message is not explained, justified and made explicit by a direct justification of the Lord (EN 2). There can be no evangelization if the name, teachings, and mystery of Jesus are not proclaimed (EN 22).⁹⁴³

Beyond personal renewal, Shinnick discussed the role of the Christian in the modern world, specifically in the world of daily life, organizations, and culture. Christians are called to bear witness to the Gospel in the world of daily life, amongst family, the workplace, neighbours, parishes, schools, and friends. He remarked that evangelization would not be complete if it did not take account of the impact of the Gospel within the ordinary lives of people (EN 29). Christians are also called to transform institutions in the name of God, including workplaces, trade unions, religious communities, school boards, employer associations, parish councils, and leisure groups. He repeated John Paul II's exhortation to support all Christians who strive to make these structures more human, referencing an address made by the pope to the people of Puebla, Mexico during the third general conference of the Latin American episcopate on 28 January 1979 (no. I.5.).⁹⁴⁴ Citing Pope Paul VI's Encyclical on the development of peoples *Populorum Progressio* (26 March 1967, no. 32) and *Octogesima Adveniens* (no. 36), Shinnick noted that the church has always called for a positive and discerning transformation of society in light of the Gospel, through Catholic Social Teaching.⁹⁴⁵ Addresses from Pope John Paul II are referenced as evidence of the current pope's desire to humanize and transform the structures of social and economic life in favour of a preferential option for the poor, including the previously mentioned address to the Catholics of

⁹⁴³ Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 6–7.

⁹⁴⁴ For Pope John Paul II's 1979 address to the people of Puebla see "Apostolic Journey to the Dominican Republic, Mexico and the Bahamas (January 25 – February 1 1979). Third General Conference of the Latin American Episcopate. Address of His Holiness John Paul II, Puebla, Mexico (Sunday, 28 January 1979)," Vatican, accessed 9 September 2022, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1979/january/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19790128_messico-puebla-episc-latam.html.

⁹⁴⁵ In 1972 an English translation of *Populorum Progressio* was published in Australia. See: B. A. Moore, trans., *A Simplified Version of The Encyclical Letter of Pope Paul VI on the Development of Peoples: Populorum Progressio* (Melbourne: A.C.T.S. Publications, 1972).

Puebla, an address to the people of Bacolod (Philippines) in 1981, and the 1979 encyclical *Redemptor Hominis* (no. 16).⁹⁴⁶

Finally, Christians must bring the mission of Christ to bear on the world of culture. Shinnick defined culture as a “web of common meanings and values” which reside within the conscious and unconscious of a community, finding expression in structures, institutions, myths, and symbols.⁹⁴⁷ Australians exist within a web of symbols that impact their personal, social, economic, political, religious, and spiritual lives. Contemporary Australian culture is perceived as secular and uninterested in religious values. Predominantly, Australians value economic growth, materialistic affluence, and the spectacle of sport. Shinnick acknowledged that the church can be enriched by human social development, yet what the world gives to the church cannot be accepted thoughtlessly but must be reflected upon in tandem with the Word of God and the Holy Spirit (*GS* 44, 58).⁹⁴⁸ He called for the full evangelization and regeneration of Australian culture through the gospel, in a deep and vital way (*EN* 20). The laity have a particularly important part to play in this process through their work evangelizing families, professional working spaces, politics, society, economics, the sciences, arts, and mass media (*EN* 70).⁹⁴⁹ For Shinnick, Christian engagement with the world must be driven by a “spirit of dialogue”, as promulgated by Vatican II.⁹⁵⁰

Christians have a mission to the world, but they are also called to transform the church in a positive way. All the people of God have a part to play in building up the church community and the laity are often called to exercise ministries in service to this role, supported by the grace and charisms of the Lord (*EN* 73). According to Shinnick, one of the most significant ways in which the Second Vatican Council impacted the church is to inspire a movement from an

⁹⁴⁶ Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 8–9. For Pope John Paul II’s 1981 address to the people of Bacolod see “Apostolic Journey to Pakistan, Philippines, Guam, Japan, Anchorage (February 16–27 1981). Address of His Holiness John Paul II to Landowners and Workers of Sugar Cane Plantations (Friday, 20 February 1981),” Vatican, accessed 9 September 2022, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1981/february/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19810220_filippine-bacolod-zuccherro.html.

⁹⁴⁷ Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 9.

⁹⁴⁸ Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 9–10.

⁹⁴⁹ Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 14.

⁹⁵⁰ Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 14.

individualistic understanding of faith to one that is centred on the community.⁹⁵¹ The people of God are called to build up the life of the community and re-shape the institutional life of the church practicing the principles of “collaboration” and “co-responsibility”.⁹⁵² New structures of consultation, such as parish councils, reflect a broader shift towards a community-centred model of the church. These structures must be consistently reviewed and renewed, to ensure they operate justly.⁹⁵³

The second aspect of Shinnick’s guide to shaping the future of the church is “integrated ministry.” By his own account, the past twenty years of attempting to adapt to a post-conciliar world had generated a great deal of tension between priests, religious, and lay people. Each was trying to adjust to their renewed role within the church’s mission, as outlined by the Second Vatican Council. Yet, the past two decades had also seen a flourishing of relations between these three groups, within certain communities. Shinnick located the key to continued success within a vision of equality bestowed through baptism upon all the faithful, promulgated by *Lineamenta* (no. 16). The concept of integrated ministry implies priests, religious, and lay people working together for the benefit of the church and the world, rather than in isolated groups.⁹⁵⁴

Reflecting on the Proposals of the Diocesan Assembly

Young considered the Diocesan Assembly to have been a great success.⁹⁵⁵ After its conclusion, a letter was sent to all the priests of Tasmania thanking the faithful for their involvement.⁹⁵⁶ The D.F.P.C. met a day after the Assembly’s close to discuss the proposals for renewal.⁹⁵⁷ A

⁹⁵¹ Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 15.

⁹⁵² Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 16.

⁹⁵³ Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 16.

⁹⁵⁴ Shinnick, *Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry*: 17–18.

⁹⁵⁵ “Assembly was ‘a process of the highest order’,” *New Standard* September 1986, 11.

⁹⁵⁶ Chairman of the Diocesan Forward Planning Committee Fr. C. Hope, Correspondence - Diocesan Assembly, 12 August 1986, Series No. 23.87, Diocesan Assembly 1986, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁹⁵⁷ “Assembly Helps to Shape Church Future,” 2.

large number were reflected upon and made public by the D.F.P.C. through a publication in the *New Standard* (October). Members hoped that they would contribute to the development of parish pastoral care programmes. The proposals put forward by the D.F.P.C. were intended to stimulate pastoral renewal on the level of both the parish and the diocese. Concerns and proposals were raised regarding the general practice of church ministries, as well as the specific fields of Catholic education, ecumenism, the family, and Catholic youth. In continuity with the vision of the Priests' Assembly, they advocated both for the formation of the laity for the purposes of church ministry, and the creation of small pastoral care groups within parishes. Notably, one proposal suggested that deaneries should prepare study guides, summaries, and complete texts of the documents of the Second Vatican Council for use in parishes.⁹⁵⁸

Discussions continued and additional proposals were articulated by the D.F.P.C. in December. Regarding the topic of social justice, concerns were expressed that Tasmanian Catholics were blind to un-examined prejudices and did not do enough to act upon the teachings of the church in this area. A more powerful "prophetic voice" was required.⁹⁵⁹ Amongst other responses, it was suggested the archbishop could initiate a local commission for justice and peace. Concerns were raised regarding the relationship between Tasmanian clergy and laity. In response, it was recommended that the uniqueness of the vocation of clergy, laity, and religious in the church be recognised and that clergy and laity should come together in an integrated programme of common prayer, shared social life, and apostolic work.⁹⁶⁰ A final concern of the D.F.P.C. was that parish councils should be established in every parish. In response, it was proposed that the D.F.P.C. draft guidelines to assist parish councils in the creation of a constitution.⁹⁶¹ The document they produced draws support for its commentary and description

⁹⁵⁸ For a list of proposals generated by the Diocesan Assembly see: "Fr. Delaney to assist D.F.P.C.," *New Standard* October 1986, 3–4.

⁹⁵⁹ "More Proposals from Forward Planning Committee," *New Standard* December 1986, 7.

⁹⁶⁰ For more pastoral proposals refined by the D.F.P.C. see "More Proposals from Forward Planning Committee," 7.

⁹⁶¹ "More Proposals from Forward Planning Committee," 7.

of procedures (including elections) from the 1983 code of canon law, documents of the Tasmanian Priests' Assembly, and the papal encyclicals *EN* and *FC*.⁹⁶²

Responses to the Assembly

On 18 July 1987, eleven months after the Diocesan Assembly, a meeting was held with representatives from a variety of different organizations, commissions, renewal movements, and religious orders within the archdiocese. The purpose of this meeting was to establish a sense of how each group had responded to the assembly. Participants at this meeting represented the fields of Catholic education (Catholic Education Office; Tasmanian Catholic Education Commission; Society of Christian Doctrine); priests (Council of Priests); pastoral care (Centacare; St. Vincent de Paul Society; Australian Catholic Relief); administration (Church Office/Finance Committee); youth (Diocesan Youth Commission; Antioch movement); Catholic women (Women and the Australian Church; C.W.L.); the Catholic family (Federation of Catholic Parents & Friends Association; Marriage Encounter); social justice (a representative from the nascent Australian Catholic Social Justice Council which was due to replace the C.C.J.P. in 1987); spirituality and the liturgy (two diocesan retreat centres; D.L.C.); renewal movements (Cursillo Movement; Catholic Renewal Movement); religious orders (Sisters of St. Joseph; Presentation Sisters; Dominican Sisters; Little Company of Mary; Christian Brothers; Good Shepherd Sisters; Marist Fathers; Salesian Fathers; Missionary Sisters of Service; Sisters of Charity; Sisters of Mary). All organisations expressed their support for and alignment with the proposals of the Assembly.⁹⁶³

Parishes orchestrated their own responses to the Diocesan Assembly. Wynyard formed a pastoral caring group composed of women who were tasked with visiting the sick and aged, as well as assisting young mothers with baby-sitting needs. In these tasks they co-ordinated with local Catholic pastoral organizations.⁹⁶⁴ The parish of Queenstown launched a number of

⁹⁶² Tasmanian Diocesan Forward Planning Committee: Substantive Guidelines of Possible Parish Pastoral Council Constitutions with Commentary, Undated, Series No 23.87, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection, Diocesan Assembly 1986.

⁹⁶³ Shaping our Future: Present Hopes ... Future Visions ... 18 July 1987, Series No. 23.87, Diocesan Assembly 1986, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁹⁶⁴ "Wynyard Parish Forms a Caring Group," *New Standard* November 1986, 9.

educational, formational, and ecumenical initiatives, as well as preparations for the imminent visit of Pope John Paul II to Tasmania.⁹⁶⁵

6. Preparations for the International Synod on the Laity (1986–87)

Promotion and Preparation (1986)

When Pope John Paul II visited the Archdiocese of Hobart (1986), as part of a global pilgrimage in preparation for the International Synod on the Laity, he was welcomed as a celebrity.⁹⁶⁶ While in Hobart, he gave a speech on youth unemployment at the Willson Training Centre, a location run by CENTACARE for training and re-training young people for work. Here he advocated for the necessity of employment as a human right meant for all, drawing primarily from his Encyclical on labour and the dignity of work, *Laborem Exercens* (14 September 1981). He defended the rights of economically disadvantaged groups to work, including unemployed young mothers, refugees, immigrants and disabled women and men.⁹⁶⁷ In the same year, around the middle of 1986, a conference of the laity of Australia, New Zealand, Papua-New Guinea, and the Pacific islands was held in Auckland (New Zealand), in anticipation of the Synod. Neville Behrens was amongst the Australian representatives and he reported positive impressions of the enthusiastic faith of representatives from Papua-New Guinea and the Pacific Islands.⁹⁶⁸

Called and Gifted (1987)

In light of the forthcoming International Synod on the Laity, a five-week consultative programme was initiated during Lent across the archdiocese entitled “Called and Gifted”. First prepared for the archdiocese of Brisbane and inspired by the Synod *Lineamenta*, this programme was intended to discover how parishioners understood the apostolate of the laity within the church.⁹⁶⁹ The programme took place over five sessions. Responses were received

⁹⁶⁵ “Queenstown Initiatives,” *New Standard* November 1986, 11.

⁹⁶⁶ “Pope will Move Among Crowds,” *New Standard* March 1986, 1.

⁹⁶⁷ “Unemployment a Serious Worldwide Problem, Pope tells Willson Trainees,” *New Standard* December 1986, 3–4.

⁹⁶⁸ Neville Behrens, “The Mission of the Laity,” *Newsletter of Tasmanian Pastoral Resource Centre: Religious Education in the Archdiocese of Hobart* October 1987, 1.

⁹⁶⁹ “Three Regional Meetings for Lenten Programme,” *New Standard* February 1987, 2.

from twenty-five parishes, representing slightly more than half of the forty-three parishes within the archdiocese. The only non-parish organization that responded to the programme was the Cathedral Antioch group. The results showed that there was a great deal of diversity within the archdiocese regarding how the lay apostolate was understood. While many parishioners called for greater opportunities to be given to the laity to act as leaders, many more expressed a sense of clerical dependency, being unwilling or unable to act upon their own initiative. Most parishioners felt unprepared to take on the role of witness within work and society. Small groups were seen within parishes as an effective way to support parishioners in their role as witnesses, yet it was also requested that these groups receive greater levels of pastoral training. More education regarding social issues was requested, indicating that more parishioners were beginning to feel it was their duty to understand matters of social justice. Many were becoming aware of the necessity for personal renewal and desired more ways to support their fellow parishioners in an ongoing conversion of the heart. There was a distinct concern amongst many parishes that not enough was being done to support the ministry of Catholic youth. Many felt that the role of women within the church was not being properly communicated, with some stating that the issue had been clouded by controversies surrounding the ordination of women. Greater communication between priests and laity was needed. A lack of agreement permeated the responses as to what tasks within the church were authentically those of the laity, with certain priests limiting the scope of lay ministry within their parish and perceiving some initiatives as an attack on their authority. This attitude was reflected in the response: "Laity are 'allowed to serve' but not as prophets or apostles".⁹⁷⁰ Most desired the support of their parish priest in their ministerial activities, however, they wished the clergy could better discern the value of the gifts and talents held by parishioners. Participants expressed hesitancy to volunteer for lay ministerial roles, fearing burnout, complaining of a lack of understanding regarding what is required of them, or voicing their inability to balance this role with family responsibilities. There was a clear lack of support for lay ministers within certain parishes. A great anguish was expressed regarding those who were excluded from the eucharist because of marital problems, though none could provide practical answers to this situation other than continued support of marriages. Finally, some found it challenging to explain their beliefs to

⁹⁷⁰ M. Delaney, Diocesan Report on Consultation on the Laity, 1987, Series No. 23.85, Diocesan Pastoral Council – Reports, Submissions, Proposals & Presentations (1968–1987), 8, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

non-Catholics and struggled with ecumenical scripture study groups. There existed a desire for simpler “black-white” teachings and one response suggested returning to a pre-Vatican II church.⁹⁷¹ The diversity of ways in which the lay apostolate was understood point to tensions existing within the community. The lack of agreement between certain parishioners and priests regarding how to conceive of the laity’s mandate had resulted in confusion and anxiety, with some longing for simpler church teachings. Despite the hard work and dedication of many Tasmanian Catholic lay people, priests and religious, the conciliar vision of an active and dynamic lay body participating in all areas of the church’s life and mission had not taken hold within the hearts and minds of many baptized members. Results from the “Called and Gifted” programme were sent to both the Australian Episcopal Conference and the Holy See as a contribution to preparations for the Synod in Rome on the Laity. The Synod itself was awaited in Tasmania with great anticipation and it was hoped that the voices of lay Catholics would be heeded by the bishops.⁹⁷²

The document synthesizing data from the “Called and Gifted” programme also dedicates an introductory section to summarizing the post-conciliar history of lay ministries in Tasmania. One passage stands out due to the way in which it diagnoses the short-comings of the D.P.C.: “the DPC has not become the strong clearing house of advice on all things pastoral that its initial meetings promised it would be. Part of the reasoning for this is that our ingrained habits were too strong - it was difficult for priests, or religious, or laity, to believe that its concerns could be properly dealt with by such an assembly. We, both laity and priests, were too confirmed in the process of letting ‘appropriate’ authority handle even those issues which required a joint, thoughtful effort.”⁹⁷³ Upon its founding in 1967, the foremost mission of the D.P.C. was to generate an experience of shared responsibility amongst all the people of God within the archdiocese, forming them in the teachings of the Council. Yet, many members could not shake old habits, with some unable to grasp the fullness of their new responsibilities. When reflecting in an interview on new responsibilities given to the laity by Young, Neville Behrens remarked: “The sad thing about it was that we were too timid, we didn’t accept it as

⁹⁷¹ Delaney, Consultation on the Laity: 8–10.

⁹⁷² “New Standard Editorial: Synod on Laity,” *New Standard* August 1987, 4.

⁹⁷³ Delaney, Consultation on the Laity: 3.

fully as we should, the opportunity that he had given us.”⁹⁷⁴ Broadly, many lay people had failed to fully grasp the broad swathe of ministries and responsibilities promoted by Young and others throughout the sixties and seventies. Many were unable to shake the habitual passivity of a pre-conciliar church.

7. Post-Assembly Developments (1986–88)

A Latin Mass in Hobart (1987)

The New Order of the Mass promulgated by Pope Paul VI in the wake of Vatican II had supported the widespread practice of the liturgy in the vernacular. As a member of ICEL, Young had played a role in the development of a new English liturgy and the Archdiocese of Hobart had eagerly embraced post-conciliar liturgical reform. Yet, not everyone in Australia had been receptive to this new trajectory initiated by the Council. The Australian Latin Mass Society had been active since 1966 and certain members (especially Hutton Gibson) had come to view Pope Paul VI and the *Novus Ordo* as heretical, desiring instead to return to the Latin rite. Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre had proclaimed that Vatican II was a schismatic council in 1976 and certain L.M.S. members aligned themselves with this view. In response to a report regarding the reception of the *Novus Ordo* within the churches of the world, as well as resistance to its implementation, the indult *Quattuor abhinc annos* was distributed by the Congregation for Divine Worship to the Presidents of Episcopal Conferences in 1984. The document empowered diocesan bishops with the authority to authorise celebrations of the 1962 version of the Latin Roman Missal. This was evidently meant as a concession to those who still longed to practice the so-called “Tridentine” rite. At the same time, the text took steps to ensure that those priests who began practicing the Latin Mass once more did not question the doctrinal legitimacy of the Roman Missal promulgated by Pope Paul VI after Vatican II.⁹⁷⁵

In November 1987, the *New Standard* reported that a Latin Mass was practiced in St. Mary’s Cathedral, Hobart. Celebrants were a Tasmanian priest, Fr. Geoffrey Jarrett, and Lex

⁹⁷⁴ Behrens, interview, 4.

⁹⁷⁵ “*Quattuor Abhinc Annos* (3 October 1984): Indult from the Congregation for Divine Worship to the Presidents of Episcopal Conferences for Use of the Roman Missal of 1962,” EWTN Global Catholic Network, 19 August 2022, <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/quattuor-abhinc-annos-indult-for-use-of-roman-missal-of-1962-2155>.

Johnson, the Administrator of St. Mary's Cathedral in Sydney.⁹⁷⁶ After the Mass, Jarrett gave a statement within the media promoting the success of the event. He offered his own interpretation of what it meant for lay people to actively participate within the Mass. The importance of interior, spiritual participation was stressed and the need for external participation de-emphasized. "'Active participation' does not mean to impose a constant, busy, wordiness with everyone saying or singing everything non-stop from start to finish. We may also participate deeply and actively as we listen to a choir singing music which transports us into a real experience of God and that unseen world, into the heart of Christ's action in the Mass."⁹⁷⁷ The Extraordinary Synod of Bishops on Vatican II had been convened in 1985, resulting in two documents: the *Final Report* and *Message to the People of God*. A report in the *New Standard* (1985) on responses to the Synod from the bishops of England and Wales indicates that Tasmanian Catholics were aware of these developments.⁹⁷⁸ Jarrett's liturgical understanding is to be found echoed within the Synod's *Final Report*, which similarly claimed that the active participation of the laity within the liturgy consists, "above all in interior and spiritual participation".⁹⁷⁹ Jarrett advocated for the Latin rite as both a treasure of antiquity and revelation for the youth of Tasmania. In support of the Latin Mass, he cited *SC* (no. 114, 116) treasuring Gregorian chant and the tradition of sacred music.⁹⁸⁰ There is little indication that either Jarrett or Johnson had any direct affiliation with L.M.S. or the first S.S.P.X. parish in Australia, which had been formed in Sydney in 1983. However, Jarrett's liturgical understanding is a departure from Young's, which had always emphasised the active participation of the laity as an external and internal phenomenon. Further, his treatment of *SC* as a legal source justifying the celebration of the Latin Mass seems distant from Young's original insight that the deeper message of the constitution was its canonisation of the principle of perennial adaptation within the heart of the church's life. This service had been timed to

⁹⁷⁶ "Latin Mass at Cathedral," *New Standard* November 1987, 2.

⁹⁷⁷ "'Huge Response' to Cathedral Latin Mass," *New Standard* December 1987, 10.

⁹⁷⁸ "Document for Synod," *New Standard* September 1985, 4.

⁹⁷⁹ "Final Report," 34.

⁹⁸⁰ "'Huge Response' to Cathedral Latin Mass," 10.

occur before the International Liturgy Assembly, which was due to be held in Hobart (January 1988).⁹⁸¹

International Liturgy Assembly (1988)

From 24–31 January 1988, an International Liturgy Assembly was held at the Tasmanian University Centre in Sandy Bay, a suburb of Hobart. The event attracted 600 participants from across the nation and around the world, including New Zealand, America, and Britain.⁹⁸² Young presided over the event as the senior bishop of the Sacred Congregation of Divine Worship and President of the National Liturgy Commission set up by the Bishops of Australia.⁹⁸³ Fr. Southerwood described Young's presentation for the assembly and reflections on the legacy of Vatican II:

Dr. Young, who attended all sessions of the Second Vatican Council, said that December 4, 1963, when the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy was promulgated, was for him the fulfilment of his 'youthful hopes and strivings'. From his days as a student in Rome his 'burning desire' had been 'that all the faithful should be led to that full, conscious and active participation in the liturgical celebrations that is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy...' The Archbishop said his work for the Church on various international bodies, as President of the National Liturgical Commission and as Archbishop of Hobart now came to a climax 'as we gather in faith to pray, study, discuss and celebrate' that which is 'the primary and indispensable source from which the faithful are to receive the true Christian spirit.'"⁹⁸⁴

The assembly was a high point in the archbishop's career implementing liturgical reform. His desire to promote the active participation of the laity within the liturgy had never wavered since his days at Vatican II. At the same time, Young's hopes had been tempered by the problems of the decade. In a welcome to the keynote speaker of the assembly, Englishman George Basil Cardinal Hume, the archbishop stated that: "the time is a confused and troubled, turbulent time and too many of the Family of God are over-anxious and losing heart [...] And so we who are signed of the Christ of the cross will worship and work with Christian gaiety this week, knowing

⁹⁸¹ "Latin Mass at Cathedral," 2.

⁹⁸² "Liturgy Assembly a Great Success," *New Standard*, February 1988, 1.

⁹⁸³ "International Liturgy Assembly: Cardinal Hume was Keynote Speaker," *New Standard*, May 1988, 7.

⁹⁸⁴ Terrence W. Southerwood, "New Standard Editorial: An Event of Major Importance," *New Standard*, March 1988, 4.

that no work done for God in Christ and His Church ever evaporates into the sands of time. For Christ Risen is the Lord of History and no matter how baffling the surface, events, twists and turns, He is bringing all to completion and consummation according to His healing, transforming, dynamic design.”⁹⁸⁵ If the archbishop had become disillusioned in his old age by the limited reach of his efforts to reform the Archdiocese of Hobart in the spirit of the teachings of the Second Vatican Council, he continued to hold onto hope that his efforts were not in vain. This was a hope supported by faith in Christ as the Lord of history.

The event hosted at least twenty-five workshops on various liturgical and sacramental themes, as well as a plethora of speakers. Reports of the event published in the media (including a list of workshops) say nothing about the Latin Mass as a subject of importance; indicating that Fr. Geoffrey Jarrett’s liturgical celebration at St. Mary’s Cathedral the previous year had little impact upon the assembly’s programme. Indeed, with workshops focused on lectors and the Liturgy of the Word, children’s liturgies, and liturgical drama and mime, the agenda seemed to embody the spirit of pastoral care, enthusiasm, experimentation, and active participation of all the faithful which had long characterised liturgical reform in Tasmania since Vatican II.⁹⁸⁶ Notable was the presentation of Mrs. Miriam-Rose Ungunmer, an Aboriginal woman from the Daly River area of the Northern Territory. She spoke on *dadirri* as a, “inner, deep listening and quiet, still awareness”, which she related to her Christian faith and described as a special characteristic of her people. While deeply attentive to the voices of the laity, little evidence has been found that Young actively sought to elevate the voices of Australian Aboriginal Catholics during his episcopacy. Here at least, during what was likely one of the last major public events attended by the archbishop, Young lent his ear to an Australian Aboriginal on the subject of spiritual listening.⁹⁸⁷ The highlight of the event was the keynote address by Cardinal Hume who, following the theme of the event: “New People – New Life”, provided a meditation on the People of God within *Lumen Gentium*, as well as the Pauline image of the Body of Christ, and the threefold offices of Christ. Amongst other things, he lamented an impoverished understanding of the lay apostolate which sought to restrict lay ministry to the secular world

⁹⁸⁵ Guilford Young, “Message of Welcome to Cardinal Hume,” *New Standard*, May 1988, 7.

⁹⁸⁶ “Liturgy Assembly a Great Success,” *New Standard*, February 1988, 1.

⁹⁸⁷ Terrence W. Southerwood, “New Standard Editorial: An Event of Major Importance,” *New Standard*, March 1988, 4.

and clerical ministry to the church. Instead, borrowing the ecclesiological emphasis of the Extraordinary Synod of 1985, he stated that the church must be a “*communio*” of shared gifts and responsibilities. For Hume, the 1985 Synod had reaffirmed the teachings of Vatican II and he did not believe it to be important that the actual phrase “People of God” was not utilised as strongly in the *Final Report* of the Synod as in the second chapter of *Lumen Gentium*.⁹⁸⁸ “Its main lines, he said, echoed very closely and gave ‘unequivocal affirmation’ to the teachings of the Council.”⁹⁸⁹ His speech wove images of the church as the people of God and communion together, fostering a positive and dynamic vision of lay ministry within the Church.⁹⁹⁰ Hume was identified by Avery Dulles as representative of those bishops at the Extraordinary Synod of 1985 who, maintaining a humanitarian outlook, believed that great progress had been made by Vatican II and attributed contemporary difficulties to conservative prelates who had failed to carry out the reforms of the Council.⁹⁹¹ His presence at the International Liturgy Assembly in Hobart may indicate that Young had also been sympathetic to this position.

A New Vision for Consultation (1986–88)

The archdiocesan structures of consultation continued to evolve. At the end of 1986, steering committees from each deanery began the task of forming regional pastoral councils, intending to follow up on the Diocesan Assembly’s proposal to improve communication and sharing of resources between parishes and diocesan bodies.⁹⁹² The D.P.C. itself had been inactive since 1986, with resources diverted to the D.F.P.C. and its promotion of the Assembly, as well as preparations for the arrival of Pope John Paul II. The executive had been reduced in size, due to a score of resignations possibly stimulated by its inactivity. Des Mortimer, the final chairman of the D.P.C., explained this situation to Young in a letter with deep regret, stating: “Hopefully from the meeting of 18 July the revamping of the D.P.C. may come forth in some outline or

⁹⁸⁸ “International Liturgy Assembly: Cardinal Hume was Keynote Speaker,” *New Standard*, May 1988, 6.

⁹⁸⁹ “International Liturgy Assembly: Cardinal Hume was Keynote Speaker,” *New Standard*, May 1988, 6.

⁹⁹⁰ “International Liturgy Assembly: Cardinal Hume was Keynote Speaker,” *New Standard*, May 1988, 6–7.

⁹⁹¹ Avery Dulles, “The Reception of Vatican II at the Extraordinary Synod of 1985,” in *The Reception of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo, Jean-Pierre Jossua, and Joseph Komonchak (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1987), 354.

⁹⁹² “Regional Meetings to Form Councils,” *New Standard* November 1986, 2.

proposal, or in the format recommended by the old D.P.C.”⁹⁹³ A series of meetings took place throughout 1987 and in November the D.F.P.C. announced its recommendation to re-activate and renew the D.P.C. Whereas formerly this body had been structured along the lines of a “Working Party Model”, which included the archbishop, vicar-general, an executive from each deanery and four appointees of the archbishop, the new D.P.C. would adopt an, “Umbrella Model”, which also included a representative from the Priest’s Council, Council of Major Religious Superiors, a social justice representative, and important agencies (including the Church Office, Centacare, Catholic Education Office, Youth Commission and Liturgical Commission). The new D.P.C. would be part of a three-tier structure of consultation, alongside regional and parish pastoral councils. It was intended to provide a broader and more comprehensive representation of the entire archdiocese, working in tandem with all major organizations, councils, and commissions. Notably, the D.P.C. was intended to take over the forward planning role of the D.F.P.C.⁹⁹⁴ The new role of the D.P.C. would be as an executive body, coordinating the activities of regional councils, in collaboration with parish councils.⁹⁹⁵ The D.F.P.C. recommended that a new D.P.C. be formed in time to have their first meeting in early March 1988.⁹⁹⁶ A circular letter sent by Young (15 February 1988) formally accepted these recommendations: “For the past three years we have not had a Diocesan Pastoral Council functioning [. . .]. More recently the Diocesan Forward Planning Committee has discussed a proposal for the revival of the Diocesan Pastoral Council. In that time too we had our first Assembly of the People of God in the Archdiocese out of which came a plea for greater use of smaller groupings as pastoral and planning units. Now that the Regional Pastoral Councils have been set up in each Deanery I am able to call our important Diocesan Pastoral Council into existence once more.”⁹⁹⁷ The archbishop requested that all recipients nominate their new

⁹⁹³ Des Mortimer, Correspondence with Archbishop Young, 14 July 1987, Series No. 23.82, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1987–1989, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁹⁹⁴ The Revival of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 30 November 1987, Series No. 23.82, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1987–1989, 1–3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

⁹⁹⁵ Delaney, Consultation on the Laity: 6.

⁹⁹⁶ The Revival of the Diocesan Pastoral Council: 1.

⁹⁹⁷ Guilford Young, Circular Letter Reconstituting the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 15 February 1988, Series No. 23.82, Diocesan Pastoral Council - Papers: 1987–1989, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

D.P.C. representative and call a meeting together for 19 March 1988.⁹⁹⁸ However, it is doubtful that the inaugural meeting of the new D.P.C. ever occurred. Young died unexpectedly in hospital three days earlier, on 16 March 1988.⁹⁹⁹

8. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to synthesize a vision of the history of the Archdiocese of Hobart in the lead-up to the Diocesan Assembly in 1986 and its aftermath. Beginning with the establishment of a Diocesan Task Force in 1981 and concluding with the death of Archbishop Guilford Young in 1988, this is the second phase of post-conciliar reception and implementation of the Second Vatican Council's vision of the lay apostolate within the Archdiocese of Hobart. Why is this phase of reception important within the context of the broader historical narrative explored in previous chapters? The second phase is a continuation of the first phase of conciliar reception and implementation explored in chapter eight. Ecclesial structures newly established after the Council, including the D.P.C., participated in an extensive process of research and consultation in response to a vocational crisis. Their participation manifested the democratic ethos of the post-conciliar principle of co-responsibility. Established in 1981, the Diocesan Task Force was given a mandate to discover the joys and hopes, the fears and anxieties of all the people who belong to the church in Tasmania. Research uncovered a number of issues, beyond a dearth of vocations, which all pointed to a crisis of identity within the post-conciliar church, including: a gap between the official teachings of the church and the self-understanding of Catholics; complaints that many were unable to understand contemporary changes in the practices and teachings of the church; the absence of a forum or space where those experiencing distress can make their voices heard and a proper response formulated; a feeling of voicelessness, insignificance, and frustration; the reality of many Catholics drifting away from the church, particularly the young; and finally, an experience of interior spiritual emptiness. An attempt to formulate a response began amongst the clergy and a Priests Assembly was called in 1984. Confining discussion amongst the clergy would have been contrary to the spirit of shared responsibility which Young had been promoting since the Council. The Diocesan Assembly of 1986 crystallized the conciliar vision of the church as the people of God; gathering priests, religious, and lay representatives

⁹⁹⁸ Young, Circular Letter Reconstituting the Diocesan Pastoral Council.

⁹⁹⁹ "May he Rest in the Peace of Christ," *New Standard* April 1988, 1.

together for the purposes of shaping the future of the Archdiocese of Hobart. This second historical phase emphasised the ecclesiological focus on the people of God promulgated by the second chapter of *Lumen Gentium*. Further, while the first phase had witnessed the expansion of opportunities for lay participation, leaders working within the second phase, including Young, viewed the growth of lay ministries as an answer to the increasing dearth of seminarians. This crisis was conceived as a sign from the Holy Spirit that the church must embrace new methods of ministry and mission, including those that expanded opportunities for the laity to participate in the life and mission of the Church.

The second phase reveals that post-conciliar ecclesial renewal initiated during the first phase had, in various ways, succeeded. Young's enthusiasm for conciliar renewal had been received within the hearts and minds of many Tasmanian priests, religious, and lay leaders. The formation of new committees and groups, including the Diocesan Task Force and Diocesan Forward Planning Committee, revealed that Young's commitment to renewal in light of the teachings of the Second Vatican Council was increasingly reflected amongst diocesan structures. Even the network of parish councils had been built-up sufficiently enough to ensure that ambitious programmes, especially the Diocesan Assembly, could garner representation from many parishes across the island. Compared with the pre-conciliar church of the past, lay participation had, to a certain extent, become normalised. This was a triumph for an archbishop who had believed that *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, a text calling for the full, conscious, and active participation of the faithful within the liturgy (SC 14), would have an impact upon other areas of church life and mission, including that of the lay apostolate. Perhaps the greatest success was the liturgical reform of the archdiocese itself. Where once a supposedly unchanging and unresponsive Mass had been the norm, now the laity sung hymns in English, responded to the priest in prayer, and embraced new responsibilities within the functioning of the liturgy itself. The International Liturgy Assembly (1988) was the proverbial crown upon the head of this great endeavour, a culmination of Young's drive to bring about liturgical reform.

Finally, the second phase reveals that post-conciliar ecclesial renewal initiated during the first phase had, in many ways, failed. The vision of an active and dynamic lay body fully participating within the life and mission of the archdiocese had not been embraced as radically as Young might have hoped. Was it reasonable to expect that lay workers, many of whom acted in a volunteer capacity, could compensate for the diminishing numbers of professional clerics? Were proposals for entrusting greater pastoral responsibilities to a core group of lay people, such as those put forward by the paper "A New Way," more idealistic than realistic? Perhaps

the archbishop's ambitions were too high. Research conducted for the consultative programme "Called and Gifted" in preparation for the 1987 International Synod on the Laity revealed that many Tasmanian Catholics still struggled with their identity, with some desiring simpler "black-white" teachings. One response even suggested returning to a pre-Vatican II church. Further, while the D.P.C. had been established as a manifestation of the Council's aim to share responsibility for the life and mission of the church amongst the whole people of God, many members had been unable to shake the habitual passivity (once normative in the pre-conciliar church) which undermined their ability to act as a critical and decisive advisory body. Young's belief in the project never wavered, however, and rather than abolish the institution he called for reform. This aim was interrupted by his death in 1988.

The Archdiocese of Hobart entered into a period of mourning for a leader who had shaped their archdiocese for more than three decades. It is possible that Young's death diverted attention away from the results of the Synod of Bishops on the Laity (1987) and the publication of the post-synodal Apostolic Exhortation, *Christifideles Laici* (30 December 1988).¹⁰⁰⁰ Young's death occurred at the threshold of a new phase of ecclesial renewal, one that had only just begun to take shape. By the eighties he had lost much of the vigour which had propelled him through the sixties and seventies, being at an age where initiating new and innovative projects was becoming an increasingly steep task. In an interview, Neville Behrens remarked on the fact that Young had begun to slow down towards the end of his life. "Yes, he died suddenly in 1988. But as I said in the beginning, he'd been in ill health [. . .] for a few years before that. And I think he was tired. So that some of the impetus had gone."¹⁰⁰¹ Though reaching the limits brought about by age, Young was not alone in campaigning for renewal. Many of those around him, priests, religious, and lay people had already been immersed in the expectation that all the people of God should be represented in the project of ecclesial renewal and post-conciliar reception. In the lead-up to the first Diocesan Assembly within the Archdiocese of Hobart, and its aftermath, Tasmanian Catholics spent close to a decade engaging in an intense process of diocesan consultation. Doubtless Young was grateful for the support he had received from the community. In an interview, Archbishop Adrian Doyle

¹⁰⁰⁰ An English translation of this document was published in Australia in 1989. See *Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation: Christifideles Laici of His Holiness John Paul II on the Vocation and the Mission of the Lay Faithful in the Church and in the World* (Homebush, N.S.W.: St. Paul Publications, 1989).

¹⁰⁰¹ Behrens, interview, 10.

Chapter Nine: Road to the Diocesan Assembly

recalled the final words Young had spoken to him a day before his death: “thank you for all you are doing.”¹⁰⁰² Young died before this new stage of ecclesial renewal could be fully implemented and it would be up to his episcopal successor, Archbishop Eric D’Arcy, to either continue in his footsteps or pursue a different agenda.

¹⁰⁰² Adrian Doyle, “Interview Transcript,” interview by Callum Dawson, 8 July 2021, 14.

Chapter Ten: The Future of Renewal

1. Introduction

At the end of the 1980s, the Archdiocese of Hobart found itself in an unusual position. Nearly a decade had been spent rigorously working toward a new vision of renewal, crystallizing in a Diocesan Assembly (1986). Yet the implementation of decisions reached collaboratively at this event was interrupted by the tragedy of Young's death in 1988. Further, the D.P.C., arguably the central agent involved in the promotion of the lay apostolate within the archdiocese after the Second Vatican Council, was in remission. Plans had been drafted to reform this body, but they had evidently been halted in light of Young's death just days before new D.P.C. members were intended to meet.

As the new Archbishop of Hobart, Eric D'Arcy assumed the reigns of leadership during a moment of great uncertainty. Thanks to the Diocesan Assembly Tasmanian expectations for renewal were high, yet there had been little time for implementation. What would the new archbishop do with all this energy? Would he meet expectations, or subvert them? According to Bev Voss, D'Arcy had addressed a group during the early days of his episcopacy and cleverly quipped: "I'm not Young and I'm not young."¹⁰⁰³ Indeed, while a number of parallels might be drawn between the two archbishops, they were ultimately very different people. Born in 1924, D'Arcy was in his early sixties when he became Archbishop of Hobart. He had already developed a significant career as an academic and bishop in Victoria.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section provides a broad overview of D'Arcy's career before becoming archbishop of Hobart, as well as major events which impacted the shape of the lay apostolate within the Archdiocese of Hobart during his episcopacy. The second section reflects upon possible reasons why D'Arcy did not re-instate the D.P.C. as an official diocesan body; although it had been days away from new life under his predecessor. The third section explores possible moments of resistance against the teachings of Vatican II during D'Arcy's episcopacy. The fourth section reviews the results of dialogue groups conducted with Tasmanian Catholics at the end of D'Arcy's episcopacy regarding the contemporary status of the lay apostolate, as well as its future.

¹⁰⁰³ Voss, interview, 7.

2. Broad Overview

The Career of Eric D’Arcy

D’Arcy’s early experiences as chaplain of the Movement alongside B. A. Santamaria, his academic credentials, and possible assistance drafting Archbishop Daniel Mannix’s animadversions have already been explored in previous chapters. After the Council, he would continue to develop his academic and clerical career. The young Thomist scholar received a grant in 1965 from the Australian Humanities Research Council to conduct short-term study. He used the money to travel to Oxford and work on the new English edition of St. Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa Theologiae*.¹⁰⁰⁴ The following year, he lectured on the subject of the laity to a group of postgraduate students at Monash University (Australia). He described the tasks of the laity as threefold. First, lay people are called to aid in the pastoral care of Catholics, exemplified by their increasing responsibility within Catholic education and teaching. Second, they must participate in the church’s mission towards those who are not of the Catholic faith. Finally, lay people have a mandate, “to transform the temporal order in the spirit and on the pattern of the Gospel”.¹⁰⁰⁵ By recognizing the expanding horizon of responsibilities bequeathed to the laity as beneficial and promoting the laity’s responsibility to bear witness to the faith and transform the world in light of the gospel, D’Arcy aligned himself with important dimensions of the vision of the lay apostolate promulgated by the Council. These aspects would not necessarily have been unfamiliar to a Melbourne audience. For example, the laicization of teaching staff (noted by D’Arcy with admiration), had already begun before Vatican II in response to declining numbers of clerical and religious teachers. In 1959, the auxiliary Bishop of Melbourne, Arthur Fox, praised the increasing numbers of lay people becoming teachers.¹⁰⁰⁶ Notably absent from D’Arcy’s tripartite division is any mention of the active participation of the laity within the liturgy or lay contributions to the life of the church through new structures. While crucial for Young, there is little evidence to indicate that either would become important dimensions of D’Arcy’s thought. The Archdiocese of Melbourne would never successfully establish its own diocesan pastoral council. Despite a positive announcement in 1976 that the

¹⁰⁰⁴ “Foundation Grant Made to Fr. D’Arcy,” *Advocate* 11 November 1965, 10.

¹⁰⁰⁵ “Laity’s Three Tasks,” *Advocate* 7 July 1966, 2.

¹⁰⁰⁶ “Work of Catholic Lay Teachers: Tribute by Bishop Fox,” *Advocate* 29 October 1959, 19.

archdiocese would have its own council by the end of the year, no such body was ever created.¹⁰⁰⁷

It was the subject of Catholic education which would come to occupy D’Arcy’s mind as he accrued greater responsibilities within the Archdiocese of Melbourne. In 1969, he was appointed by Archbishop James Knox as episcopal vicar for tertiary education. Knox had succeeded Archbishop Justin Simonds who, having at last inherited the reins of power from a ninety-nine-year-old Mannix in 1963, spent the majority of his very short time as archbishop of Melbourne in poor health. He eventually died in 1967. Thus, it was Knox who truly began the project of post-conciliar reform in Melbourne and as part of that plan D’Arcy participated in an overhaul of the Catholic education system. Alongside a string of new appointments, Thomas Francis Little (the future Archbishop of Melbourne), had been appointed to the position of episcopal vicar for the lay apostolate.¹⁰⁰⁸

In his own role, D’Arcy supported lay groups working within universities such as the Newman Society and the Student Christian Movement.¹⁰⁰⁹ He was aware of the diverse pedagogical needs and aspirations of a Catholic population which had grown culturally heterogeneous since World War II.¹⁰¹⁰ In an interview for the *Advocate* (1969), he claimed that his goal was to transform the university in accordance with gospel principles and expressed familiarity with previous work done in this area by the Melbourne lay professor Vincent Buckley and the Newman Society. Notably, in the same interview, he downplayed the severity of recent protests amongst student bodies as being nothing more than the product of “semi-professional agitators”.¹⁰¹¹ This could be a reference to protest rallies held in reaction to the publication of *Humanae Vitae* (1968). As episcopal vicar for tertiary education, D’Arcy tasked Catholic educators with handing on the teachings of the Apostles, inculcating habits of prayer,

¹⁰⁰⁷ “Diocese to get Pastoral Council,” *Advocate* 11 March 1976, 1.

¹⁰⁰⁸ “Pastoral Letter on Diocesan Reorganisation,” *Advocate* 27 March 1969, 1.

¹⁰⁰⁹ “Applying the message of the Gospel in our Universities,” *Advocate* 6 November 1969, 5.

¹⁰¹⁰ “Changing Approaches,” *Advocate* 6 November 1969, 5.

¹⁰¹¹ “Applying the message of the Gospel in our Universities,” 5.

and awakening a sense of sin within their students.¹⁰¹² The picture of D'Arcy during this period is that of a scholarly leader who was both socially and religiously conservative. He supported the intellectual apostolate amongst students and stressed the need for religious catechesis.

The 1980s were a tremendously busy period for D'Arcy. On 1 July 1981, he succeeded Arthur Fox as bishop of the diocese of Sale in Victoria. This was the beginning of his episcopal ministry.¹⁰¹³ In 1982, he became a member of the Vatican's Secretariat for Non-Believers.¹⁰¹⁴ In 1983, he met Pope John Paul II during an *ad limina* visit and participated in the publishing of a Victorian Bishops' Pastoral on Education Matters.¹⁰¹⁵ On 24 October 1988, he was appointed to the position of Archbishop of Hobart.¹⁰¹⁶ Around the same time he became a member of the Pontifical Congregation for Catholic Education.¹⁰¹⁷ During his Vatican appointments he participated in two studies of particular note; both were connected to his passion for Catholic education. Before a Plenary Assembly (1988), he gave an address regarding the status of religious belief in Australia, communicating the Australian bishops' approval of the need for a renaissance in the doctrinal dimension of education in faith.¹⁰¹⁸ D'Arcy reflected on religious education as it had developed in Australia. He believed that an "Experientialist Model of Catechesis", referring to an educational methodology which relied on experiences to teach core values, had been successful in many ways within the sphere of religious education.¹⁰¹⁹ Where it had failed, however, was its inattentiveness to the content of doctrine. The critical and effective communication of intellectual truths was also required when

¹⁰¹² "Catholic teachers have three major duties," *Advocate* 1 January 1970, 5.

¹⁰¹³ "Dr. D'Arcy's Episcopal Ordination on 1 July," *Advocate* 23 April 1981, 1.

¹⁰¹⁴ "Tas. To Welcome New Archbishop," *New Standard* (Tasmania) November 1988, 1.

¹⁰¹⁵ Eric D'Arcy, "The Bishops Write: A Meeting with the Pope," *Advocate* 25 August 1983, 7; Eric D'Arcy, "The Bishops Write: Reinforcing Catholic Principles on Education," *Advocate* 20 October 1983, 7.

¹⁰¹⁶ "Bishop D'Arcy for Hobart," *Advocate* 27 October 1988, 1.

¹⁰¹⁷ "Archbishop Joseph Eric D'Arcy MA PhD DPhil (Oxon)," Archdiocese of Hobart, accessed 8 September 2022, <https://hobart.catholic.org.au/bishop/archbishop-joseph-eric-darcy/>.

¹⁰¹⁸ Eric D'Arcy, "Religious Belief in Australia: Roman Secretariat for Non-Believers - Bishop D'Arcy's Address to Plenary Assembly," *Australasian Catholic Record* 65, no. 4 (October 1988): 391–92. Informit.

¹⁰¹⁹ D'Arcy, "Religious Belief in Australia," 394.

teaching the faith to children.¹⁰²⁰ This focus on the necessity of doctrinal catechesis was partly why he was supportive of the New Catechism, promulgated by the Apostolic Constitution of Pope John Paul II, *Fidei Depositum* (11 October 1992).¹⁰²¹ In the 1990s, D’Arcy was responsible for removing inclusive language from an English translation of the New Catechism, drafted by the American priest Fr. Douglas Clark. While Clark’s translation was rejected by the Vatican, D’Arcy’s was accepted.¹⁰²² Even after adopting an episcopal role, D’Arcy maintained his academic focus and studious vocation.

Key Moments for the Lay Apostolate

During the end of his time as bishop of Sale in Victoria, D’Arcy inaugurated a three-year pastoral programme intended to bring about renewal within the diocese (begun in 1988). This programme was aptly named “Renew”.¹⁰²³ In response to expectations built-up by the Tasmanian Diocesan Assembly, D’Arcy launched “Renew” in Hobart (1990–92). It was primarily organized by Fr. Adrian Doyle and Sr. Jillian Dance. “Renew” in Australia was adapted from a programme developed in 1976 for the Archdiocese of Newark, USA. In its original conception it was intended to prepare the faithful for the implementation of parish councils desired by Vatican II. It was believed that there was little point in erecting new ecclesial structures until the laity and clergy had been formed in the conciliar understanding of the priesthood of all believers.¹⁰²⁴ A group of bishops had delegated representatives in 1985 to study the process of “Renew” and the possibility of applying it to an Australian milieu.¹⁰²⁵ D’Arcy had been part of this research group.¹⁰²⁶ A year later these bishops formed the

¹⁰²⁰ D’Arcy, “Religious Belief in Australia,” 394–95.

¹⁰²¹ “Apostolic Constitution: *Fidei Depositum* - On the Publication of the Catechism of the Catholic Church Prepared Following the Second Vatican Council,” in *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Homebush, N.S.W.: St. Paul Publications, 1994), 1–6.

¹⁰²² “Doctoring the Catechism - Chris McGillion Interviews Eric D’Arcy,” *Tablet* 21 May 1994, 624–25.

¹⁰²³ “Sale Celebrates with Renew,” *Advocate* 11 February 1988, i.

¹⁰²⁴ James Kelly, “Does the Renew Program Renew?,” *America* 156, no. 9 (1987): 198. EBSCOhost.

¹⁰²⁵ Renew: Why, What, How? A Detailed Overview of the Renew Process, 8 July 1986, Series No. 23.97, Renew - Renew Publications, 3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

¹⁰²⁶ Rosina Beaumont, “Catholic Church Starts Drive for Spiritual Renewal,” *Sunday Tasmanian* 1990.

Australian Renew Association with a secretariat located in Melbourne. The secretariat was commissioned with adapting the process of “Renew” to the needs of the church in Australia, as well as publishing and disseminating necessary material.¹⁰²⁷

In principle, “Renew” sought to positively stimulate the involvement of the laity within the church’s mission in daily life. The programme encouraged parish groups to meet and discuss their faith, reflecting a focus on the value of small community groups which had become popular toward the end of the 1980s. Evidence shows that *Christifideles Laici* (1988) was utilized to prompt discussion on the laity’s role in remaking the Christian fabric of the ecclesial community through participation in the prophetic office. In a discussion sheet, reference is made to article thirty-four, which calls for re-evangelization. “Without doubt a mending of the Christian fabric of society is urgently needed in all parts of the world. However, for this to come about what is needed is first to remake the Christian fabric of the ecclesial community itself present in these countries and nations.”¹⁰²⁸ The passage continues, stating that through their action as prophets, lay Christians must testify to the fact that faith presents the only valid response to the problems and hopes that life poses to every person and society. In order to accomplish this goal, lay people need to overcome the separation between the gospel and daily existence. The immense value of the lay apostolate for the church’s mission to the world was re-confirmed.

On the ground, “Renew” was carried out by individuals who were familiar with the expectations which had been nurtured during Young’s episcopacy, such as the directors Fr. Adrian Doyle and Sr. Jillian Dance. The programme resulted in outcomes which aligned with the recommendations of the previous Diocesan Assembly. These were detailed in a report entitled “Beyond Renew”.¹⁰²⁹ Commissions for youth, ecumenism, and liturgy were reformed and new bodies concerned with social justice and pastoral planning were created.¹⁰³⁰ The

¹⁰²⁷ Renew: Why, What, How?: 3.

¹⁰²⁸ Renew Programme Discussion Sheet: *Christifideles Laici*, Undated, Series No. 23.97, Renew - Renew Publications, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

¹⁰²⁹ “26 Recommendations for Church Renewal,” *New Standard* March 1993, 1.

¹⁰³⁰ “‘We Need our Young People now’ – Dr. D’Arcy,” *New Standard* July 1993, 3.

Diocesan Assembly had generated hope for pragmatic structural reform and these expectations had (for the most part) been met.

While the first Priests' Assembly had concluded with a suggestion that the clergy meet again in consultation every three years, a second Priests' Assembly was not held until approximately twelve years later (5–11 May 1996). The event's organising committee had felt that there was a need to become more aware of the profound changes which were occurring in Australian society and the lives of Catholics.¹⁰³¹ Forty-two diocesan priests and thirteen from religious orders, together with two student-priests, met with Archbishop D'Arcy to reflect on their shared priesthood and future challenges facing the Archdiocese of Hobart.¹⁰³² On the morning of the first day of the Assembly (5 May), submissions of individual Tasmanian Catholics, the contributions of religious congregations, and those from the fields of education, welfare, justice, and hospital services were presented.¹⁰³³ According to the organizing committee chairman, Fr. Adrian Doyle, these responses, "expressed a willingness to join more with priests in the mission of the Church in Tasmania".¹⁰³⁴ In attendance at the Assembly, Fr. Terrence Southerwood later reported that approximately 200 responses were received from individual Catholics and lay bodies or groups.¹⁰³⁵

Some of these were very positive and encouraging - a few were negative in tone, betraying some bitterness and disillusionment with the church or its hierarchy or clergy. Some reactions sprang from a conception of the Church in pre-Vatican II times. Some were moving cries from the heart, while a few dealt with single-issues and more extremely "right" or "left". Although a small sample viewed the Church finely as institution, rather than a multi-faceted herald, sacrament/sign, healer, proclaimer of the Word, most were moderate and represented a view of

¹⁰³¹ Adrian Doyle, "Priests' Plenary ... Plenary Seen as Important Beacon," *Standard* June 1996, 6.

¹⁰³² Terrence W. Southerwood, "Priests' Plenary ... What Unites is Greater Than What Divides," *Standard* June 1996, 6.

¹⁰³³ Doyle, "Priests' Plenary ... Plenary Seen as Important Beacon," 6.

¹⁰³⁴ Doyle, "Priests' Plenary ... Plenary Seen as Important Beacon," 6.

¹⁰³⁵ Southerwood, "Priests' Plenary ... What Unites is Greater Than What Divides," 7.

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Church more attuned to the Second Vatican Council's concept of the People of God and a Communion of Disciples.¹⁰³⁶

Contributions from the community were diverse, reflecting an understanding of the church primarily influenced by Vatican II. All the same, a minority was evident who longed for a return to a pre-conciliar understanding of the church. After the Assembly, D'Arcy established a "Master Plan Group" to continue the process of reviewing contributions received from Catholics. One of the overriding themes they discovered was a desire for change.¹⁰³⁷ The programme "Call to Change" was pitched as a culmination of dialogue over the past few years, as well as being a response to Pope John Paul II's Apostolic Letter on preparations for the jubilee of the year 2000, *Tertio Millennio Adveniente* (10 November 1994). From the beginning, a dialogical orientation was stressed as being vital to the programme's unfolding.¹⁰³⁸ The aims of this programme were: "To call us all to personal conversion and a change of heart; to promote dialogue and listening as vital characteristics of our Tasmanian Church; to embrace the changes that will enable us to carry out the mission entrusted to the Church by Christ."¹⁰³⁹ It was launched on 27 April 1999.¹⁰⁴⁰ The launch address was given by the now co-adjutor Archbishop Adrian Doyle.¹⁰⁴¹ In his address, he emphasized the multifaceted nature of the church as a diversity which enriched "Communion".¹⁰⁴² All Catholics were invited to participate in small conversation groups, providing a grassroots forum for Catholics to share their experiences, hopes, and concerns with others. Following these conversations, parish assemblies were held in July, August, and September in order to structure ongoing dialogue regarding future options for change. This would involve reflecting on the specific realities

¹⁰³⁶ Southerwood, "Priests' Plenary ... What Unites is Greater Than What Divides," 7.

¹⁰³⁷ "Archbishop Issues Invitation to Begin the Conversation," *Standard* May 1999, 11.

¹⁰³⁸ Introducing Call to Change: An Initiative of the Archdiocese of Hobart, 1999, Series No. 23.97, Renew - Renew Publications, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

¹⁰³⁹ Introducing Call to Change.

¹⁰⁴⁰ "Call to Change Conversation Begins," *Standard* March 1999, 5.

¹⁰⁴¹ Adrian Doyle, Call to Change: Launch Address, 27 April 1999, Series No. 26.65, Call to Change - Official Launch, 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

¹⁰⁴² Doyle, Call to Change: Launch Address: 3.

faced by parishioners, inviting the faithful to consider the implications of their baptism and the responsibility of all the baptised to participate in the life and mission of the church, and the presentation of a series of options for re-shaping the archdiocese in the future.¹⁰⁴³ The fruits of this dialogue were gathered up, shared, and evaluated in the context of a series of regional and diocesan meetings over the next two and a half years.¹⁰⁴⁴

This conversation process yielded approximately 320 submissions from individuals, interest groups, schools, and religious communities. Material was organized into eight reports. One specifically focused on the responsibilities of the laity in the life and mission of the church. This collation of data was meant to represent the range of opinions within the archdiocese.¹⁰⁴⁵ Conversation groups held in April and June (1999) were centred around the topics of the participation of the laity and ordained ministry. The report on submissions born from these conversations was published in August. It stated that, among the submissions, there was a clear affirmation that responsibility for the ongoing life of the church should be shared and that all the baptised have an important part to play in the revitalisation of various areas of ecclesial life, including ministry, mission, worship, community, leadership, and spirituality. Emerging themes dealt with by the conversation groups included: ministry according to gift; expanding ministry and defining ministry; decision making in the church; broadening participation in parish life; and deepening spirituality.¹⁰⁴⁶ This report provides fruitful insight into the status of the lay apostolate within the Archdiocese of Hobart at the end of D’Arcy’s episcopacy.

3. D’Arcy and the Diocesan Pastoral Council

Despite the fact that it had almost been re-instated before Young’s death, D’Arcy did not re-establish the D.P.C. as a central agent in the communications network of the archdiocese. Why? While its roots were theological rather than political, the D.P.C. had been dubbed, “as a sort of

¹⁰⁴³ Call to Change - Process, 1999, Series No. 26.71, Call to Change - Processes, 4, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Call to Change - Process: 4.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Louise Cotton, “Listening in ...” *Standard* September 1999, 11.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Call to Change: ‘Conversation’ Groups; Initiative of the Archdiocese of Hobart, April-June, 1999, 26 August 1999, Series No. 26.77, Call to Change - Conversation Process, 2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

parliament of the Church in Tasmania”, during its inaugural meeting.¹⁰⁴⁷ Is it possible that D’Arcy might have been sympathetic to the position of the “neo-Augustinians” identified by Avery Dulles at the 1985 Extraordinary Synod of Bishops on Vatican II? They had de-emphasized the need for structural reform, emphasized the reality of sin in the world, and cast suspicions over the people of God ecclesiology which many believed had been misinterpreted and fostered a vision of the church too democratic in orientation. In 1984, D’Arcy contributed an article to the *Advocate* on the Augustinian notion of sin, writing on how a deeper awareness of sin could make one more conscious of the mercy of God.¹⁰⁴⁸ Within the context of his address regarding the status of religious belief in Australia, given before a Plenary Assembly in 1988, D’Arcy expressed his view that Australian society was replete with sinful behaviour. “[. . .] Original Sin is alive and well and flourishing in the Australian heart. Fallen human nature is selfish, acquisitive, jealous, contentious, lustful and lazy [. . .]. Call it Materialism, or Consumerism, or Hedonism: brilliant new advertising techniques, and many other ways and means available to The World, make sure that our generation is tempted with great force to be like the seed that fell among thorns, and became choked by *the cares of this world, and the delight in riches, and their other desires.*”¹⁰⁴⁹ The comment was a response to data which suggested a paradox alive within contemporary Australian religiosity. While empirical surveys stated that most Australians believed in concepts such as heaven and the Bible, many still acted as if God were not a real presence within their lives.¹⁰⁵⁰ For the archbishop, this was evidence of sin at work within the hearts and minds of Australians. A personal anecdote from this speech provides insight into why he had adopted such a position. Speaking on the development of religious education in Australia, he observed that in the 1970s influential people in religious education departments had decided to cease teaching children that it was a mortal sin to miss Mass on Sunday. He implied that this was partly to blame for the significant drop in Mass

¹⁰⁴⁷ D.P.C. Minutes, 28 October 1967: 2.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Eric D’Arcy, “The Bishops Write,” *Advocate* 16 February 1984.

¹⁰⁴⁹ D’Arcy, “Religious Belief in Australia,” 391.

¹⁰⁵⁰ D’Arcy, “Religious Belief in Australia,” 390.

attendance over the years.¹⁰⁵¹ D’Arcy had come to view the nature of sin as important for understanding changes within Australian society over the decades.

Upon arriving in Tasmania, D’Arcy formally re-constituted regional pastoral councils already established.¹⁰⁵² The document explicating the principles of “Renew” repeated a line from the 1985 Synod’s *Final Report* which articulated a wariness toward a too sociological vision of the church. “We must not substitute for the false one-sided, merely hierarchical notion of the Church, just a new one-sided sociological concept”.¹⁰⁵³ At the same time, it also supported the establishment of pastoral councils to promote structural reform grounded in authentic spiritual renewal (citing the 1983 code of canon law).¹⁰⁵⁴ Following in the wake of “Renew”, a “Catholic Forum” (1993) was created by a group of Tasmanians who sought, “to live out the teaching and spirit of the Second Vatican Council”.¹⁰⁵⁵ Activities included the organization of a conference entitled: “Collaborative Decision Making in the Catholic Church”.¹⁰⁵⁶ The gathering was tasked with investigating ways in which other churches made decisions and how parish and diocesan councils might be made more effective. This group was invited by Sr. Jillian Dance to be part of a discernment process which flowed out of proposals inspired by “Renew”.¹⁰⁵⁷ It is unknown how much D’Arcy was personally involved in this decision, if at all. In any case, the D.P.C. would never re-emerge under his leadership.

¹⁰⁵¹ D’Arcy, “Religious Belief in Australia,” 390.

¹⁰⁵² Eric D’Arcy, Untitled Letter from Archbishop Eric D’Arcy to Rev. C. Carlile on the Re-Constitution of Regional Pastoral Councils, 19 January 1989, Series No 23.91, Renew - Correspondence - Archbishop D’Arcy, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

¹⁰⁵³ Renew: Why, What, How?: 25. For the original quote see: “Final Report,” 27.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Renew: Why, What, How?: 27.

¹⁰⁵⁵ “‘Forum’ Explores New Issues,” *New Standard* July 1993, 5.

¹⁰⁵⁶ “‘Forum’ Explores New Issues,” 5.

¹⁰⁵⁷ “‘Forum’ Explores New Issues,” 5.

4. Nostalgia for a Pre-Vatican II Church

Protests Against “Renew”

D’Arcy’s episcopacy witnessed the emergence of two forms of nostalgia for a pre-conciliar church. When I use the word “nostalgia” I am referring to a “longing for the past,” or more specifically: a desire to receive and implement ecclesial practices or paradigms dominant within the church of the Tridentine era.¹⁰⁵⁸ The first form manifested as a series of protests against the “Renew” pastoral programme. The second was legitimized by concessions from Rome which enabled a return to the Latin (or “Tridentine”) liturgical rite of 1962. The “Renew” programme was an occasion for a group known as “the Australian Marian Academy” to launch protests against every sin they believed existed within the heart of the church.¹⁰⁵⁹ According to D’Arcy, “a small cottage industry in Victoria” had begun circulating material in every diocese where “Renew” had been launched by the archbishop, including Sale and Hobart.¹⁰⁶⁰ Protesters aggressively hi-jacked meetings while attempting to embarrass pastoral and clerical leaders. They distributed inflammatory letters including: “Renew and Damnation” and “The Tasmanian ‘Renew’: Can Insanity be Forced to Yield a Grain of Sense?”¹⁰⁶¹ As principal of a local parish school, Pru Francis received their pamphlets and even experienced protests first hand. In an interview she describes her experiences.

On one occasion we had a big parish meeting at the school. And a number of these people came who had flown in from Victoria. And they came to this meeting, I think it was to hi-jack the meeting, to embarrass Adrian Doyle and Jill Dance [. . .] we didn’t let it go on too long, because it was very uncomfortable for everybody. And we had some elderly people there, so it becomes scary for people in that confrontational way [. . .]. With a couple of men who were much taller

¹⁰⁵⁸ Julia Cresswell, “Nostalgia,” *Oxford Dictionary of Word Origins* (Oxford University Press, 2021), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198868750.001.0001/acref-9780198868750-e-3394>.

¹⁰⁵⁹ This group of protesters is identified as the “Australian Marian Academy” on the final page of the pamphlet: Fritz Albers, *Tasmanian Marian Catholics in Revolt Against ‘Renew’*, Undated, Series No. 24.13, Archbishop’s Office - Guilford Young - Frits Albers, 8, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

¹⁰⁶⁰ “Renew Programme set for Success,” *New Standard May* 1990, 2.

¹⁰⁶¹ Fritz Albers, *Renew and Damnation*, Undated, Series No. 24.13, Archbishop’s Office - Guilford Young - Frits Albers, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection; Fritz Albers, *The Tasmanian Renew: Can Insanity be Forced to Yield a Grain of Sense?*, Undated, Series No. 24.13, Archbishop’s Office - Guilford Young - Frits Albers, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

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than I we were able to ask these people to leave the premises and we escorted them off the grounds. And there was just one couple, who were local, who also left at the same time. Not from our parish, but I'd say they had been the Hobart contact for these people [. . .]. It added a bit of excitement to "Renew".¹⁰⁶²

Protesters desired a return to a pre-conciliar church. The "Renew" programme involved organizing local parish groups where lay people could meet and discuss their faith. While they were supported by their priests, lay people were encouraged to lead discussion groups. Those who protested against "Renew" were threatened by lay autonomy. In the words of Pru Francis: "They wanted the old church [...]. They might have thought that lay people weren't qualified to talk about how their faith should be lived out."¹⁰⁶³ Protest pamphlets supported the authority of the pope and decried the empowerment of local churches, expressing a desire for the extreme centralisation of hierarchical authority.¹⁰⁶⁴ One pamphlet articulated fear over the fragmentation of the "Mystical Body" into local parishes.¹⁰⁶⁵ In another, it was claimed that "Renew" had driven away the vibrant part of the "Militant Church".¹⁰⁶⁶ Letters attempted to revive fears over "Modernists" and "existentialism". Lay-empowerment, the ordination of women, freedom of conscience, human dignity, feminism, and abortion were all treated with suspicion.¹⁰⁶⁷ Another claimed that the employment of altar girls, laypeople distributing Holy Communion, laity giving Sunday homilies, and liturgical dancing during Mass were all instances of disobedience to the pope and the laws of the Catholic Church.¹⁰⁶⁸ Doyle speculates that protesters were not truly concerned about "Renew"; rather they were worried about the

¹⁰⁶² Francis, interview, 12.

¹⁰⁶³ Francis, interview, 12.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Untitled Pamphlet with Quotes from Protesters against "Renew", Undated, Series No. 23.92, Renew: Correspondence - Complaints/Opposition to Renew, 2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Fritz Albers, Renew: Gateway for Catholics into the One-World 'Church', Undated, Series No. 24.13, Archbishop's Office - Guilford Young - Frits Albers, 1, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Fritz Albers, Renew and the Moral Sin of Simony, Undated, Series No. 24.13, Archbishop's Office - Guilford Young - Frits Albers, 3, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Albers, Renew and Damnation: 6-7.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Untitled Pamphlet with Quotes from Protesters against "Renew": 3.

development of the church since Vatican II.¹⁰⁶⁹ After conversing with a person representative of grievances directed against “Renew,” he wrote:

Perhaps in bigger numbers than we would like to admit or realise, there are those who would consider themselves very loyal to the Church and whose criteria for loyalty are such issues as obedience in everything to the Pope, reverence in the Church, observance of all liturgical directives etc [...]. The discussion confirmed for me my belief that Renew is not the issue. People of this kind have not been able to feel comfortable with the direction of the Church for many years, and they would point to present difficulties as being proof of this. Renew has presented itself as the occasion for them to voice their anxieties and disapproval as well.¹⁰⁷⁰

As a national event, “Renew” had become a target for certain Catholics to vent their frustrations against post-conciliar changes. Fritz Albers authored several pamphlets decrying the “Renew” programme. In 1978, he had written a critique of protests against the New Order of the Mass voiced by sympathizers of Marcel Lefebvre. He still maintained this position in a pamphlet rejecting an accusation that he supported Lefebvre (who had been excommunicated in 1988).¹⁰⁷¹ It is not entirely clear whether sympathies for protesters against “Renew” were a completely foreign import into Tasmania. Albers claimed to have been invited by the Tasmanian head of the Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima.¹⁰⁷² He painted a strained picture of the episcopacy of Guilford Young, casting it as an era of false tranquillity masking dissent.¹⁰⁷³ While these claims are over-exaggerated, previous evidence does suggest that there were Tasmanian Catholics dissatisfied with post-conciliar reforms.

Reception of the Latin Liturgy

On 30 June 1988, Lefebvre committed a schismatic act by consecrating four bishops against the will of the pope. He was excommunicated and in response John Paul II published the

¹⁰⁶⁹ Adrian Doyle, Untitled Document Recording Adrian Doyle’s Assessment of Protests Surrounding Renew, 5 February 1990, Series No. 23.92, Renew - Correspondence - Complaints/Opposition to Renew, 1–2, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Doyle, Untitled Document Recording Adrian Doyle’s Assessment of Protests Surrounding Renew: 5.

¹⁰⁷¹ Albers, Tasmanian Marian Catholics in Revolt Against ‘Renew’: 8.

¹⁰⁷² Albers, Tasmanian Marian Catholics in Revolt Against ‘Renew’: 1.

¹⁰⁷³ Albers, The Tasmanian Renew: Can Insanity be Forced to Yield a Grain of Sense?: 1.

Apostolic Letter, *Ecclesia Dei afflictata*, and created a pontifical commission whose mandate was to mend relations with those Catholics who wished to continue practicing the Latin liturgy, but did not agree with Lefebvre's actions.¹⁰⁷⁴ In 1992, D'Arcy gave permission for the celebration of the Latin Mass, in accordance with *Ecclesia Dei*, to Fr. Raymond Wells at St. Francis Xavier's Church, South Hobart.¹⁰⁷⁵ By 1995, the Holy Redeemer parish in Deloraine was hosting Latin Mass on Sundays.¹⁰⁷⁶ Debate was evident regarding whether permission was needed from a bishop to practice the Latin Mass. A letter to the editor printed in the *New Standard* (1996) claimed that the Tridentine Mass, rather than the *Novus Ordo*, was the norm for the western church and stated that: "it is a monumental deceit to pretend that permission is needed for its celebration".¹⁰⁷⁷ The letter had begun with an attempt to define both schism from the church and disobedience to the pope, claiming that it was possible to disobey hierarchical authority without becoming a schismatic. Most dramatically, it ended with a statement that suggested the Council had been made irrelevant by later papal teachings. "Vatican II ended on 8.12.1965!"¹⁰⁷⁸ The letter was deeply reflective in tone and content of the arguments of Lefebvre sympathizers in the Australian Latin Mass Society during the 1970s.

As state chaplain for C.W.L., Fr. Geoffrey Jarrett addressed confusions surrounding the legitimacy of the Latin Mass alongside D'Arcy. Jarrett described the Society of St. Pius X (an organization founded by Lefebvre) as a, "divisive movement, characterized by real bitterness".¹⁰⁷⁹ Reflecting on debates surrounding *Ecclesia Dei*, Doyle stated in a letter to the editor of the *New Standard* that serious considerations should be taken regarding whether granting permission to practice the Latin Mass might bring about greater disunity within the

¹⁰⁷⁴ Denis Crouan, *The History and Future of the Roman Liturgy* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2004), 213–13.

¹⁰⁷⁵ "Tridentine Masses," *New Standard* February 1992, 2.

¹⁰⁷⁶ "Traditional Mass at Deloraine," *Standard* February 1995, 11; "Weekend Mass Times: North, West, East," *Standard* July 1995, 19; "Weekend Mass Times around Tasmania," *Standard* January 1996, 14.

¹⁰⁷⁷ "Letters to the Editor - Defining 'Schism'," *Standard* August 1996, 4.

¹⁰⁷⁸ "Letters to the Editor - Defining 'Schism'," 4.

¹⁰⁷⁹ "Clarification," *Standard* October 1996, 10.

church.¹⁰⁸⁰ Differing in opinion, a letter printed in response claimed that the withdrawal of the Latin Mass in the north of the state was causing serious disunity, and that its re-introduction would promote communion and fidelity.¹⁰⁸¹ By 1998, the Latin Mass was being held in New Town, even on special days including Easter and Trinity Sunday.¹⁰⁸²

On 27 February 1996, D’Arcy responded in a letter to a parishioner who had contacted him articulating their disapproval of the availability of the Latin Mass within the archdiocese. As the archbishop’s reply suggests, others had already written to him on this topic, some in protest while others begged for permission to practice the Latin Mass. After expressing gratitude for his correspondent’s desire to discuss the liturgy, D’Arcy stated:

There are the externals of the Mass: and there is the *interior reality* - that which Christ the Priest Himself actually does when the sacrifice is offered. They are not two entirely separate things; they are intimately connected and related with each other; but the vastly more significant thing is the Interior Reality.

The *externals* - Latin or vernacular, Old Order or New Order, plain chant or other music, priest facing the congregation or back to them, and a dozen related questions have, it seems to me, absorbed vastly more attention and time than has the interior reality. The externals are significant only in so far as they lead us more deeply into union with Christ the Priest and the action he is performing, the sacrifice he is presenting to His Father.

Gently, I am urging that the priority be got right: that we devote most of our attention to the reality, while not ignoring or neglecting the externals which should serve it in our minds and hearts.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Adrian Doyle, “Letters to the Editor - Church Desires Unity,” *Standard* September 1996, 4.

¹⁰⁸¹ “Letters to the Editor - Opinions Differ,” *Standard* October 1996, 4.

¹⁰⁸² “Calendar of Events,” *Standard* August 1998, 20; “Calendar of Events,” *Standard* May 1998, 18; “Calendar of Events,” *Standard* June 1998, 18; “Calendar of Events,” *Standard* September 1998, 22; “Calendar of Events,” *Standard* November 1998, 20; “Calendar of Events,” *Standard* December 1998, 22.

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[. . .] I am always anxious that anyone who gives thought to this supreme matter makes it plain that their priorities are right, and that the externals are recognised as having a minor though essential place.¹⁰⁸³

A focus on interiority over exteriority is reflective of the position adopted by the *Final Report* of the 1985 Extraordinary Synod on the liturgy.¹⁰⁸⁴ It was also espoused by Fr. Jarrett to the media after a Latin Mass was performed in Hobart (1987).¹⁰⁸⁵ Though not a strong advocate for the Latin Mass, D’Arcy still approved of its practice amongst certain priests and parishes. He even participated himself. In 1998, the *New Standard* reported that he would be the principal celebrant for a “traditional” Mass in the University Centre, Hobart campus. This was the seventh Latin Mass celebrated by D’Arcy on university grounds.¹⁰⁸⁶

Tensions and Divisions

Tensions and divisions were replete throughout the Archdiocese of Hobart. Reporting on the second Priests’ Assembly (1996), Southerwood observed that the meeting began, “almost with an air of depression, as divisions amongst the clergy became obvious”, due to differing visions of the church.¹⁰⁸⁷ Another source, Fr. Ron Nissen, confirmed this strained picture in even stronger language. “Within a day or so I saw that a critical division amongst the men was about a concerned majority and a handful of conservatives [...]. In open sessions each would speak with forthrightness, respect and often passion. Yet there was fear - sometimes anger - in a number of pastors that they might move on from their parish only to have sound work undone by reactionary conservatives.”¹⁰⁸⁸ He also worried that no plan had been discussed to blend falling clergy numbers with growth in collaborative ministry. Apparently there had been little

¹⁰⁸³ Eric D’Arcy, Untitled Correspondence about the Availability of the Latin Mass, February 1996, Series No. 28.68, Archbishop’s Office - Eric D’Arcy - Tridentine Rite/Latin Mass, Archdiocese of Hobart Archives & Heritage Collection.

¹⁰⁸⁴ “Final Report,” 34.

¹⁰⁸⁵ “‘Huge Response’ to Cathedral Latin Mass,” 10.

¹⁰⁸⁶ “Archbishop to Celebrate Academic Mass,” *Standard* August 1998, 20.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Southerwood, “Priests’ Plenary ... What Unites is Greater Than What Divides,” 6.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Ron Nissen, “Priests’ Plenary ... Was there a Master Plan for Future Collaboration?,” *Standard* June 1996, 7.

tangible conversation regarding who else might be positively disposed toward developing lay ministries and empowering lay leadership.¹⁰⁸⁹ Finally, he lamented over the infrequent number of times priests had been called together to discuss the manifold issues with which they were concerned: “I realised that these men had not gathered for 12 years! Little wonder that festering topics would surface early: issues of leadership, pastoral planning, lay collaboration and conservatism.”¹⁰⁹⁰ Fr. Geoffrey Jarrett also reported on the Priests’ Assembly. Lamenting division, he claimed that “internal ecumenism” was the answer to requests for more collaboration evident in pre-assembly submissions. Internal ecumenism required fidelity to the faith of Jesus Christ and the teachings of the pope.¹⁰⁹¹ Disunity was apparent amongst the clergy. Doyle felt that the most promising outcome of the Priests’ Assembly was the decision to meet again in two-years.¹⁰⁹² Nissen had voted for an annual gathering.¹⁰⁹³ Yet neither outcome took place during D’Arcy’s episcopacy.

In September 1996, D’Arcy instructed the *Standard* not to publish certain letters to the editor he believed were too “left wing” or “right wing”. “I have therefore instructed the Editor that polemics from those out on either wing are not to be published in the diocesan monthly.”¹⁰⁹⁴ This was an extraordinarily authoritarian step on the part of the archbishop. It is possible that, within his own eyes, division amongst the faithful had become so disruptive that he felt it necessary to publicly repress certain voices. This news was not received well by everyone, with one person writing to the *Standard*: “it was with dismay that I read Archbishop D’Arcy’s comments [. . .]. Who will judge what is Left Wing and what is Right Wing? [...] Surely freedom of speech is an inherent right for all Australians, whether Catholic or not.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Nissen, “Priests’ Plenary ... Was there a Master Plan for Future Collaboration?,” 7.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ron Nissen, “Was there a Master Plan for Future Collaboration?,” *Standard* June 1996, 7.

¹⁰⁹¹ Geoffrey Jarrett, “Priests’ Plenary ... Internal Ecumenism First Step to Genuine Church Renewal,” *Standard* June 1996, 6.

¹⁰⁹² Doyle, “Priests’ Plenary ... Plenary Seen as Important Beacon,” 6.

¹⁰⁹³ Nissen, “Priests’ Plenary ... Was there a Master Plan for Future Collaboration?,” 7.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Eric D’Arcy, “Archbishop Appeals for Unity,” *Standard* 1 September 1996, 1.

Stifling debate will not change people's views."¹⁰⁹⁵ Another letter to the editor expressed concerns that: "the prohibition of debate and hence freedom of expression, can only lead to greater alienation and disunity".¹⁰⁹⁶ For the sake of unity, D'Arcy had attempted to repress the voices of those he (or the *Standard's* editor, precisely who is unclear) deemed to be overly extreme. A connection might be drawn between D'Arcy's attitude and that of Joseph Ratzinger, expressed during his interview with Vittorio Messori, in which he stated that the divergence of 'progressive' or 'traditionalist' positions threatened the unity of the Catholic Church.¹⁰⁹⁷ In 1996, Ratzinger was the Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and wielded great influence within the Roman Catholic Church. While there is little evidence of the two meeting, it would not be surprising if the perspectives of the Prefect had tangentially impacted D'Arcy's approach to leadership.

In 1999, "Call to Change" sought to measure the opinions of the whole archdiocese. Its director, Sr. Louise Cotton, stressed the conversational and dialogical dimensions of this process. In a *Standard* article she stated her hope that the process would spark a "healing dialogue" amongst church members.¹⁰⁹⁸ Doubtless, this was a response to evident divisions. Doyle utilized similar rhetoric in the media, stating that the dialogue the programme called for would not be restrictive but as inclusive as possible.¹⁰⁹⁹ Despite this positive approach, the programme was not without its critics. In a letter to the editor, one lay Catholic complained of the programme's vague aims. His grievances did not seem to rise beyond this one point, however, and the rest of the article was spent waxing nostalgically over the Latin liturgy and expressing wariness toward the topic of women's ordination.¹¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁹⁵ M. J. Bamping, "Letters to the Editor - Disagreement Is Inevitable So Let's Hear It," *Standard* October 1996, 4.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Donald Vaughan, "Letters to the Editor - Allow Diversity to Add to Rich Diversity," *Standard* October 1996, 4.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ratzinger and Messori, *The Ratzinger Report*, p. 29.

¹⁰⁹⁸ "Archdiocese Extends Invitation to all," *Standard* April 1999, 5.

¹⁰⁹⁹ "Archbishop Adrian Doyle: Face Change with Hope," *Standard* May 1999, 1.

¹¹⁰⁰ "Letters to the Editor: What Change are we being Called to?," *Standard* June 1999, 8.

5. Call to Change

A Lack of Communication

The report on shared ministries drafted for the “Call to Change” programme provides insight into the hopes and fears of Tasmanian Catholics at the end of D’Arcy’s episcopacy. Was there evidence of tensions or divisions between priests and laity? On the parish level several people reported that effective communication for the sake of community building and successful collaboration, “was seriously lacking in many situations.”¹¹⁰¹ A large number of respondents stated that it was important to consider the needs and opinions of all stakeholders within the church during times of change.¹¹⁰² Many had experienced a top-down model of decision making within the parish where the priest exhibited all power.¹¹⁰³ Drawing upon ecumenical resources, it was suggested that the Anglican Synod might provide a possible model for decision making within the church. It was even recommended: “that the Diocesan Pastoral Council be re-established and that members have a ‘voice’ in the decision making process”.¹¹⁰⁴ More than a decade had passed since the D.P.C. had operated as a central mechanism within the archdiocese. All the same, a positive memory of its potential had not left the minds of Tasmanian Catholics.

Priestly authority in relation to lay people was another significant topic of discussion. The report recognized that the authority of ordination is always to be exercised in service to the community. Yet far too often, “this power is exercised in defence of the priest or some Church structure or as a way of controlling people”.¹¹⁰⁵ Concerns were expressed that some priests adopted a dictatorial attitude. Complaints arose citing the habit of clergy consulting with parishioners and then blocking their suggestions, ideas, or requests.¹¹⁰⁶ It was recommended that an effective mechanism be put in place to ensure accountability and that the system

¹¹⁰¹ Call to Change: 4.

¹¹⁰² Call to Change: 6.

¹¹⁰³ Call to Change: 6.

¹¹⁰⁴ Call to Change: 6.

¹¹⁰⁵ Call to Change: 12.

¹¹⁰⁶ Call to Change: 12.

governing the appointment of parish priests be reassessed, with far greater lay involvement.¹¹⁰⁷ A concern was raised that change would not be possible unless priests began working out of a collaborative model of ministry rather than a hierarchical one.¹¹⁰⁸ The implication was that many Tasmanian priests had not been working in effective collaboration with their parishioners.

Between Vision and Reality

A gap seemed to exist between the awareness that lay people should be encouraged to exercise their apostolate and the lack of opportunity presented by priests. Speaking on the topic of lay participation, a consciousness was evident amongst submissions that all the people of God share in the responsibility for the life and mission of the church in the future.¹¹⁰⁹ While this awareness was provoked by the declining number of priests and religious capable of pastoral leadership, it was also positively expressed through the phrase: “we hear the Spirit calling the baptised members of our Church to service.”¹¹¹⁰ Most submissions echoed the conviction that through baptism all Christians are called to ministry and mission.¹¹¹¹ Many more reflected the diversity and rich giftedness of all the baptised. Submissions described the church as a “body” of gifted, faith-filled, and spiritually rich people.¹¹¹² The laity represented a source of, “untapped potential”, and the hierarchy must acknowledge and encourage the use of each person’s gifts for ministry.¹¹¹³ It was reported that: “Many of the faithful do not feel that they

¹¹⁰⁷ Call to Change: 13.

¹¹⁰⁸ Call to Change: 13.

¹¹⁰⁹ Call to Change: 3.

¹¹¹⁰ Call to Change: 3.

¹¹¹¹ Call to Change: 3.

¹¹¹² Call to Change: 3.

¹¹¹³ Call to Change: 3.

matter.”¹¹¹⁴ Many do not come forward to offer their talents because of a lack of self-esteem, or a fear that they might seem self-important.¹¹¹⁵

A concern was expressed that the Word of God was not being broken open effectively for people because many local parish priests were not gifted preachers.¹¹¹⁶ A significant number of submissions recommended that the church commission lay people trained to participate with the ordained in the ministry of the Word.¹¹¹⁷ It was greatly desired by many that the gifts of women should be recognised and utilised more fully at all levels of church life and that parishioners in general have a much higher level of involvement in parish life.¹¹¹⁸ Many expected from the church greater inclusiveness and participation, as well as processes for the proclamation of wisdom from everyday experience and the interpretation of the “signs of the times” in light of the Gospel.¹¹¹⁹ People reported feeling passionate about the church when they were encouraged to recognize their own gifts and when, “by actions (not just words)”, the contributions of parishioners were recognized as an important expression of the work of the Holy Spirit.¹¹²⁰

Most submissions believed that the church must embrace the laity as equals in all facets of its ministry and function. Several respondents raised questions regarding the extension of formal ministries within the church to include lay people both married and single. Many believed that current structures prevented this from occurring and requested that these be re-examined in light of the contemporary theology of Baptism and Ministry: “In the Church we often talk of service rather than power but there are some forms of service that can only be given when you have the appropriate ‘power’ or ‘authority’.”¹¹²¹ In light of the diminishing

¹¹¹⁴ Call to Change: 3.

¹¹¹⁵ Call to Change: 3.

¹¹¹⁶ Call to Change: 4.

¹¹¹⁷ Call to Change: 4.

¹¹¹⁸ Call to Change: 4.

¹¹¹⁹ Call to Change: 4.

¹¹²⁰ Call to Change: 4.

¹¹²¹ Call to Change: 5.

number of priests and religious it was recommended that the church commission lay people to certain ministries for a period of twelve months, including the official lay ministries of lector and acolyte. It was also suggested that the ministry of permanent deacons become a feature of life within the archdiocese. There seemed to be a “reluctance or failure” to realise and use the wisdom of lay people.¹¹²² It was concluded that: “The diminishing number of priests should not be seen as a threat but as an opportunity. It affords the Church the opportunity to devise and develop ministries which better meet the needs of the modern world.”¹¹²³ The statement is sympathetic with the position taken by Young during his own episcopacy. A dwindling number of priests should be seen as a sign from the Holy Spirit to embrace new forms of lay ministry and ways of being church.

Regarding the subject of broadening participation in community life it was observed that social, liturgical, and managerial leadership was often in the hands of a few, as was responsibility for pastoral work.¹¹²⁴ There was a diminished sense of celebration and sometimes participation was “actively discouraged”.¹¹²⁵ The report opined that inclusiveness and participation go together; where people do not feel accepted because of their beliefs they were unlikely to participate.¹¹²⁶ Rules and structures often restricted the opportunity of individuals to serve within the church. Lay people needed the opportunity to contribute fully to the renewal of the church, especially women.¹¹²⁷ It was reported that even “active laity” had been turned away from the church by “unsympathetic priests” and “rigid structures”.¹¹²⁸ Such actions

¹¹²² Call to Change: 5.

¹¹²³ Call to Change: 5.

¹¹²⁴ Call to Change: 6.

¹¹²⁵ Call to Change: 6.

¹¹²⁶ Call to Change: 6.

¹¹²⁷ Call to Change: 6.

¹¹²⁸ Call to Change: 7.

contributed to a build-up of “resentment”.¹¹²⁹ There was a need for parishes to provide, “a round-table forum”, so that all opinions could be heard and joint decisions made.¹¹³⁰

Increasing the practice of parish visitation by priests and lay people was considered to be a crucial strategy: “Some people ‘lose their faith’ - because they ‘lose contact’.”¹¹³¹ It was also suggested that Catholics need to be taught how to “evangelise”, perhaps through the implementation of a prayer group in each parish.¹¹³² It was recommended that each parish establish a data base of parishioners’ interests, skills, and occupations as a way to promote collaboration across parishes.¹¹³³ Many submissions were concerned with the scope of priestly responsibility. Priests were conceived as being too involved in parish administration and thus had less time to devote to sacramental or pastoral ministry. It was recommended that lay parish managers be appointed so as to free priests for sacramental and pastoral duties.¹¹³⁴ At the same time, several respondents indicated a fear that the uniqueness of ordained ministry would be eroded by the expansion of lay ministries.¹¹³⁵

Regarding the topic of spiritual formation, it was observed that educational and spiritual catechesis on the grassroots level was required to ensure that the laity embrace their baptismal responsibilities. Practically, it was recommended that a spiritual director for the archdiocese be appointed who could travel continuously between parishes, schools, and Catholic organisations.¹¹³⁶ It was also suggested that a space could be provided for “testimonies” and the recounting of experiences of grace in everyday life by lay members.¹¹³⁷ Finally, it was

¹¹²⁹ Call to Change: 7.

¹¹³⁰ Call to Change: 7.

¹¹³¹ Call to Change: 7.

¹¹³² Call to Change: 7.

¹¹³³ Call to Change: 7.

¹¹³⁴ Call to Change: 7.

¹¹³⁵ Call to Change: 7.

¹¹³⁶ Call to Change: 8.

¹¹³⁷ Call to Change: 8.

requested that the relationship between the ministerial priesthood and the priesthood of all believers needed to be properly explained, but there was no recommendation regarding who was responsible for this or how it should be done.¹¹³⁸

Moving Away from Vatican II

Regarding the presence of a growing nostalgia for a pre-Vatican II model of church, the conclusionary section of the report is significant. A number of concerns were raised which indicated that the archdiocese might actually be, “moving away from the Vatican II insight of the Church as a Pilgrim People”.¹¹³⁹ According to the report, individuals had voiced concerns that at present the role of the pope was greatly overemphasized. By contrast, the importance of local churches and their bishops was given insufficient attention. Subsidiarity and collegiality, two principles which were intended to promote greater collaboration within the community, had been neglected in favour of “centralised authority”.¹¹⁴⁰ Finally, fears had been expressed that some priests did not preach the authentic teachings of the pope, “and are contributing to the undermining of the Faith”.¹¹⁴¹ In the eyes of the report, certain priests were actively undermining the faith of parishioners. At the second Priests’ Assembly, anxieties had been articulated that the work of many clerics would be undone by conservative reactionaries. The report for “Call to Change” joined in expressing similar concerns, and even went further in stating that the Archdiocese of Hobart had moved further away from the teachings of Vatican II.

6. Conclusions

The intellectual acumen of Archbishop Eric D’Arcy cannot be denied. In an article for the *Australian Catholic Record* published toward the end of his episcopacy (1997) he passionately argued for modern logic and analytic philosophy to be made intrinsic to the process of contemporary theology.¹¹⁴² In doing so, he praised theological developments which had

¹¹³⁸ Call to Change: 8.

¹¹³⁹ Call to Change: 16.

¹¹⁴⁰ Call to Change: 16.

¹¹⁴¹ Call to Change: 16.

¹¹⁴² Eric D’Arcy, “Towards the First Golden Age?,” *Australasian Catholic Record* 74, no. 3 (01 July 1997): 294. Informat.

emerged from the Second Vatican Council. “It is their glory that, in the English-speaking First World, the leading ideas of Vatican II were disseminated so successfully. It was an achievement of Homeric proportions.”¹¹⁴³ All the same, evidence suggests that his episcopacy witnessed the development of two different forms of nostalgia for a pre-Vatican II church.

First, a reactionary group of Catholics from Victoria attacked the “Renew” programme, decrying lay autonomy and certain liturgical changes, while promoting complete fidelity to the pope. While the Victorian Catholic apologist who published pamphlets in their name, Fritz Albers, denied any association with Marcel Lefebvre, protesters vented their frustrations over changes which had taken place within the church since Vatican II. Second, concessions were given for the practice of the Latin liturgy within the archdiocese which, while legitimised by the Holy See, constituted another source of tension amongst the faithful. Divisions amongst the clergy were evident at the second Priests’ Assembly of 1996, which itself was a step backwards in diocesan representation when compared with the Diocesan Assembly of 1986. Where priests had once spoken *with* the laity, now they were speaking *for* the laity. Further, this was the first time in approximately twelve years the priests of Tasmania had gathered together since the Priests’ Assembly of 1984. This represents a tremendous lack of communication when compared with the diocese-wide process of consultation undertaken during the 1980s.

A minority of conservative Catholics nostalgic for a pre-conciliar church had become increasingly active amongst clergy and laity. D’Arcy’s response to the proliferation of ‘left wing’ and ‘right wing’ views was to suppress certain voices within the Catholic media, an authoritarian move reminiscent of suppression tactics exercised by Pope John Paul II’s curia and witnessed by the Australian journalist and novelist Morris West. Dialogue groups performed for “Call to Change” revealed a number of concerns, including the observation that some priests had adopted a dictatorial form of leadership, were undermining the faith of parishioners, and that the archdiocese was moving away from the teachings of the Council. Whether it would remain upon this path, or choose a new trajectory, would be greatly influenced by the next Archbishop of Hobart, Adrian Doyle (1999–2013). Yet the choice would not be his alone. The history of both Young and D’Arcy’s episcopacies reveals that the reception of Vatican II teachings is not a project carried forward by bishops in isolation from

¹¹⁴³ D’Arcy, “Towards the First Golden Age?,” 297.

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the people of God. Instead, those working alongside them, including priests, religious, and lay people, are capable of bearing, “the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties”, of the faithful (*GS* 1).

Chapter Eleven: Conclusion

1. Introduction

The purpose of this project is to reconstruct and reflect ecclesiological upon the history of the reception and implementation of the Second Vatican Council's vision of the lay apostolate within the Archdiocese of Hobart, Australia, throughout the episcopacies of Archbishops Guilford Young and Eric D'Arcy. Pursuit of this aim has involved a process of archival research, interviews, and historical synthesis. Chapter eleven subjects the fruit of this synthesis to ecclesiological reflection. In the final analysis, three major ecclesial themes stand out within the history of Young's episcopacy which require excavation. These themes emerged either before or during his time at the Council, were articulated through his post-conciliar lectures, and developed further throughout the two phases of the reception of Vatican II within the Archdiocese of Hobart: 1) *the active participation of the laity within the life and mission of the church*; 2) *the de-centralisation of hierarchical authority and embrace of shared responsibilities amongst all the faithful*; 3) *the adaptation of ecclesial structures in response to the contemporary needs of parishioners*. Enough evidence has been collected on D'Arcy's episcopacy so that it might act as a foil, or contrast, highlighting the retraction of these three themes within the Archdiocese of Hobart throughout the 1990s. This chapter will proceed in two stages: 1) A summary of the history explored which focuses on the development of these three themes; 2) and a final reflection further drawing out the meaning of these developments in light of significant ecclesial paradigms evident throughout the history explored. In doing so, it will seek to provide an answer to the question: how was the Second Vatican Council's vision of the lay apostolate received and implemented during the episcopacies of Guilford Young and Eric D'Arcy (1955–99)?

2. Summary

Young and the Archdiocese of Hobart before Vatican II

In accordance with the model of the reception of doctrine developed by Richard Gaillardetz, bishops immerse themselves within the cultural/religious milieu of local churches and bring perspectives shaped by these experiences into the process of formulating, promulgating, and teaching new doctrines. When Young became Archbishop of Hobart in 1955, he was conscious of a Catholic population who lacked sufficient formation in the celebration of the Mass and sought to remedy this situation by launching an educational campaign amongst priests and religious. In doing so, he sought to stimulate an awareness amongst the faithful of their shared

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participation in the priesthood of Christ. This priority was grounded in a deep passion for liturgical renewal, inspired as a seminarian in Rome, further nurtured through a pilgrimage to St. John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota, and brought to practical effect working amongst parishes in Australia. Beyond the liturgical sphere, Young's conscious engagement with lay individuals and Catholic Action organisations seem motivated by a pragmatic understanding that the church cannot function properly within society without the support of the laity. It is possible this perspective was grounded in the archbishop's appreciation for a vision of the church as the mystical body of Christ. As a seminarian, he had written a thesis on participation within the priesthood of Christ which was dependent upon this doctrine.

The early days of his episcopacy evidence a conscious understanding that he could not achieve all things on his own. Faced with the prospect of balancing the church's financial books, he instead hired the layman Peter Nicholls as the official accountant of the archdiocese. Desiring to support Catholic families he founded the Christian Family Movement within Tasmania, a lay organisation which was also invited to participate in liturgical formation. His efforts to acquire federal funding for Catholic education in Tasmania were dependent upon the support of the Parents and Friends Federation. He supported the activities of the Catholic Social Studies Movement within Tasmania, believing that they were an important tool in the ideological fight against communism. The pre-conciliar liturgical formation of the archdiocese generated an opportunity to embrace new forms of church architecture; a possibility which Young capitalised on thanks to his friendship with the talented lay architect Roderick Cooper. Evidently, the archbishop was conscious that the success of his aims depended upon engaging with the talent and passions of all parts of the mystical body.

This was the beginning of the professionalisation of the laity, a trajectory which became an indispensable reality of the church in Tasmania after Vatican II. While the archbishop held a deep appreciation for the participation of all within the priesthood of Christ, exercising the lay apostolate meant contributing to activities and initiatives which furthered an agenda primarily driven by the hierarchy. The Archdiocese of Hobart before Vatican II was a church primarily focused upon the clergy and their activities. It was priests and religious who were the primary beneficiaries of liturgical formation. Likewise, while the archbishop was proactive in his campaign to overhaul the administrative structures of the archdiocese, a deeper ecclesiological understanding of the church as a community of change, represented by the evolving liturgy, does not appear to be a consciously articulated reality at this time. However, Young was hopeful that the Second Vatican Council might lead to a new vision for the lay

apostolate. While he joined a number of other voices in advocating for changes in the liturgy, he was the only Australian bishop to suggest in his pre-conciliar *vota* that the Council should reflect upon the contemporary doctrine of the lay state. He framed his concern for this subject in light of the contemporary liturgical renaissance and Catholic Action.

Young at the Second Vatican Council

At the Council, Young was a member of the so-called progressive majority whose agenda would, for the most part, win out in the final promulgation of the conciliar documents. His previous immersion in the movement for liturgical renewal meant that he welcomed the trajectory of debates over *Sacrosanctum Concilium* which encouraged the active participation of the laity within the liturgy. Later, Young's experiences as second vice-chairman of the International Commission on English in the Liturgy (which had their first meeting on 17 October 1963) and a member of the *Consilium* for the implementation of the new Constitution on the Liturgy (appointed on 3 March 1964) would provide him with concrete opportunities to contribute to an entirely new liturgical style and format. He was conscious that liturgical reform would have implications for other areas of the church's life, including the lay apostolate and ecumenism.

SC was promulgated on 4 December 1963 and in response Young was motivated to author a number of articles reflecting on the consequences of its content. In February 1964, an article was published in the Melbourne *Advocate* which articulated Young's conviction that, far from being a mere catalogue of minor changes in the liturgical discipline of the Western Church, the constitution amounted to a revolution which canonized the principle of perennial adaptation and change in that area of the Church where the precedent of centuries had come to be accepted as beyond question. This is evidence of a conscious acknowledgment that the church is a community of change and adaptation. He overtly expressed his belief that the constitution would stimulate the active participation of the laity beyond the liturgical sphere, directly impacting the theology of the lay apostolate. In another article, published in the same month, Young expressed a worry that the pragmatic application of the vernacular had overshadowed the deeper way in which the constitution might impact Catholic theology. The document represented a departure from a legalistic and apologetic ecclesiology, reaffirming the vital role of Scripture in the life of the church and opening up new possibilities for both missiology and ecumenism. Further, he observed that the new document on the liturgy implicitly leaned in the direction of a decentralized understanding of the church, since local episcopal conferences could now determine the broad lines of liturgical discipline. He

speculated that this tendency toward breaking away from total control by Rome would impact other fields in the church's life and discipline. Another media statement provides evidence of the archbishop reappraising his own episcopal authority, reflecting an increasingly decentralised understanding of the hierarchy. The church can no longer be thought of as a juridical or triumphant reality; rather it is the people of God who came to serve rather than be served. Those who hold the offices of authority within the church hold not the power of a boss, but the responsibilities of a father. This vision of the clergy as servant leader should lead the church to recognise that the laity have definite rights and may institute initiatives within the church which authority may not quench.

Coupled alongside this trajectory was an evident willingness to support an openness to those outside the sacramental boundaries of the church. While intellectually rich, this orientation was also very pragmatic. In the case of his intervention on religious freedom, Young championed a positive vision of religious liberty for all people grounded in Catholic theology and the documents of previous popes. Since the Roman Catholic Church in Australia had never enjoyed the privilege of being a state religion and existed in a country fundamentally shaped by secular and Protestant forces, any position that proposed utilising federal mechanisms to preserve and foster the Catholic community would have been untenable. Notably, Young closely followed debates during the Council on communism and was transformed in his position. At first, he was inclined to argue for the condemnation of communism in Schema 13 (the future *Gaudium et Spes*); yet, he later softened his position, swayed by the arguments of bishops representing Catholic communities living under communist regime. He recognised that overt condemnation by the Council might make the lives of Catholics in these countries much more difficult. At the same time, this transformation did not engender the embrace of pacifism. Toward the end of the Council, Young signed an intervention by Archbishop Hannan of New Orleans arguing that nuclear war should not be condemned by Schema 13. As Alfred Stirling observes, he may have been overly tired when he made this commitment. Yet, it was also a reflection of his own long-standing fears over communism.

Young Lecturing on the Lay Apostolate

Young was a student of the Council and he would continue to reflect on the history, theology, and documents of the enormous event in which he had participated. These reflections were articulated with great detail in a series of post-conciliar lectures provided to the priests, religious, and laity of Tasmania. The extensive reach of the subjects covered by Young is remarkable. Lectures dedicated to dissecting the content of *Lumen Gentium* and the matrix of

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Gaudium et Spes reveal much about the archbishop's developing understanding of the lay apostolate. Young's vision of the laity was grounded in the nature of the church. Analysing the opening sections of *LG*, the archbishop displayed his appreciation for the ecclesiological pluralism evident within the text. The nature of the church was such that multiple images were necessary to communicate the depths of its mystery and relation to the world. For example, while a vision of the church as mystical body communicated the reality of the community intertwined with Christ as its head, an image of the church as the bride of Christ ensured that the distinct identities of both the church and Christ did not collapse into each other. A vision of church as pilgrim communicated the historical nature of the community, stained with the dust and mud of sin, but ever moving to the future eschatological kingdom. An understanding of the church as the people of God (explicated by *LG* chapter two) undergirded Young's vision of the laity (laid out in *LG* chapter four); everything said of the whole people of God and their mission applied to the lay apostolate. This common identity was a more foundational and primordial reality within the church (grounded in baptism) than gradations of rank or station.

During his 1966 lecture on the laity, Young provided a definition of their apostolate, stating that through sacramental consecration and empowerment, every christian in the church is constituted, qualified and in duty bound to a position and task of active co-responsibility of work inside and outside the Church. This definition is important, both for its ability to anchor the archbishop's vision of the lay apostolate, and the evidence it provides that Young may have been inspired in his understanding by the Belgian Cardinal Léon Joseph Suenens as early as 1966. Suenens was an important council father and author of the book *Co-responsibility and the Church* (published in 1968). In accordance with *LG*, the laity participate in the one mission of the church and are called to serve both within and beyond the boundaries of the community. Notably, while his lecture on the laity had begun with an analysis of the beginning of *LG*'s chapter on the laity (no. 30), Young used language reminiscent of that used in *SC* to describe the active participation of the faithful in worship: the laity are living, active, and complete members of the Church. The vision of the church promulgated by *LG* couldn't exist without *SC*.

All Christians receive their apostolic mandate through baptism and are empowered to carry out their duties through Christ. Through baptism, every member of the church is given a share in the three offices of Christ. The laity share in the priesthood of Christ, actualising the sacred nature and organic structure of the priestly community through participation in the sacraments and practice of the virtues. Both the common priesthood of the laity and ministerial

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priesthood of the clergy work together in this task. Participating in the prophetic office of Christ, the laity are capable of properly discerning and bearing witness to matters of faith. Through charisms bestowed by the Holy Spirit, the laity are further empowered to carry out their duties. Clergy must exercise their own discernment and identify charismatic gifts bestowed upon the laity. Through these gifts, the laity can become preachers of the gospel and teachers of the faith in the midst of everyday life. Marriage and family life are a particularly important milieu for the rendering of this service. Finally, the laity participate in the royal office of Christ, challenging the dominance of sin within society and preparing the world for the reign of Christ. The laity have a duty to be leaven within the world and bring the rule of Christ into its temporal structure. The implications of the laity's empowerment through Christ and the Holy Spirit have consequences for the bishops and their relationship with the faithful. Bishops must become servant leaders attentive to the voices of the laity. Ignoring lay people risks rejecting charismatic gifts bestowed by the Spirit. For Young, the Council's theology meant that the laity have the right to make their voices heard on the level of policy making, a right demanded by the nature of their baptism.

Bound to a Christian apostolate, the laity are called to work both within the church and the world of our time. Organising approximately eight lectures on *GS*, Young sought to analyse the matrix of the constitution, dissecting the world-view and processes in history which originated and shaped this document. The document presents a new vision of humanity and the world, one that was not ruled by a defensive or suspicious orientation, but which sought engagement with the secular world as a source of enrichment for the church's mission to preach the gospel to all nations. Young observed that debates at the Council bore witness to differing interpretations of the world, with some emphasising the dominance of sin, while others stressed the world as fundamentally positive and grounded in God's love. While both are true, the latter is primary, since Christ has liberated the world from sin. The church must be in the world and proclaim the gospel, or else it will have failed the mission given by Christ. Thus, the laity's apostolate to the world is indispensable to the whole mission of the church. For Young and the Council, the church was not separate from the world, but rather embedded within history as a pilgrim church.

Further, the interior dynamisms of the world and history have their roots in the revelation of God. A secular vision of linear history and de-divinised nature has its roots in a biblical vision of the world, where history moves inexorably toward the kingdom of God and pagan idols are revealed to be nothing but wood and stone. The archbishop argued for a holistic

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understanding of the relationship between the religious and secular life of the people. He navigated the criticisms of Karl Barth, stating that cooperation with the world does not entail accommodation to its standards. Instead, quoting Edward Schillebeeckx, he maintained that the structures and principles of the world have been taken up by God through Christ and made holy. It was possible for the church to move out into the world without embracing secularism or an exaggerated humanism.

For the archbishop, the constitution provides directions towards embracing a living spirituality crucial for modern humanity. This was a spirituality which embraced the contemporary emphasis on human dignity crucial for younger generations in search of authenticity. In the midst of these observations, he also pontificated on the importance of the role of women within the church, a new insight which arguably had not fully crystallised before the Council. Through their competence in secular fields and personal activity, the laity are given the specific task of working within the temporal sphere and consecrating the world to God. Yet, here Young became critical of the constitution. A nearly exclusive focus on the laity and their work within the world disregarded the impact of priests, nuns, and brothers, who also live and work within the world, participating in Christ's mission. This did not take seriously *LG's* vision of all the faithful participating in a mission to the world. *LG* countered traditional understandings which pitted the church as a perfect society over and against the world by drawing upon a vision of the church as sacrament, incarnate within history and revealing God's presence as a sign of hope for the world. Through their activities the laity also participate in this sacred function. *GS* could not be understood without a prior reading of *LG*. The pastoral constitution follows logically from the doctrinal constitution's seventh chapter on the eschatological nature of the pilgrim church and her union with the heavenly church. The church moves through history as a pilgrim on the road to the kingdom of God, sharing in the same problems and experiences endured by the whole of humanity.

Reflecting on the thinking of philosophers and authors, including Albert Camus, Franz Kafka, and Samuel Beckett, Young articulated the notion that existence is absurd. Human beings, whose existence is finite, cannot be satisfied with finitude. Going further, Young claimed that this longing comes from God. It renders idols mute and powerless, and draws the human mind toward transcendence. It is a divine cry (Nikos Kazantzakis) which draws the human being beyond the stagnation of finitude. Earthly values cannot stand on their own. By themselves they are absurd, and only imbued with meaning when they draw humanity closer to God. Finally, Young deemed that the contemporary proliferation of atheism was

problematic, rejecting the conclusions of Paul van Buren who sought to reimagine Christianity without reference to God. Yet, he also admitted the legitimacy of tensions underlying atheistic belief and expression. Religious images of God are always historically contextual and often flawed. Reflecting on Tolstoy and the apophatic dimension of Thomas Aquinas' thought, Young claimed that we often know more about what God is not than what God is. Yet, this is a normal part of faith and essential when consecrating earthly values since it ensures that they themselves will not become idols. Young encouraged his audience to imitate Christ and keep their eyes on God, drawing upon the christological humanism found within *GS*. Jesus is the final Adam and illuminates the dignity and value of the human person (*GS* 22).

The celebration of Christ's mystery in the eucharist is the ultimate acknowledgement of the meaningfulness of earthly values. For Young, the lay apostolate begins and ends with the liturgy and sacraments. Through baptism, the faithful receive their apostolate; called to work within the church and consecrate the world to God. The highest form of consecration is participation in the eucharist, where matter becomes a physical sign of God's presence within the world. Thus, within the eucharist, barriers between sacred and secular are breached and the church and world become one. The church is a sacrament to the world and so too are the laity. In their lives, lay people can become a sign and instrument of intimate union with God and the unity of all humanity. For Young, recognition of the inseparable relationship between church and world represented a tremendous advance for the Council's ecclesiology. While these lectures only proved to have a limited impact upon the formation of Tasmanian Catholics in the new teachings of the Council, on their own they provide an important look into Young's developing theological and ecclesiological understanding of the lay apostolate. Drawing upon the thought of Terry Velting, who identifies three hermeneutical stances that a Christian can take toward church teachings (dialogical, exilic, and marginal) it might be said that Young approached the documents of Vatican II with a dialogical openness, trusting their contents to provide new insights and provoke meaningful questions.

The First Phase of Post-Conciliar Reception

Between 1964–81 the first phase of receiving and implementing the Council was initiated within the Archdiocese of Hobart. Young's vision of the laity with definite rights was reflected in an overhaul of diocesan structures intended to provide all the faithful with a stronger voice in the evolution of the church. Structural reform began before the Council's close in 1965, so that new channels for proclaiming the Council and bringing about change might be established. Liturgical reform was at the forefront of new developments. On 30 August 1964, the new

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Diocesan Liturgical Commission convened one of its earliest meetings, discussing new ways to activate the laity within worship. Appropriately, one of its first projects was the training of lay readers for worship services. In the same year, the Australian Episcopal Conference established the overseas aid organisation Australian Catholic Relief, responding to the Council's renewed commitment to social justice. After the Council's close, structural reform continued. In 1966, the statutes of the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference (A.C.B.C.) were first approved by the Holy See and the following year a liturgical conference was held in Hobart, gathering Australians together from different states. This was another opportunity for Young to speak (alongside others) and proclaim the liturgical reform brought about by the Council. At this conference, Young demanded that SC (no. 40), which permitted liturgical experimentation under certain conditions, should be subject to a generous interpretation and the widest possible application. One could apply this principle to the entire first phase of reception within Hobart. This era was marked by ecclesial experimentation and adaptation in the fields of liturgy, the lay apostolate, diocesan consultation, ecumenism, and education.

In 1967, the new Tasmanian Senate of Priests had their inaugural meeting. While later meetings would be dedicated to reorganising the archdiocese into three separate deaneries, it is notable that the first item on the agenda during their earliest meeting was the creation of a Diocesan Pastoral Council. While the D.P.C. was never intended to be a lay council, it was consciously designed to encourage a greater degree of autonomy and responsibility amongst the laity. In September 1967, Young announced the creation of the D.P.C., citing Cardinal Suenens' understanding of coresponsibility as a foundational principle. The body had its first meeting on 28 October 1967 and was tasked with investigating all aspects of pastoral work within the archdiocese and drawing practical conclusions on these matters. Young proclaimed that the first purpose of the D.P.C. was to foster a sense of shared responsibility for the pastoral life of the archdiocese amongst all the faithful. Notably, this so-called parliament of the church in Tasmania could hold their archbishop to the decision of a two-thirds majority vote, representing a remarkable attempt at sharing responsibility for decisions impacting the archdiocese amongst representatives of the faithful. While there was no legal ground for this reality, according to Sergio Giudici, Young was determined to abide by this principle and often remained silent when the vote swung against him.

Between 1968–72 reports were produced on the evolving status of diocesan structures, which also included the contemporary status of Catholic Action, proliferation of parish councils, establishing of new organisations dedicated to the reform of Catholic education, and

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the coming together of a Diocesan Ecumenical Commission (their inaugural meeting was 27 June 1970). This period was characterised by structural reform, providing the faithful with new ways to proclaim, contemplate, and embrace the Council's teachings. At the same time, it also signalled the end of an era, with the tools for engaging the laity diversifying beyond Catholic Action. While some lay groups established before the Council seemingly faded from relevance, others, including the Young Christian Students and Catholic Womens' League, continued to exercise an important function and found representation amongst the new structures of consultation.

While the archdiocese hewed closely to post-conciliar papal pronouncements intended to shape the reception of the Council, Young's organising of a seminar for Fr. Nicholas Crotty, a Melbourne priest who dissented against the publication of *Humanae Vitae* (1968), indicates that he was disappointed with hierarchical attempts at wielding power over the laity which seemed reductive and paternalizing. Liturgical reform continued to evolve. Young lectured on the *Novus Ordo* in 1969, convinced that not everyone in Australia understood why new changes were being introduced. Positively, however, the fortieth International Eucharistic Conference in Melbourne (1973) provided an important platform for the celebration of new advances in this field. In Hobart, ecumenism was embraced wholeheartedly, with the archdiocese attaining full membership in the Tasmanian Council of Churches (1970).

However, the execution of a task as monumental as changing not only the structure but the culture of the Archdiocese of Hobart was by no means flawless. Peter Roach's first report on the progress of the D.P.C. (1971), in which he claimed that the body had failed to meet the demands placed upon them by Vatican II and confirmed by the archbishop, reveal not only gaps in the understanding of many people regarding their mission and the importance of new changes, but also a lack of confidence in their ability to meet the challenges of the future. While this situation might be remedied by continued education and formation, Roach also observed that the activities of the archbishop had not been consistent with his goals. The D.P.C. had been purposefully left out of some of the most important decisions which would be impacting the archdiocese for decades. This was far from Young's assertion that the laity should be involved in the policy making of the archdiocese. Even the archbishop had not embraced the Council's teachings as radically as he might have hoped.

The 1976 conference on the Australian Catholic laity represented a fruitful microcosm of the church in Australia, with progressives and conservatives coming together in a spirit of

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unity. Tasmanian Y.C.S. members, including David Freeman, were responsible for an important report on youth within the archdiocese, produced in 1978. Drafted for the D.P.C., it represented a serious attempt at understanding the context and needs of young Catholics within the archdiocese. Amongst their conclusions, an awareness was emphasised that the future of pastoral renewal may rely on the fostering of small communities in parishes to meet the needs of youth. In making this recommendation, they cited Pope Paul VI's Apostolic Exhortation on evangelisation, *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (no. 58). The focus on small communities would become a recurring theme throughout the 1980s, though applied more broadly to the renewal of the whole archdiocese. In the late 1970s, Sergio Giudici laboured as the Tasmanian representative on the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (which had replaced the National Commission for Justice and Peace in 1976). He would strengthen ties between the D.P.C. and C.C.J.P. and promote reflection on social justice themes grounded in papal encyclicals, embroiling the D.P.C. in a two-day session reflecting on the content of the encyclical letter of Pope John Paul II, *Redemptor Hominis* (1979).

In many ways, Tasmanian Catholics were remarkable in their enthusiasm for conciliar reform. According to Patrick O'Farrell, structural attempts at diocesan consultation had effectively collapsed in the larger archdioceses of Sydney and Melbourne by the 1970s. By contrast, Hobart continued to boast a functional consultation network into the decade of the 1980s. The proliferation of new diocesan structures, and even parish councils amongst the grassroots, signified Young's ambition to share responsibility amongst the laity and clergy for the mission of the church. Upon the foundation laid down by the first phase of post-conciliar reception, a second phase would be built which sought to orchestrate an immensely ambitious consultation of the whole archdiocese in order to embrace a new future vision of the church in Hobart.

The Second Phase of Post-Conciliar Reception

In 1981, a Diocesan Task Force was appointed by Young, composed of clerical, religious, and lay representatives from the various diocesan bodies, including the Senate of Priests and D.P.C. Their aims were to conduct research regarding the pastoral situation of the Catholic people of Tasmania, and discover ways and means of making Christ more present within the life of the church. Members conducted census surveys and studied similar reports from other dioceses in Australia and the UK. Their report revealed the success of reform efforts over the previous few years, citing the positive reception of liturgical changes, increased participation of lay people through parishes and apostolic organisations, the emergence of a shared sense of ministry

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between clergy and laity, greater participation of Catholics in the fields of education and welfare, and the continued evolution of the D.P.C. as an important collaborative body.

However, their report also lists a number of issues which the archdiocese must address: 1) an ever-widening gap between the official teachings of the church and the self-understanding of Catholics; 2) confusion amongst sacramentally active Catholics regarding changes in church teachings; 3) the lack of a forum for those who are confused to speak their mind and receive aid; 4) a feeling of voicelessness, insignificance, and frustration; 5) the departure of Catholics from the church, especially the young; 6) and an inner spiritual emptiness permeating the lives of many. These signs pointed to a crisis of identity within the archdiocese, with certain Catholics unable to cope with many of the changes which had been introduced after the Second Vatican Council.

In response to these concerns, the Diocesan Task Force listed eight key features of a vision of the church of the future: 1) this will be a missionary church, where clergy and laity are encouraged to bring the gospel to secular society; 2) inspired by Vatican II, both the renewal of the parish and the liturgy will continue to be key concerns; 3) the formation of small communities will be encouraged, stimulated by lay and clerical animators and providing a flexible working environment for people (especially young people) to reflect upon their faith in dialogue with others; 4) the evangelisation of youth will be renewed encouraging a deep commitment to Christ within the family, developing new structures to support young people in their faith journey after graduating from school, and offering new opportunities for fellowship to young people who decide to continue in their faith journey; 5) the shared responsibility between priests and laity for the activity of ministry will be recognised; 6) robust prayer life amongst the laity will be encouraged, drawing upon the resources of the charismatic movement, study of scripture, meditation, Divine Office, and organisation of spiritual retreats; 7) the Catholic family will be supported; 8) renewed commitments will be made to the pursuit of social and economic justice, as well as a preferential option for the poor. The Task Force gathered feedback from their proposal paper and recommended that the archdiocese host a Priests Assembly in 1984. While it was noted that priests required an opportunity to reflect concretely on their ministry, it was also stressed that the laity required total involvement.

Priests Assembly papers were prepared and summaries distributed to parishes, who were encouraged to study their contents. Young wanted to ensure that lay people amongst all parishes were as involved in the Priests Assembly as much as possible. The chairman of the

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D.P.C. expressed a hope that this was only the first step in a much longer process of renewal. Five documents were drafted for the Priests Assembly: 1) a short introduction to the history of priestly ministry in Tasmania; 2) a practical evaluation of the status of the priesthood of Tasmania at the time; 3) a reflection of the experiences of priestly ministry within Tasmania in light of the changes brought about by Vatican II; 4) an exploration of the apostolate of the laity in light of the documents of Vatican II and the current pastoral situation in Tasmania; 5) and an outline of potential ideas regarding the future of renewal within the archdiocese.

These papers were occupied with the same pastoral reality, namely, that the number of seminarians trained in Tasmania was dropping and in a few short years this situation would become unmanageable. At the same time, lay ministry was flourishing and the laity desired to take on more responsibilities at parish and diocesan levels. These men and women required greater support, since more and more Catholics were drifting away from the church. The church had lost much credibility in Australia due to its teachings on contraception, divorce, Mass attendance, and mixed marriages. Renewal initiatives were hampered by lay dependence on the clergy, as well as a culture of individualism, indifference, and resistance to change amongst the faithful.

The current context was viewed as a pastoral crisis, but it was also a potentially beneficial sign of the times, presenting a renewed opportunity to live the teachings of Vatican II. The vision of the laity within these documents draws upon *Lumen Gentium*, *Gaudium et Spes*, and *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, as well as modern sources including the 1983 code of canon law. The papers discuss the unity of the lay apostolate with the common vocation of all Christians, and the uniqueness and diversity of lay ministries. The laity are identified as the people of God at the most fundamental level. Through the sacraments they come to share in the threefold office of Christ and their ministry is united with the clergy and religious. Both laity and clergy are gifted by the Holy Spirit with special charisms that help them persevere in the fulfillment of their authentic mission. Lay ministry is essential to the continued functioning of the pastoral, liturgical, and structural life of the church, particularly in light of the decreasing number of priests. Their contributions are desired by the Second Vatican Council and the Holy Spirit. Lay workers within the church are not a stop gap to be dropped when more priests become available. The laity are also called to participate in the church's mission to the world, engage in dialogue with contemporary society, and consecrate the temporal order to God in the midst of their ordinary lives. The reception and implementation of the teachings of Vatican II are presented as an ongoing challenge to the Archdiocese of Hobart.

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Ten principles for the furtherance of ecclesial renewal were created and promulgated by the Priests' Assembly. Principles nine and ten were the richest regarding the future of the lay apostolate: the formation, education, and ministry of lay Catholics must be supported and expanded; and the parish is confirmed as the centre and source of christian life and worship. It is the parish community composed of families, small base communities, and the parish itself which is the heart of the vision for the archdiocese's future.

A Diocesan Forward Planning Committee was elected to implement the practical proposals of the Priests' Assembly, composed of four priests, four non-clerical religious, and four laity working in concert with the archbishop and Council of Priests. Members of the Priests' Assembly sent a letter to the archdiocese which, in part, proposed that future assemblies be held every three years. The active process of consultation with all the people of God was intended to be a continuous reality within the archdiocese. Two major insights emerged from the Priests' Assembly: 1) the decline in the number of priests and flourishing lay ministries was a sign from the Holy Spirit that the archdiocese must embrace new ways of being church; 2) the parish must be re-imagined, reliant upon small pastoral groups actively working to stimulate the life of the faithful. These insights were supported by D.P.C. members. Both themes were taken up in an experimental paper put forward to the Council of Priests and Archbishop Young, entitled "A New Way." This paper encouraged the archdiocese to begin acting on the insights of the Priests' Assembly. Amongst a variety of proposals for action, the paper expressed a shared belief that engaging with the contemporary pastoral crisis was the first step toward living in a new way inspired by the Holy Spirit.

In dialogue with Young, executive members of the D.P.C., Priests' Council, and the Council of Major Religious Superiors, the D.F.P.C. called for a Diocesan Assembly of the whole people of God in Tasmania to be called in 1986. Preparatory regional meetings were held in the three deaneries of the archdiocese, and the changing nature of the church in a rapidly evolving world was to be its central theme. This was intended to be an opportunity for representatives of priests, religious and laity within the archdiocese to contribute to the future of the church in Tasmania. Young's pastoral letter officially calling together the Assembly quoted documents of the Council, including *GS* and *AA*. For Young, the Assembly was grounded in the trajectory toward ecclesial renewal begun by Vatican II. The archbishop made clear that the expansion of lay ministries was desired by the Holy Spirit and the Diocesan Assembly was intended to be a turning point ushering in a new phase of history within the archdiocese. A preparatory programme was organised in the wake of Young's pastoral letter

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entitled: “Shaping our Future: Parish Preparatory Programme”. The programme encouraged parishioners to reflect on the past, present, and future of the archdiocese. In its vision of a future church in Tasmania, documentation meant to inspire discussion amongst parish groups drew upon *Lineamenta*, drafted by Rome in preparation for the forthcoming International Synod on the Laity (1987), and the “New Way” paper. Preparations were also impacted by the Archdiocese of Adelaide, which had similarly set up a task force in 1981 in order to formulate a new pastoral plan for the future of the archdiocese. A diocesan assembly was held and an article in the *Standard* (August 1986) suggested that much could be learned from its efforts. Further, the director of pastoral renewal in Adelaide, David Shinnick, would be invited to act as a facilitator of the Diocesan Assembly in Tasmania.

The Diocesan Assembly took place over three days (8–10 August 1986). Appropriately, the liturgical life of the event echoed the process of reflection on the church’s past, present, and future which took place amongst members. A stand out aspect of this event was the address of David Shinnick on social justice and the lay apostolate entitled: “Towards Integrated Mission and Ministry”. Drawing upon *GS*, he advocated for a vision of the faithful who positively engage with the questions and desires of the modern world. His speech is grounded upon the principles of integrated mission and integrated ministry. Integrated mission refers to a baptised person’s integration within the mission of the church to the world. It begins with personal renewal, aligning a person’s life to the principles of the gospel, and requires the person to bear witness to the gospel in daily life and secular Australian culture. The church is enriched by modern culture; at the same time, it cannot accept these gifts thoughtlessly and is required to be critical of sin and consecrate the world in the name of Christ. This must be driven by the spirit of dialogue promoted by Vatican II. Laity have a mission to the world, but they are also called to transform the church in a positive way, supported by the grace and charisms of the world. All the people of God are called to collaboration and co-responsibility in the life and mission of the church. New structures of consultation established after the Council indicate a broader shift towards a community-centred model of church. These structures must be consistently reviewed and renewed, to ensure they operate justly. Finally, the second principle of integrated ministry refers to the laity, religious, and clergy working together for the benefit of the church and the world. The key to continued cooperation between these three groups lies in a vision of equality bestowed through baptism upon all the faithful, articulated by *LG* chapter two (on the people of God) and taken up by *Lineamenta* (no. 16).

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The Diocesan Assembly was considered a great success by Young. The D.F.P.C. met a day after the close of the Assembly to discuss proposals for renewal. New proposals were intended to stimulate the development of pastoral renewal on the parish and diocesan level, and focused on the development of church ministries, Catholic education, ecumenism, the family, and Catholic youth. Proposals advocated for the formation of the laity for the purposes of church ministry and the creation of small pastoral groups. Deaneries were encouraged to prepare study guides, summaries, and complete texts of the Vatican II documents for use in parishes. Other proposals included the creation of a local commission for justice and peace, the continued establishing of councils amongst parishes, and the drafting of parish council guidelines grounded in the 1983 code of canon law, documents of the Priests' Plenary, and papal encyclicals *Evangelii Nuntiandi* and *Familiaris Consortio*. Responses from diocesan organisations were positive and all supported the aims of the Assembly. Certain parishes orchestrated responses to the Assembly, embracing new educational, formational, and ecumenical initiatives. Preparations were also underway for the imminent visit of Pope John Paul II to Tasmania.

In 1986, Pope John Paul II visited the Archdiocese of Hobart as part of a global pilgrimage in preparation for the International Synod on the Laity (1987). He was welcomed as a celebrity and used the occasion to spread his vision of social and economic justice grounded in Catholic Social Teachings. Around the middle of 1986, a conference of the laity of Australia, New Zealand, Papua-New Guinea, and the Pacific islands was held in Auckland (New Zealand) in anticipation of the Synod. Amongst others, it was attended by Neville Behrens, a representative of Tasmania and D.P.C. member. He reported positive impressions of the enthusiastic faith of representatives from Papua-New Guinea and the Pacific Islands.

In 1987, a five-week consultative programme was initiated during Lent across the archdiocese entitled "Called and Gifted" in preparation for the Synod. It was intended to discover how parishioners understood the apostolate of the laity. Responses indicated that a great diversity of opinions existed within the archdiocese. While many parishioners called for greater opportunities to be given to the laity to act as leaders, others expressed a sense of clerical dependency and felt unprepared to take on the role of witness within society. The strategy of forming small groups to support parishioners in these roles was seen as effective, yet these groups required greater levels of pastoral training. More education was required regarding matters of social justice. The ministries of youth and women required greater support and more communication between laity and clergy was needed. Certain priests were deliberately limiting

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the initiatives of lay people, unable to agree which areas of ministry and mission properly belonged to the laity. Some even perceived these initiatives as an attack on their authority. Laity were encouraged to serve, but not as prophets or apostles. Some wished that priests could better discern the gifts and talents of parishioners while others expressed hesitancy to volunteer for ministerial roles, fearing burnout or not understanding what is required. Some parishes did not properly support their lay ministers. Great regret was evident amongst responses that those with marriage difficulties were excluded from the eucharist. Others struggled with ecumenical scripture study groups and could not explain their beliefs to non-Catholics. Some desired simpler black-white church teachings, and one response suggested returning to a pre-Vatican II church. This diversity points to tensions within the community. A conciliar vision of an active and dynamic lay body participating in all areas of the church's life and mission had not taken hold within the hearts and minds of all baptised members within the Archdiocese of Hobart. These results were sent to both the Australian Episcopal Conference and the Holy See as a contribution to preparations for the Synod on the Laity in Rome.

The document synthesizing data from the "Called and Gifted" programme also dedicates an introductory section to summarizing the post-conciliar history of lay ministers in Tasmania. In part, it judged that the D.P.C. had not evolved into the strong advisor on pastoral matters its early meetings had promised it might become. This was partly due to the fact that old habits of passivity lingered amongst members, as well as a persistent belief that the body could not properly deal with the matters that were laid before it. Broadly, the D.P.C. had not become the institutional manifestation of shared responsibility amongst all the people of God within the Archdiocese of Hobart that Young had envisioned.

While the 1980s were a time of growing papal ambivalence toward liturgical reform initiated after Vatican II, the Archdiocese of Hobart continued to pursue liturgical reform as the heart of post-conciliar renewal. A Latin Mass was celebrated in St. Mary's Cathedral in Hobart, led by Fr. Geoffrey Jarrett and Lex Johnson (the Administrator of St. Mary's Cathedral in Sydney). In a later media statement, Jarrett proclaimed a vision of the Mass which de-emphasized the importance of the external participation of parishioners, in favour of internal participation. This vision was in line with an understanding of the liturgy found in the Final Report of the 1985 Extraordinary Synod of Bishops on Vatican II. Jarrett's use of *SC* as a legal document justifying the Latin Mass seems distant from Young's original insight that the greatest achievement of the document was its promulgation of the principle of perennial adaptation within the heart of the church. Indeed, it reflected the archbishops fear that many

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would simply perceive the constitution as a list of changes within the liturgical discipline of the Western Church. While this celebration was timed to impact an International Liturgy Assembly set to take place in Hobart (January 1988), it appeared to have little effect on its programme.

Young presided over this event as the senior bishop of the Sacred Congregation of Divine Worship and President of the National Liturgy Commission set up by the Bishops of Australia. He used the occasion to celebrate the promulgation of *SC* as the culmination of his hopes and his desire that all the faithful might be led to full, conscious, and active participation within the liturgy. The International Liturgy Assembly was the climax of this lifelong project. Yet, Young's hopes had been tempered by the difficulties of the era, as he revealed in a welcome address to the keynote speaker of the assembly, George Basil Cardinal Hume. Young's vision of the church's future lay upon the shoulders of Christ as the lord of history, who brings all things to completion and consummation according to his transformative design. The event itself hosted roughly twenty-five workshops which reflected the spirit of pastoral care, enthusiasm, experimentation and active participation of all the faithful which had characterised liturgical renewal in Tasmania since Vatican II. The highlight of this event was the keynote address by Cardinal Hume, who reflected on *LG* and the 1985 Synod on Vatican II. He wove images of the church as the people of God and communion together, using both to foster a positive and dynamic vision of lay ministry within the church. His presence may indicate that Young had been sympathetic to Hume's position at the 1985 Synod on Vatican II (identified by Avery Dulles), which maintained that the Council had been a tremendous boon for the church and any contemporary difficulties were due to conservative members of the hierarchy failing to carry out reform.

Between 1986–88 the archdiocesan structures of consultation continued to evolve. Each deanery began to form regional pastoral councils, responding to the Diocesan Assembly's proposal to improve communication and sharing resources between parish and diocesan bodies. The D.P.C. had been inactive since 1986, with resources diverted to the D.F.P.C. and its promotion of the Assembly, as well as the arrival of Pope John Paul II. In 1987, after a series of meetings, the D.F.P.C. announced its recommendation to re-activate and renew the D.P.C. utilising a new model of operation intended to provide broader representation of all organisations within the archdiocese. It was intended to be part of a new three-tiered structure including regional and parish councils. The new D.P.C. would take over the forward planning role of the D.F.P.C. and act as an executive body coordinating the activities of regional councils

in collaboration with parish councils. Young requested that all recipients nominate their new D.P.C. representative and called a meeting together for 19 March 1988. However, Young died unexpectedly in hospital three days earlier, on 16 March, and it is unlikely this meeting ever occurred.

Young's death happened at the threshold of a new phase of ecclesial renewal, one that was only beginning to take form. While Tasmanian's had not adopted the teachings of Vatican II as deeply as he might have hoped, his episcopacy had still fostered and even normalised expectations surrounding lay participation, shared responsibility between laity and clergy, and the possibility of adaptation within the archdiocese to an unprecedented degree. His unwavering devotion to liturgical reform, even into his old age, reveals the incredible extent of his passion and dedication to this cause.

The Episcopacy of Eric D'Arcy

Eric D'Arcy was in his early sixties when he became Archbishop of Hobart and had already built-up a significant career as a priest and episcopal vicar within the Archdiocese of Melbourne and bishop in the Diocese of Sale. D'Arcy began his clerical career as a chaplain of the Catholic Evidence Guild and then the Catholic Social Studies Movement in Melbourne. He was an impressive scholar and it is possible he assisted Archbishop Daniel Mannix in the drafting of his animadversions, sent alongside a letter to Léon Joseph Cardinal Suenens during the Council, in which Mannix rejected an initial schema of *De Ecclesia*.

In 1966, D'Arcy lectured to a group of postgraduate students on the apostolate of the laity emphasising their role in the pastoral care of Catholics (exemplified by the increasing role of the laity in teaching), mission to non-Christians, and mandate to transform the temporal order in the spirit of the gospel. In doing so he aligned himself with important dimensions of the Council's vision of the lay apostolate. Yet, absent is any mention of the active participation of the laity in the liturgy and in the church through new structures. There is scant evidence to suggest that these themes had a major impact upon his thinking, unlike Young. Indeed, the Archdiocese of Melbourne never established its own diocesan pastoral council. In 1969, D'Arcy was appointed by Archbishop James Knox as episcopal vicar for tertiary education. In this role he supported lay groups working within universities and tasked Catholic educators with handing on the teachings of the Apostles, inculcating habits of prayer, and awakening a sense of sin within their students.

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In 1981, D'Arcy became bishop of the Diocese of Sale in Victoria. In 1982, he was appointed as a member of the Vatican's Secretariat for Non-Believers. In 1983, he met Pope John Paul II during an *ad limina* visit and participated in the publishing of a Victorian Bishops' Pastoral on Education Matters. In 1988, he succeeded Young as Archbishop of Hobart and around the same time became a member of the Pontifical Congregation for Catholic Education. In the same year he gave an address at a Plenary Assembly on religious belief in Australia, articulating the Australian bishops' approval of the need for a renaissance in the doctrinal dimension of education in faith. Reflecting on the development of religious education in Australia, he observed that too much emphasis had been placed on an experientialist model of catechesis and not enough on communicating the content of doctrine. It is likely this perspective informed his support of the New Catechism, promulgated in 1992. In the 1990s, D'Arcy was responsible for removing inclusive language from an English translation of the New Catechism. Before becoming archbishop of Hobart, D'Arcy had cultivated an extensive clerical career as a rigorous scholar and competent leader who displayed a socially and religiously conservative character.

At the end of his time as bishop of Sale (1988), D'Arcy inaugurated a three-year pastoral programme within the diocese entitled "Renew". As Archbishop of Hobart, he launched Renew in response to expectations built up by the Tasmanian Diocesan Assembly. This project was primarily organised by Fr. Adrian Doyle and Sr. Jillian Dance. "Renew" originated in America and was intended to prepare the faithful for the implementation of parish councils desired by Vatican II. Studies into whether Renew could be adapted to the Australian scene began in 1985. The following year, the Australian Renew Association was formed with a secretariat in Melbourne. Renew sought to stimulate the involvement of the laity within the church's mission in daily life. The programme encouraged parish groups to meet and discuss their faith, reflecting a focus on the value of small community groups. Material from the post-synodal apostolic exhortation *Christifideles Laici* (1988) was utilized to prompt discussion of the laity's role in remaking the Christian fabric of the ecclesial community through participation in Christ's prophetic office. The immense value of the lay apostolate to the church's mission in the world was reconfirmed. Renew, in Hobart, was organised by individuals familiar with the expectations which had been nurtured during Young's episcopacy and certain outcomes aligned with the proposals of the Diocesan Assembly. Commissions for youth, ecumenism, and liturgy were reformed and new bodies concerned with social justice and pastoral planning were created.

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While the first Priests' Assembly had suggested reconvening every three years, a second assembly was not hosted until 1996. This was organised with the need to become more aware of the changes happening in Australian society. Submissions from individual Catholics, religious organisations, and representatives in the fields of education, welfare, justice, and hospital services were presented. Approximately 200 responses were received from individual Catholics and lay bodies or groups. These revealed a diversity of views on the church, exhibiting both right-wing and left-wing opinions on particular issues. A small sample sprang from a vision of the church as an institution, but most were attuned to the ecclesiological plurality of Vatican II, understanding the church as the people of God and communion of disciples.

A Master Plan Group was instituted to review contributions and an immense desire for change was discovered. The programme "Call to Change" was pitched as a culmination of dialogue over the past few years. From the beginning, a dialogical orientation was stressed. Dialogue, listening, personal conversion and a change of heart for the purposes of carrying out Christ's mission were vital themes. "Call to Change" was set in motion in 1999 by co-adjutor Archbishop Adrian Doyle and in his launch address he emphasized the multifaceted nature of the church as a diversity which enriched communion. Catholics participated in conversations and shared their experiences, hopes, and concerns. Parish assemblies followed which were meant to structure ongoing dialogue regarding future options for change. These dialogues were gathered up, shared, and evaluated in the context of a series of regional and diocesan meetings over the next two and a half years. This conversation process yielded approximately 320 submissions from individuals, interest groups, schools, and religious communities. Material was organised into eight reports, with one focused on the responsibility of the laity in the life and mission of the church. This report summarised material gathered from conversation groups held in April and June 1999.

While D'Arcy reconfirmed the activities of regional pastoral councils already established, he did not reconstitute the D.P.C. which had been close to revival before Young's death in 1988. In light of the collapse of new structures of shared responsibility within the Archdiocese of Melbourne in the 1970s, it seems that this phenomenon was not a big part of his post-conciliar experiences. Yet, the memory of co-responsibility would not leave Tasmanians. In 1993, an article was published in the *Standard* about a group dedicated to living out the teachings of Vatican II who sought to investigate collaborative models of decision making.

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D'Arcy's episcopacy was also a time of emerging nostalgia for a pre-Vatican II church. Protests were orchestrated in response to Renew which had originated in Victoria and followed D'Arcy from Sale to Hobart. Protesters sought to hijack meetings, embarrass pastoral leaders, and were seemingly at odds with the autonomy given to the laity to discuss their faith. Fritz Albers, a Catholic apologist from Drysdale in Victoria, authored several inflammatory pamphlets which were dispensed to individuals. Protesters were concerned about the changing nature of the church since Vatican II and suspicious of lay-empowerment, the ordination of women, freedom of conscience, human dignity, feminism, and abortion, amongst other topics. They lamented the fragmentation of the mystical body into local parishes and claimed that Renew had driven away the vibrant part of the militant church. While clearly suspicious of changes which had happened in the church since Vatican II, Albers rejected the idea that he was aligned with Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, who had been excommunicated after consecrating four bishops against the will of the pope in 1988. Protest pamphlets supported the authority of the pope and decried the empowerment of local churches, expressing a desire for the extreme centralisation of hierarchical authority.

Legitimised by the publishing of *Ecclesia Dei adflicta*, D'Arcy gave permission to practice the Latin rite in different parishes across Tasmania. Evidence seems to suggest that this topic was controversial within the Archdiocese. One opinion published in the *Standard* claimed that permission from the bishop was not needed to practice the Latin Mass. Attempts were made to quell disagreements, with D'Arcy and Jarrett condemning Lefebvre's Society of Saint Pius X as a bitter and divisive movement. Doyle encouraged deep consideration as to whether the reintroduction of the Latin Mass might bring greater disunity within the community. In a response to a parishioner criticising the spread of the Latin Mass throughout the archdiocese (27 February 1996), D'Arcy seemingly dismissed their concerns by stating that the internal reality of the Mass was more important than the external (reflecting the position of the 1985 Extraordinary Synod). Tensions between clergy were evident at the Priests Plenary (1996), due to differing visions of the church. Some priests feared that their work would be undone by reactionary conservatives. A lack of communication may have contributed to divisions, since this was the first time in twelve years that the priests of Tasmania had gathered together in consultation. In 1996, D'Arcy took the extraordinary step of censoring supposedly right-wing and left-wing views in the *Standard*, a decision seen by some as a deliberate repression of debate which could only lead to alienation.

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Difficult themes arose during the Call to Change dialogues and were presented by the report on lay ministries. There was a lack of communication between priests and laity on the parish level. Many had experienced a top-down implementation of clerical authority and some suggested that the reintroduction of the D.P.C. might assist consultation. Too often, clerical power was exercised in defence of priest or church structure, or used as a means of control. There were complaints that priests were blocking suggestions from the laity and adopting a dictatorial attitude. Some were concerned that change would not be possible unless priests worked out of a collaborative model of ministry, rather than a hierarchical one.

A gap seemed to exist between the awareness that lay people should be encouraged to exercise their apostolate and the lack of opportunities presented by priests. There was an awareness of lay charisms, ministries and the dignity of the people of God; however, certain priests did not attempt to promote this vision. The Word needed to be broken open more effectively and the gifts of women more actively embraced. Lay people found themselves inspired when, through the actions of the priest, their efforts were recognised as an expression of the Holy Spirit. Current structures had to be re-examined in light of a contemporary theology of baptism and ministry. The diminishing number of priests should be seen as an opportunity rather than a threat, a position sympathetic with that taken during Young's episcopacy.

Some reported that lay participation in the social, liturgical, and managerial spheres of leadership was actively discouraged by clergy. It was recommended that parishes establish a data base of parishioners' interests, skills, and occupations as a way to promote collaborative ministry. Lay ministers could free priests from administrative tasks, giving them more time for sacramental duties. At the same time, some feared that the expansion of lay ministries eroded the value of priestly ministries. Educational and spiritual catechesis of the laity were also topics of importance. Finally, the report indicated that the archdiocese might be moving away from the Vatican II insight of the church as a pilgrim people. Certain individuals raised the concern that the role of the pope within the church was overemphasised. By contrast the importance of local churches and their bishops was given insufficient attention. Themes of subsidiarity and collegiality had been neglected in favour of centralised authority. Finally, some expressed fears that certain priests were actively undermining the faith of individuals by not teaching the authentic teachings of the pope.

3. Final Reflections

How was the Second Vatican Council's vision of the lay apostolate received and implemented during the episcopacies of Archbishops Guilford Young and Eric D'Arcy (1955–99)? Three major ecclesial themes stand out within the history of Young's episcopacy: 1) *active participation*; 2) *shared responsibilities*; 3) *ecclesial adaptation*. The liturgical renewal movement fostering the active participation of the laity within the liturgy, promulgated by Vatican II and embraced by Young, inspired within the Archdiocese of Hobart a broader ecclesial movement encouraging all the people of God (both clergy and lay) to share responsibilities for the life and mission of the church within the world. The church as the people of God is a sacrament to the world and so are the laity, who share in the priesthood of Christ and are called to consecrate the temporal order to God. All actively participate within the church's liturgical life and mission to the world and in doing so are called to a diversity of ministries.

Responsibility for the mission of Christ in the world is given to all the faithful through baptism and is not the prerogative of the clergy alone. The church as the people of God is the most primordial and fundamental identity of all baptised members. The church is a spirit-filled community where all, regardless of rank or station, may be blessed with the gifts of the Holy Spirit necessary to carry out their apostolate. Through their share in the prophetic office of Christ, the laity are called to bear witness to the faith and spread the teachings of the gospel within the milieu of family, work, and daily life. While *GS* places a strong focus on lay involvement in the world, this represents an incomplete vision of the whole church as the people of God participating in Christ's mission articulated by *LG*. As Young observed in his lecture on *GS*, clergy and religious also live in the world and are called to bear witness to the gospel within secular society. All the faithful are empowered in this task through the gifts of the Holy Spirit, including their capacity to discern correct teachings under the guidance of their bishop (*sensus fidei*), and other charisms.

SC promulgated new powers to bishops which gave them a limited capacity to adapt the liturgy according to the needs of local churches (*SC* 40). This new trajectory was heartily embraced by Young, who called for the broadest possible interpretation and application of this rule. For the archbishop, this document signified the beginning of a movement away from the total dominance of papal control in favour of collegiality and inspired an attempt at decentralisation within the Archdiocese of Hobart, as Young sought to generate an experience of shared responsibility amongst all the clergy and laity. The faithful share in the fundamental

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equality and dignity bestowed through baptism, are responsible for the life of the church, and share in Christ's mission to the world. As Young noted in a post-conciliar lecture, a pope or bishop can no longer afford to ignore the voices of the laity or else risk disregarding the charisms which the Holy Spirit might bestow to any member of the people of God. Charisms represent an extra-sacramental source of grace beyond the control of any bishop or priest. Throughout the 1980s, the diminishing number of seminarians and expansion of lay ministries was interpreted by Young and others as a sign from the Holy Spirit that the archdiocese must embrace new ways of being church which promote the responsibilities of the laity.

The church exists within the world and history; it is a community of change represented by the evolving nature of the liturgy. The church as the people of God is a pilgrim people led on a journey through history toward the eschatological kingdom and guided by Christ as the lord of history. Through their share in the royal office of Christ, the laity are called to an apostolate within the world and given the power to challenge the dominance of sin in the midst of secular society. For Young, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was more than a legalistic document prescribing new rules for the reform of worship. It was the beginning of a quiet revolution, having written the principle of perennial adaptation into the heart of the church's sacred life. No longer could the church be seen as a perfect unchanging society, separate from the world and the processes of history. This principle impacted other areas of the community, including the lay apostolate, which enjoyed an expansion of responsibilities supported by structural ecclesial reform. The Diocesan Assembly was perhaps the most ambitious manifestation of this theme during Young's episcopacy; calling priests, religious, and lay people together to join with their archbishop in discerning a new future for the Archdiocese of Hobart.

The relatively limited scope of historical material collected on the episcopacy of Eric D'Arcy, compared with Young, constitutes a weakness of this study. In part, this limitation is a consequence of the fact that the archbishop seemingly left behind few personal papers within the archives of the Archdiocese of Hobart, Melbourne, or the Diocese of Sale. Further, approximately two years of research were spent in lockdown in Melbourne (2019–21) prompted by the spread of Covid–19. These lockdowns impacted all of Victoria, including Sale, and it is likely that more might be discovered about D'Arcy's attitudes and ambitions by conducting interviews with those who worked alongside him during his time as bishop of the Diocese of Sale (1981–88). Bernard Doherty's identification of the conservative periodical *World Trends* in Melbourne, whose editor Yves Dupont was a founding member of the Australian Latin Mass Society, lends credence to the idea that Australian resistance against the

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Council has significant historical roots within the Archdiocese of Melbourne where D’Arcy began his clerical career. A number of noteworthy Victorian Catholics positioned themselves as suspicious of post-conciliar changes (to various degrees), including B. A. Santamaria and the Bishop of Sandhurst Bernard Stewart. A biographical study of conservative Australian bishops, clerics, and laity displaying various degrees of resistance to the Council, both in Victoria and beyond, could prove instructive. All the same, enough evidence has been collected so that, for the purposes of this study, D’Arcy’s episcopacy may act as a foil demonstrating the retraction of the three ecclesial themes impacting the liturgy and the lay apostolate prevalent during Young’s episcopacy: 1) *active participation*; 2) *shared responsibilities*; 3) *ecclesial adaptation*.

If it is true that D’Arcy was responsible for authoring Archbishop Daniel Mannix’s animadversions rejecting *De Ecclesia* (1963), then he should be commended for synthesizing a highly intellectual and nuanced paper, aspects of which would be vindicated in the final draft of *Lumen Gentium*. Beyond this, D’Arcy’s theological understanding of the lay apostolate in light of the Second Vatican Council is elusive. As a point of theological reflection, he does not seem to have made it a priority. It is possible that, after the Extraordinary Synod on Vatican II (1985), he had adopted an implicit emphasis on an ecclesiology of communion. Doing so would have aligned with the teachings of the Synod’s *Final Report*. Recall that for the secretary of the Synod, Walter Kasper, the term communion had nothing initially to do with the structure of the church, rather it describes its inner nature. A focus on the inner nature of the church is evident within D’Arcy’s correspondence with a parishioner concerned about the practice of the Latin Mass within the Archdiocese of Hobart (February 1996). The archbishop was eager to ensure that in their reflections, the parishioner was focused on the interior reality of Christ’s action in the sacrifice of the Mass. The externals of the Mass, including the language in which it is performed, are only of secondary importance. For Young, the significance of the Council’s vision of the church as the people of God was its focus on the human reality of the community. By contrast, D’Arcy’s pastoral correspondence on the Latin rite favours the supernatural depths of the liturgy over human questions of language and form. This is not to accuse either Young or D’Arcy of a kind of theological monism, where one focused exclusively on the sociological reality of the church and the other on the supernatural. However, Young’s intellectual engagement with the supernatural generally drew him closer to the real lives of priests and lay people, likely a consequence of his pastoral experiences implementing liturgical renewal and reform. For example, lecturing on *LG*’s theology of charisms (1966), he perceived the presence

of the Spirit within the community as an authentic reason for bishops to listen to the voices of the faithful. By contrast, within this specific letter, D'Arcy seems to draw attention away from the parishioner's pastoral concerns over the Latin liturgy, in favour of Christ's supernatural priesthood. Writing on the initial program of post-conciliar reception shaped by Pope Paul VI's addresses, Daniele Menozzi observes that the pope had repeatedly emphasized that the purpose of the Council had been *interior* renewal, rather than *exterior* reform. This understanding had been broadly similar with Marcel Lefebvre's early interpretation of Vatican II. He believed that the Council had desired a strengthening of traditional methods of behaviour rather than any concrete change. In turn, this perspective seems broadly similar with D'Arcy's understanding of the liturgy explored above. If the archbishop participated in this subtle form of 'resistance' to the Council, it was likely only because it had been vindicated by the *Final Report* of the 1985 Synod. It was a sign that the times had changed significantly since the close of the Council.

During the 1980s, the duties of the D.P.C. were effectively taken over by the Diocesan Forward Planning Committee, with resources directed toward preparations for a Diocesan Assembly. The D.P.C. was eventually de-commissioned, however, the D.F.P.C. later drew up plans for a new and more extensive network of diocesan consultation composed of three tiers: parish councils, regional councils, and a new diocesan pastoral council. Young had requested the nomination of new members, who were scheduled to meet on 19 March 1988. However, the archbishop died three days earlier on 16 March and it is unlikely this meeting ever took place. In light of these plans, and D'Arcy's desire to meet expectations for renewal amongst Tasmanian Catholics through the implementation of the "Renew" pastoral programme, it is strange that D'Arcy did not reconstitute what had once been an important platform for lay participation within the archdiocese. By not formally reconstituting the D.P.C., was D'Arcy not leaving a hole in the communications network of the Archdiocese of Hobart?

There isn't much evidence to suggest that D'Arcy's apathy toward the D.P.C. had been grounded in direct identification with the "neo-Augustinian" position analysed by Avery Dulles at the Extraordinary Synod of 1985. This position was suspicious of overly democratic and sociological interpretations of the people of God ecclesiology. At most, it might be said that D'Arcy's apathy had been a result of his experiences working in Victoria. Patrick O'Farrell claims that by 1970 structures of lay participation in places like the Archdiocese of Melbourne had either collapsed or no longer facilitated the contributions of lay people. Working

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extensively with these structures had not been an important dimension of his clerical and episcopal experiences since Vatican II.

While it might be true that D'Arcy did not directly de-value the role of consultative structures which gave lay people a voice within the evolution of the archdiocese, his suppression of left-wing and right-wing voices within the *Standard* (1996) exists as a surprisingly authoritarian response to an increasing diversity of opinions. Adopting the terminology of Jürgen Habermas through Paul Lakeland, this action might be described as a form of strategic communication rather than communication toward understanding. In this instance, D'Arcy had stifled the voices of individuals within the archdiocese, an action not conducive to consensus building. By allowing the D.P.C. to slip into obscurity D'Arcy signalled a preference for a top-down model of leadership in which the power of decision making was concentrated amongst the hierarchy. This trajectory was reflected in the authoritarian nature of Pope John Paul II's pontificate, described by Morris West. The return to a centralised model of governance implied the weakening of an ecclesiology of the people of God, where shared responsibility for the life and mission of the church imparted by baptism was more fundamental than rank or station.

It is also possible that, within the sphere of his duties to proclaim and disseminate post-conciliar reform, D'Arcy was most comfortable as an academic. His critical remarks toward experientialist models of religious education, made during a Plenary Address on religion in Australia (1988), reveal a man who saw great worth labouring in the fields of intellectual criticism and doctrinal education. Importantly, he did not reject the pedagogical value of experience, rather, he believed that doctrinal catechesis was a more urgent matter. One of his strongest statements endorsing the value of Vatican II in the post-conciliar period was made in an academic article (1996) on the need for theology to absorb contemporary advances in modern logic and analytic philosophy. In the post-conciliar period, both Young and D'Arcy had played the roles of intellectual and pastoral leader at one time or another. However, Young actively provided practical and pastoral tools for lay people to experience the mandate of shared responsibility developed by conciliar documents (including the D.P.C.). By contrast, D'Arcy was most accomplished as a Christian philosopher, and was most successful when focusing his energies on critical engagement with intellectual principles.

A focus on the possibility of adaptation within the church aligns with a certain privileging of the future. Within the Archdiocese of Hobart during the 1980s, consultation of

the whole archdiocese was conducted with the intention of discovering the joys, hopes, and fears of Tasmanian Catholics in the present for the purposes of generating a renewed vision of the church of the future. By contrast, Patrick O'Farrell identified an increasing sense of nostalgia for the past within Australian Catholic literature of the 1980s, as individuals reflected upon everything that had changed since Vatican II. Nostalgia meant a return to the past, even if it was only an imagined past. At the end of Young's episcopacy and throughout D'Arcy's era, two forms of nostalgia for a pre-conciliar church began to emerge which either downplayed or directly opposed liturgical innovation and lay participation.

Commenting in the media after his performance of the Latin Mass in Hobart (1987), Fr. Geoffrey Jarrett drew upon the juridical content of *SC* supporting Gregorian chant (no. 114, 116) and seemingly ignored the deeper principle of adaptation which had been so important to Young. Further, he reinterpreted what it meant for lay people to actively participate within the liturgy, stating that lay people might participate through listening to the choir (an externally passive form of activity). Protesters against "Renew" (1990–92) were suspicious of lay autonomy and certain developments within the field of worship, including liturgical dance. Within the Archdiocese of Hobart, it is likely that the death of Young (1988) emboldened those nostalgic for practices and paradigms of a pre-conciliar church to become more overt in their resistance to ecclesial adaptation and, in the case of the Victorian protesters against "Renew," the teachings of Vatican II.

It is unknown to what degree D'Arcy contributed to the growing sense of nostalgia for a pre-Vatican II church within the archdiocese. It is possible that re-introducing the Latin Mass vindicated those suspicious of post-conciliar liturgical reform. While Fritz Albers had refused to identify with the actions of Marcel Lefebvre, Renew protesters still opposed certain post-conciliar liturgical changes. In light of the movement's Victorian origins, it is possible they may have found common cause with those members of the Australian Latin Mass Society who had decided not to support Lefebvre, splitting the organisation in 1976 over the issue of sedevacantism. It is difficult to judge the degree to which D'Arcy's actions or inactions contributed to this situation; however, evidence suggests that the end of his episcopacy was characterised by the retraction of the three ecclesial themes prevalent during Young's time as archbishop. Amongst other observations, the report on shared ministries drafted for the "Call to Change" programme (1999) recorded concerns that participation amongst the faithful was being actively discouraged and social, liturgical, managerial, and pastoral leadership lay only in the hands of a few; many had experienced a top-down model of decision making within the

parish where the priest exhibited all the power; and some even articulated a concern that the archdiocese may be moving away from the Vatican II insight of the church as a pilgrim people.

For Young, the ecclesiological plurality which flowed from the Council undergirded an era of creativity and experimentation, reflected both in the reform of the liturgy and lay apostolate. Liturgical reform was the heart of a new theological project inspired by the Council, one that unlocked new horizons of possibility for the laity and their capacity to exercise their apostolate within the life of the church and the mission of Christ in the world. Young may have credited *Lumen Gentium* with being the Council's most important text, but his receptivity to ecclesial adaptation necessary to facilitate the active participation and shared responsibilities of the laity amongst the people of God was also greatly inspired by *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. It is less clear whether this trajectory can be applied to Eric D'Arcy, however, evidence suggests that the reintroduction of the Latin Mass, protests against post-conciliar reform, centralisation of hierarchical authority, poverty of communication channels between priests and laity, and the limiting of lay responsibilities by clergy were all dimensions of his episcopacy which generated concern for the future of the archdiocese amongst certain Tasmanian Catholics.

Research into the episcopacies of D'Arcy's successors, Archbishop Adrian Doyle (1999–2013) and Archbishop Julian Porteous (2013–present), might lend further credence to the assertion that that the reform of the liturgy within the Archdiocese of Hobart inspired receptivity or resistance to the teachings of the Second Vatican Council. Did changes in the liturgy under either archbishop reflect the status of the lay apostolate (or other topics, including the Council's teachings on ecumenism or the clerical priesthood) within the archdiocese? Can we evaluate the reception and implementation of the Second Vatican Council throughout the whole contemporary history of the Archdiocese of Hobart in light of the vision pioneered by Archbishop Guilford Young?

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