Brother Ronald Fogarty's
Catholic Education in
Australia, 1806-1950
Volumes I and II:

A Re-appraisal

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As a practising Roman Catholic, a State school teacher, and a student of history I have often pondered the question of why a separate Catholic education system developed and survived in this country. My research has illuminated many themes relevant to this question, and I hope it will be of value to those with similar interests.

I would like to thank the Librarians of the Education Branch Library for their care and assistance in the preparation of this work.

I would also like to thank my husband and parents for their support in enabling me to complete it.

My very special thanks go to Mr. Graham Fendley, my thesis supervisor, whose support and encouragement over many years have been invaluable.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this work to my little son, Tobias, for whom it may be a source of pride in the future.
ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to re-appraise the history of Brother Ronald Fogarty in his work *Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950* in the light of the specific themes which he determines as basic to the development of Catholic education.

It has been generally acknowledged that these themes are not only relevant to the Catholic or educational sphere of Australian history, but also provide insight into the development of Australian society as a whole.

Fogarty's history celebrates the triumph of a minority group as part of a reaction to the developments instituted by the majority.

Overall, Fogarty's interpretation of why and how a separate Catholic education system developed makes a significant contribution to Australian historiography in general.
Introduction

It is now thirty years since the publication of Brother Ronald Fogarty's two volumes: Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950,¹ and this work remains a significant contribution to Catholic historiography. It provides insight into the place of Catholic education, indeed the Catholic Church in Australia.

In re-appraising Fogarty's text the underlying themes relating to the development of a separate Catholic education system may be examined. The themes which emerge include Church/State relations, the impact of nineteenth century liberalism, the emerging secularism and the place of education and religion in Australian society, and the nature of Catholicism itself.

The text has been widely reviewed and acknowledged as a significant contribution to Australian historiography. As W.F. Connell states in his review, "This is a monumental work, which far outdistances any other work so far published in the History of Education in Australia."² It therefore provides a basis for the analysis of these


particular themes. Thus the relevance of such to the development of Catholic education in Australian society may be determined.

Other historians contributing in the field of Catholic history and general Australian history have commented on these themes and their ideas may be compared and contrasted. In a review of this kind however, it must be taken into consideration that Fogarty was an historian of his time. His particular way of dealing with the themes involved provide an insight into a particular period of Australian history.

Overall, Fogarty's work makes a valuable contribution to Australian historiography in terms of explaining the development of a particular and separate system of education, set against the background of a developing Australian society applying the principles of liberalism and asserting its own character.

This thesis is an attempt to consider Fogarty's interpretation of the Catholic educational experience in this context.
Chapter One: The Reception of Brother Ronald Fogarty's History

To fully recognize the significance of Fogarty's text it is necessary to place it in the context of historical writing and viewpoints of the time it was published and to examine the way in which it was received. As a product of the Melbourne School of History Fogarty's history was contemporary with that of fellow historians A.G. Austin, J.S. Gregory and G. Dow, all of whom comment on issues relevant to this study.¹

Reviewers commented on the 'general' nature of Fogarty's text and its consequent place in general Australian educational history. As K.S. Inglis states, "At some points the book comes close to being a general history of Australian education."² D.C. Griffiths in his review of Austin's Australian Education 1788-1900 referred to Fogarty's contribution to educational history in that "it has become possible to examine an important aspect of Australian history, the educational history, with some authoritative leading."³ W.F. Connell also takes up this

¹ See texts: A.G. Austin's Australian Education 1788-1900, J.S. Gregory's Church and State and G.M. Dow's George Higinbotham: Church and State.


point about Fogarty's text being related to overall educational developments in saying that Fogarty has developed the history of Catholic education in careful association with the general education of the period, demonstrating clearly its various phases and problems in the setting of the overall problems and developments of education throughout Australia.  

Helen Bannister in her detailed analysis of Australian historiography examines the reception of Fogarty's text in terms of reviews and articles. Generally she observes that the "reviews establish the significance of Fogarty's work as a contribution to the history of education in Australia." She proceeds to analyze the way in which reviewers dealt with Fogarty's text. The overall impression seems to be one relating to the 'new' approach adopted by Fogarty in terms of providing much more than a narrow denominational survey. K.J. Cable in his review in the Journal of Religious History sees Fogarty's work as a different kind of work

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6. ibid., p. 236.

7. ibid.
from that previously written in the denominational area. As Bannister observes, "Some reviewers see the work as contributing to a history of society and religion in Australia, a history of ideas and 'educational thought in Australia'." Hence not only is Fogarty's work relevant to the Catholic educational experience and the general history of education in Australia but to the development of Australian society as well.

According to Bannister two issues relate to the reviewers' assessment of Fogarty's work, firstly the image of Fogarty as an interpreter, and secondly, the image of Fogarty as an objective scholar.

In relation to the first, Bannister points to Cable's recognition of Fogarty's conceptual framework thereby giving the work purpose and direction. While criticisms are made of some of Fogarty's interpretations they are qualified by the acknowledgement of what Fogarty was trying to achieve. Some of Fogarty's generalizations in terms of his interpretation of the Protestant position and the influence of agnosticism and rationalism are excused.

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10. ibid., see p. 245.

11. ibid., see p. 237.
as "the price Fogarty has to pay for presenting the 'full sweep of education development' in Australia".12

Fogarty's objectivity is examined in terms of his use of documentation and the perception of his balance and impartiality.13 As Bannister quotes, the "Catholic Worker reviewer concludes that Brother Ronald's book shows a scrupulousness in scholarship and a fairness, a moderation in its judgements which should make it a model for Catholic historians."14 As K.S. Inglis perceived too, Fogarty effectively communicated the complexities of the encounter between Church and the world.15

Bannister also points to Fogarty's status as a Catholic educationist and scholar as integral to the overall reception of his work in making it legitimate history.16 More importantly, as Bannister proceeds to discuss, is the relationship between Fogarty's work and the Catholic cause.

In trying to assess the contemporary significance of Fogarty's work, the two perceptions of Fogarty as an

12. ibid., p. 240.
13. ibid.
15. See Inglis, op. cit.
interpreter and an impartial scholar are difficult to reconcile thereby hinting at a possible paradox underlying Fogarty's interpretation. Bannister underlines this in her reference to the articles on Catholic Education in Australia in The Advocate written by P.J. O'Farrell as a basis for assessing its relevance to the Catholic cause thereby its significance to contemporary issues.\textsuperscript{17}

Bannister notes that the legitimacy of Fogarty's work is promoted by The Advocate from the outset by the focus on Fogarty as a 'Marist Brother'.\textsuperscript{18}

In the introduction to the first of O'Farrell's articles, a review of 'History of Catholic Education in Australia' subtitled 'the first comprehensive exposition of the denominational system of the nineteenth century in Australia', Fogarty's work is described as "a scholarly and documented study"\textsuperscript{19} and, according to Bannister, its contemporary significance in its provision of a link between the circumstances of the nineteenth century to those of the present day is perceived.\textsuperscript{20} The second article, 'Dilemma that confronted the Bishops in 1879' heralds "the contribution of Fogarty's work in

\textsuperscript{17} ibid. See section: The Advocate's Feature Articles on 'Catholic Education in Australia', pp. 247-254.

\textsuperscript{18} ibid., see p. 248.

\textsuperscript{19} Quoted in Bannister, ibid., p. 247.

\textsuperscript{20} ibid.
appreciating the actions of the Catholic hierarchy";\textsuperscript{21} and in the third article entitled 'The Emergence of the Catholic School System' O'Farrell further underlines Fogarty's heroic story-telling in examining the role of the religious orders.\textsuperscript{22} Bannister points to O'Farrell's final article, 'Schools: A Major Contributor to Australian Life' as focusing on "the theme of the national significance of the Catholic school system."\textsuperscript{23}

As Bannister puts forward, "O'Farrell argues that despite Fogarty's scholarly intentions inevitably a work of this kind supports one side or the other in a particular struggle."\textsuperscript{24} Through O'Farrell's analysis of the Catholic School system's contribution to the religious, social and educational sphere of Australian life he identifies the link with the past which Fogarty's work provides. Herein lies its significance to contemporary issues. As Bannister quotes, "Whatever decisions are made or whatever direction modern leadership in this question takes, it will necessarily show a continuity with the main themes emerging from this work."\textsuperscript{25} Bannister also points to the universality of the

\textsuperscript{21} ibid., p. 249. \\
\textsuperscript{22} ibid., see pp. 250-251. \\
\textsuperscript{23} ibid, p. 251. \\
\textsuperscript{24} ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{25} Patrick O'Farrell as quoted in Bannister, ibid., p. 252.
Catholic cause which is underlined by the final article's heading itself, as well as through O'Farrell's assertion of Catholic principles as expressed by Fogarty concerning the rights of 'Church, Family, and State'. 26

Throughout these articles O'Farrell provides evidence of Fogarty as an interpreter and an objective historian, however, the underlying paradox is the extent to which Fogarty can be both, when in fact he is relating the Catholic story. Bannister points to the tension O'Farrell identifies between the images of Fogarty as a heroic story-teller and an objective scholar. 27 She concludes that "O'Farrell judges Fogarty's work to be 'objective' history but also as one which serves the interests of the Catholic cause." 28

Generally Fogarty's history has been considered in the context of 'liberal' history. Bannister puts forward the notion that the Melbourne historians of education exemplified the 'Whig' tradition of history writing in their "representation of public education as a central institution in the progress of Australia towards a liberal-democratic state." 29

26. ibid., see p. 253.
27. ibid., see p. 254.
28. ibid.
29. ibid., p. 6.
According to Bannister:

The histories of Gregory, Fogarty, Austin and Dow trace the evolution of the Education Acts through an analysis of the church/state conflict over education and construct explanations for the triumph of the state which give a pre-eminent place to the dynamic of liberalism.\textsuperscript{30}

On a general level, certain features of 'Whig' history as defined by Herbert Butterfield in his text \textit{The Whig Interpretation of History}\textsuperscript{31} are discernible in Fogarty's work. According to Butterfield the notion of 'progress' is the overriding characteristic of 'Whig' history.\textsuperscript{32} Liberal history celebrates the progress of the State.

As Austin's text traces the "evolution of a system of public, elementary education"\textsuperscript{33} Fogarty's text traces that of a system of education devised by a minority group. Paradoxically Fogarty's examination of the evolution of a separate Catholic educational system is an examination of progress as a reaction to the progress of the State.

\begin{itemize}
\item[30.] ibid., p.5.
\item[31.] Herbert Butterfield, \textit{The Whig Interpretation of History}. (London, 1931).
\item[32.] ibid., p. 9.
\item[33.] A.G. Austin, \textit{Australian Education 1788-1900}. 3rd ed. (Melbourne, 1972) p. v.
\end{itemize}
As Fogarty himself states in the introduction of his text, his study is to "trace the development of Catholic education step by step, crisis by crisis, leaving each new principle to illustrate and explain itself against the background from which it emerged". Fogarty's developmental way of writing therefore places the text in the wider context of 'liberal' history but as a celebration of the progress of a minority group excluded by the State, the text cannot be categorized as 'Whig' history in the narrow sense.

Thus while there are similarities in the style of writing, caution must be taken in categorizing Fogarty's history in terms of a particular historical tradition. While Fogarty is looking generally at educational developments on one hand, on the other he is putting forward the Catholic story. Bannister points to this dichotomy in concluding that: "The definitions of the work as serving the interests of the Catholic cause place limits on the role it can play in a field where the dominant interest of other texts is the celebration and promotion of public education . . .".

In this sense Fogarty's work provides the reader with a further paradox. Not only is it exemplified in

Fogarty's style of writing as already noted, but in the actual content of his work. It would seem that the 'progress' of the State culminating in the Education Acts of the seventies and eighties proclaiming a public system of education actually contributed to the development and implementation of the Catholic education system. What was regarded as a step backwards by the Catholic Church in retrospect became a step forward. Fogarty depicts this 'progress' of a minority group as a reaction to the progress of the State, the main focus being on the former.

The whole dilemma is set against a background of a developing liberal Australian society. It is this background which Fogarty recognizes throughout his work and to which other historians have referred.36

W.K. Hancock's Australia37 for example, published in 1930, attempts to define Australian nationhood by looking at the effects of liberalism on Australia. According to Tim Rowse in his work on Liberalism and the Australian National Character, Australia38 is "an argument about liberalism, focusing on its application to the management of Australian capitalism since federation."39 Hancock's

36. See discussion in Chapter 3.
39. ibid., p. 79.
statements such as "Australian democracy has come to look upon the State as a vast public utility, whose duty it is to provide the greatest happiness for the greatest number"\textsuperscript{40} and "To the Australian, the State means collective power at the service of individualistic 'rights'"\textsuperscript{41}, reflect a certain view focusing on Australian democracy and the inherent role of the State. Religion and its connection with education are not part of this view.

Michael Roe in his work on \textit{The Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851}\textsuperscript{42} identified the conflict over religion and education as part of the colonial battle to define and establish authority in Australia.\textsuperscript{43} He documents the triumph of 'moral enlightenment' as a set of ideas which eventually provided this authority. National education was the cornerstone of such new authority whereby sectarianism would be overcome and liberty ensured.\textsuperscript{44}

While Fogarty is tracing the 'progress' of the State in terms of the development of public education and the

\textsuperscript{40} Hancock, op. cit. (Brisbane, 1961), p. 55.
\textsuperscript{41} ibid.
\textsuperscript{42} Michael Roe, \textit{Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835-1851}. (Melbourne, 1965).
\textsuperscript{43} ibid. See Introduction, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{44} ibid., see pp. 151-153.
Catholic reaction to it, particularly in Volume I, Volume II is a celebration of the Catholic education system. There is a sense of triumphalism which runs counter to the notion of the 'progress' of the State. The triumph of a separate Catholic education system as a response to the developments in State education is put forward. These two parts seem to be reconciled in the overall portrayal of the Catholic story.

Along with that of his contemporaries, Fogarty's work became a text for the History of Australian Education course offered at Melbourne University through the Faculty of Education. Many themes emerge in discussing the background of Fogarty's work thereby indicating the themes of historical concern of the day. Bannister sees the history of Australian education produced in this period as a response to the education crisis of the time and the political debate over state-aid.

The historians of education tend to characterize the final stages of the nineteenth century struggle between the Catholic Church and the liberal state over education as a sectarian struggle in which the liberal state was the victor enacting the 'extreme' secular solution of abolishing state aid to church schools and the passing of the secular Education Acts as a defensive response against the Catholics' alleged hostility to liberalism.

45. Bannister, op. cit. See Chapter One. See also p. 258.

46. ibid., p. 18.

47. ibid., pp. 18-19.
An attempt will now be made to consider these themes and interpret Fogarty's text accordingly.
Chapter Two: Church and State

From the outset Fogarty delineates the relationship between Church and State and this is a theme which threads its way through the entire text. Not only is the Catholic reaction to State moves in education detailed but Fogarty manages to bring Protestant action into the discussion as well, thereby looking at the total Church/State relationship. As K.S. Inglis comments in his review of Fogarty's work, "He looks not only at his own church but at the educational attitudes and performance of Protestant bodies, and his understanding of them rarely falters."¹

The structure of the book as outlined by Fogarty himself focuses on Church/State relations in that Volume 1 "deals with the Catholic schools as part of the government system during the nineteenth century . . .".² It is this volume which will form the basis of an examination of Fogarty's concept of the relationship between Church and State in this chapter.

Fogarty commences with a statement of principle which was to be challenged as the relationship between Church and State developed, namely that education was a function

² Fogarty, op. cit., Volume I, p. xxi.
of the Church: "Traditionally education belonged to the Church." 3

Chapter One, 'The Church and Education in the Early Colonies', goes on to look at the early Catholic experience in relation to education which Fogarty portrays as the impetus for the later development of a separate Catholic education system: "It was out of this challenge that emerged the system of Catholic education that exists in Australia today." 4 From the start of State provision the Church's right to be "sole provider of education" 5 was challenged by the institution of national school systems.

Fogarty's concern with Church/State relations is indicated in this chapter outlining the historical basis for the Church's role in education and the exclusive role of the Church of England in the Clergy and Schools Corporation. 6 Fogarty discusses the Catholic experience in terms of a reaction to these developments and by the end of the chapter indicates the new relationship between Church and State which was to characterize colonial education, namely the Church and State working as partners in a common system of education. 7

3. ibid., p. 1.
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
6. ibid., see p. 13.
7. ibid., p. 25.
Chapter Two, 'The Development of Catholic Schools under the Government System', outlines the development of the Church and State partnership in the denominational system of education from 1833 until the eighteen sixties and seventies. The three phases of this development are described and the Catholic reaction outlined. The move towards an independent Catholic system is traced.

During the second phase, the Organized Denominational system, public and Church schools were run under National and Denominational Boards respectively. Catholic schools enjoyed the best of both worlds:

Catholic schools had benefited immensely. . . . Not only were they an integral part of the state system, enjoying the enormous benefits which the state had within its power to bestow, but they were at the same time independent enough to be conducted according to the principles of the Church. 8

Hence the relationship between Church and State at this time was important to the development of Catholic schooling.

However the third phase which Fogarty calls the Controlled Denominational System, with the dissolution of the denominational boards, saw the slowing down of the rate of development. Henry Parkes' Public Schools Act, passed in 1866 in New South Wales, exemplified the state

8. ibid., p. 60.
legislation of the time in bringing about the unification of schools under one central authority thereby justifying the payment of grants to schools from the public revenue.\(^9\)

The "control of education had passed almost completely out of the hands of the Church".\(^{10}\) Hence a new relationship between Church and State had emerged.

In Chapter Three, 'Educational Practice in the Denominational Schools', Fogarty expands on the features of, and problems associated with, the denominational system in terms of its control and organization, the teachers, the schools and the instruction provided.

Church/State relations became an issue in the provision of religious instruction under the denominational system. As Fogarty points out, during the second phase complete freedom was given to denominations in the matter of religious instruction; however, during the third phase this is curtailed.\(^{11}\) Hence the movement towards State control of education is indicated.

In his examination of the changed Protestant views in Chapter Four, 'The Denominational System Loses Favour', he is again portraying a relationship between Church and

\(^9\) ibid., see p. 67.

\(^{10}\) ibid.

\(^{11}\) ibid., p. 117.
State which underpinned the overall developments in education. According to Fogarty, a transformation occurred in the attitude of Protestantism towards a general scheme of education. This was characterized by each group adopting a particular view.

The Independents, largely represented by Congregationalists objected to:

any form of government interference, financial or other, in education. They argued that the state, being incompetent to interfere with religion, was also incompetent to interfere with education, since the two were indissolubly united.

Denominational schools were regarded as extensions of the Church and aid to schools therefore was looked upon as aid to religion which the Independents were vehemently against. Thus there was a move towards secular instruction. The Baptists too adopted these views. Hence the emergence of secularist leagues in different colonies expounding support for secular education indicating the march towards national education.

While on a less radical scale the Wesleyans and Presbyterians also adopted an opinion towards

12. ibid., see p. 118.
13. ibid., p. 119.
14. ibid., see p. 121.
15. ibid., see pp. 121-122.
16. ibid., see p. 123.
non-denominational or secular instruction. 17 Anglican opinion varied though remained an important influence: "Of all the religious denominations [the Church of England] should have been, and perhaps was, the most influential body in shaping the destinies of educational development in Australia during the last century." 18 Initially the Anglicans had preferred the denominational system as a means of ensuring Church control of education thereby guaranteeing that the appropriate religious education "demanded by the Church would be given." 19 Their beliefs were strongly put forward by Bishop Broughton in opposition to non-denominational instruction. It was "a compromise to the essentials of their Faith" 20 and "failed to 'encourage a Protestant frame of mind'". 21 Broughton warned the State that a common Christianity was impossible. 22 However such strong opposition appeared to dissipate in the second half of the century and as Fogarty concludes: "Anglican education practice exhibited a gradual slipping from its original position until in the end it became submerged in general Protestant practice." 23

17. ibid., see p. 124.
18. ibid., p. 128.
19. ibid.
20. Quoted in Fogarty, ibid., p. 129.
21. ibid.
22. ibid., see p. 130.
23. ibid., p. 131.
All of this change in opinion was reflected as Fogarty suggests, in the gradual decline in the number of Protestant denominational schools. Religious instruction became difficult to provide as decreasing enrolments had led to mixed denominational groups under the one roof in many denominational schools.

Another factor in the move towards national education and a changed Church/State relationship was the change in the role of religion itself within the community. As Fogarty points out, "religion itself had already lost a great deal of its hold upon the people."  

Fogarty continues to examine the theme of Church/State Relations in Chapter Five, 'Disabilities of the System for Catholics'. The discussion here traces the relationship between the Catholic Church hierarchy and the State in terms of the development of an education system. This relationship seemed to be one of compromise in determining "how far should they [the Bishops] go in co-operating with the state?" Generally there appeared to be no concept of a 'separate' Catholic education

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24. ibid., see p. 134.
25. ibid., see p. 138.
26. ibid., p. 140.
27. ibid., p. 171.
system. Throughout this chapter Fogarty illustrates the relationship between the Catholic Church and the State in detailing the position adopted by the Church's hierarchy.

From the outset it would seem that the Catholic Church was quite willing to accept state aid for its schools so long as its position was not compromised. The clergy were "even prepared to make certain concessions to the state, provided these concessions were in no way incompatible with principle and the discipline of the Church."28 While variations of opinion among the Church's hierarchy existed between colonies, policies were adopted in response to certain events which would lead to the eventual development of an independent system of Catholic schools. Such variation was illustrated by the "two extremes - Geoghegan's desire for independence and Quinn's seeming willingness to compromise".29

In 1863 Archbishop Polding issued the first of a series of statements defining the "limits of the concessions the Church could make in return for government aid."30 A crisis for the Catholic Church emerged when it became apparent that the State would not comply with the Bishops' stated principles.31 While the Catholic Church

28. ibid., p. 173.
29. ibid., p. 172.
30. ibid., p. 173. See also Appendix VII for details of Bishops' Statements.
31. ibid., see p. 174.
accepted conditions laid down by the State in order that it retain aid for its schools compromise had indeed become the feature of Church/State relations.

Fogarty points to three events outside Australia which were an important influence on the development of Catholic education in Australia and enabled a stronger stand to be adopted by the Catholic hierarchy which inevitably would lead to a separate Catholic education system. These events included:

first, the publication of the decrees of several Councils of bishops in Europe and America; secondly, the promulgation of the Syllabus of Errors by Pius IX in 1864; and thirdly, the repudiation of the Irish National system by the Bishops of Ireland. 32

The Church/State relationship was now characterized by an unwillingness on both sides to compromise. By the sixties with the move away from denominational schools and towards state-owned and state-supported schools Catholics felt under threat.

For Catholics this neutral or mixed school owned by the state constituted a new danger. The principle involved in it was in many respects incompatible with their obligations: it implied an infringement of the right of the parents to educate their children as they thought fit, and a further infringement of the right of the Church based on a divine command. 33

Thus the seeds of an independent school system were sown.

32. ibid., p. 176.
33. ibid., p. 179.
This was evident in the principle put forward by the Catholic Church that education "had a necessary connection with man's supernatural destiny and therefore could not be rightly withdrawn from the Church's jurisdiction."\(^{34}\) In a sense this underlined the institutionalism of the Catholic Church. The Church needed to be involved in every form of social organization to do with man's development.

While there was recognition of the State's role in education the main objection to the proposed school system was the exclusion of Catholic teaching and practices therefore the system was not acceptable to Catholics.\(^{35}\) They declared "where principles were at stake the abandoning of their own integral system would constitute a 'barter of religious duty and privilege' for which no secular advantage could be adequate compensation."\(^{36}\) Hence the rejection of secular education by the Catholic Church indicated its attitude towards education as an integral part of the Church's teachings and the salvation of man.

The Catholic view of education as a 'unity'\(^{37}\) was paramount in this rejection of the national school system.

\(^{34}\) ibid., p. 182.

\(^{35}\) ibid., see pp. 182-183.

\(^{36}\) ibid., p. 183.

\(^{37}\) Ibid., p. 187.
and therefore a catalyst in the movement towards an independent system:

Education . . . was not a 'thing of mechanism' that could be put together bit by bit, a little morsel of religious instruction here and of secular instruction there . . . On the contrary, Christian education was a 'thing of life' with mutual influence and interpenetration between the parts.\(^\text{38}\)

The Church/State relationship was further highlighted by the Catholic attitude to non-demoninational instruction. The Catholic Church could concede no common ground with the Protestants thereby making religious instruction as proposed by the State unacceptable.\(^\text{39}\)

A distrust of Catholic motives seemed to characterize the relationship between Church and State. This was exemplified in the Government Bills applying rigid regulations to Catholic schools.\(^\text{40}\) Hence compromise became more and more out of the question. Fogarty concludes that while the Catholic Bishops would have preferred Catholic schools to continue as part of the government system thereby qualifying for aid this was becoming impossible. They were:

beginning to feel that no satisfactory arrangements for meeting even the Church's minimum requirements in education would ever be reached. To cling to government aid for their schools they had made one concession

\(^\text{38}\) ibid., pp. 187-188.
\(^\text{39}\) ibid., see pp. 190-195.
\(^\text{40}\) ibid., see pp. 201-207.
after another - to the point almost of seriously compromising their value as Catholic schools at all. Denominational in name, they no longer were so in fact. 41

In Chapter Six, 'The Collapse of the System', Fogarty focuses more on the condition of the Catholic community. In outlining the steps taken by that community to support their own schools he underlines the Church/State relationship of the time. A decision had to be made. The bishops "could either abandon their denominational schools and accept aid on the government's terms, or they could withdraw from the system altogether and support their own schools." 42

Underlying this decision certain factors emerge which provide insight into the Catholic Church. Firstly, the role of the Church hierarchy is paramount in terms of having a vision of a separate Catholic education system. What part did the clergy play, and given the poor and ignorant condition of the people, to what extent could the Catholic laity support such a vision? Secondly, and underlying this condition, was the hierarchy's sense of protection towards their flock. The development of a separate Catholic education system would consequently provide a vehicle for overall Catholic development.

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41. ibid., p. 207.
42. ibid., p. 208.
The 'Irish Factor' is another relevant factor in this examination of the Catholic Church's position. Patrick O'Farrell particularly highlights a sense of separateness felt by Catholics deriving from their Irishness: "Catholic schools became a symbol of Catholic unity and of the preservation of the religious, political and social status of Catholics."\(^{43}\) The Catholic hierarchy, according to O'Farrell, could draw on the Irishness of the laity to ensure support of these schools. "The laity followed the bishops for reasons not related to education as such, but out of faith and obedience, because the issue was put to them as one of loyalty to the church."\(^{44}\) Thus by rendering the State as the enemy of the Catholic Church, a separate Catholic education system was considered symbolic of Catholicism itself.\(^{45}\)

Some semblance of a Catholic school system appeared under the guidance of particular clergy.\(^{46}\) Fogarty details the actual events in each colony but suffice to say in this discussion is that the overall trend was towards independent Catholic Schools and away from government assisted denominational schools.


\(^{44}\) ibid.

\(^{45}\) ibid., see pp. 184-186.

\(^{46}\) Fogarty, op. cit., see pp. 220-238.
The Education Acts of the seventies underlined the position of the State helping to bring about the "change from a government to an independent system of Catholic schools". During this period the denunciation of public schools in the Joint Pastoral issued by Archbishop Vaughan of Sydney in 1879 indicated the final position adopted by the Catholic Church in relation to the State and the question of education.

The role of Parkes at this time is put forward as a statesman provoked into action against the Catholic Church. As Fogarty suggests, "Commonly regarded as a gesture of retaliation, this new legislation appears to have been no more than the Bishops expected." The outcome of this wrangle was therefore the demise of the denominational schools and the 'forced' independence of Catholic Schools. Archbishop Vaughan's own words summed up this situation: "The Bishops after deliberation determined to bring things to a crisis - to cause the Government to do away with their abominable system, though it should be at the price of our share of state aid."

The loss of state aid, although initially thought to

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47. ibid., p. 248.
48. ibid., see pp. 248-255.
49. ibid., p. 251.
50. Quoted in Fogarty, ibid., p. 253.
be temporary, proved to be a catalyst in the development of a separate Catholic system of schools. Archbishop Vaughan took up the challenge to develop such a system and Fogarty’s Volume II examines this in detail.

The focus in this chapter however has been Volume I which has provided a basis for looking at the Church/State relationship to the point of this challenge being fully taken up. As already mentioned, the themes which Fogarty explores are interwoven throughout his text hence further references to the relations between Church and State will consequently be made in further discussions.
Chapter Three: The Challenge of Liberalism

Inextricably linked to a discussion about Church/State relations is the theme of liberalism. Fogarty's perception of liberalism underpins his revelation of Church/State relations in the development towards an independent system of Catholic education. Throughout Volume I as Fogarty traces this development, he is referring to the changing position of the State and the Catholic reaction to this. Overall, the changes in society are documented and the Catholic reaction is portrayed as one of standing firm against the tide of liberalism.

To understand what Fogarty defines as liberalism it is necessary to examine his references to it in his discussion about Church and State. According to Helen Bannister, through examining the changing role of the State in education, Fogarty is tracing the development of a liberal state.¹ Bannister identifies two narratives in Fogarty's history, the first being related to the development of an independent Catholic education system and the above as the second narrative.² The two are linked by the theme of liberalism.³ She suggests that:

² ibid., see pp. 77-79.
³ Ibid., see p. 79.
"Fogarty represents the rise of liberalism as an explanation of the problem of the first narrative, the growth of an independent system of Catholic education." 4 As the state legislative actions are detailed Fogarty exemplifies the development of the State's role in education thereby tracing the process of creating a liberal state. 5 Bannister sees the second narrative tracing "a movement from state intervention in the form of state aid to church schools, the abolition of state aid and the establishment of a secular system of public education". 6 Throughout Fogarty is referring to the progressive dominance of the State over the Church. At the same time he is also tracing the progressively decreasing authority of the 'Church' in education.

Contemporary historians allude to these factors in their references to liberalism and liberal reforms. J.S. Gregory pointed to the introduction of a secular system of public education as part of "a determination to make the State, in action and in law, the symbol of a common citizenship." 7 This underlined the move away from denominational thinking as indicated by Fogarty when he explored the decline in religion. 8 "New elements . . .

4. ibid., pp. 79-80.
5. ibid., see p. 79.
6. ibid., p. 79.
8. See Footnote No. 26 in Chapter Two.
began to feel that they should be treated henceforth 'not in the manner of sectaries but of citizens'.

A.G. Austin refers to the vision behind liberalism in quoting Charles Frankel: 

"It has treated religious and philosophical beliefs as private affairs, of ultimate moment, perhaps to the individual's salvation and to his sense of the meaning of life, but without political significance as such."

Liberalism then it would seem was related in some measure to individual freedom.

J.S. Mill's essay On Liberty expounds this notion, and provided a basic text for nineteenth century liberalism in Britain. In examining the role of the State and the individual Mill proposed a blueprint for a liberal society wherein liberty of action was to be protected and power over the individual to be minimized. "Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign."

Mill defines his doctrine on liberty in terms of three elements: 'liberty of thought and discussion', 'liberty of individuality', and 'liberty of society and

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12. ibid., p. 11.
the individual'. The first is characterized by the search for truth, man's accessibility to various ideas and his freedom to make judgement to define his own. "Judgement is given to men that they use it."\textsuperscript{13} Mill emphasizes the need for all opinions to be available to man as "the only way in which a human being can make some approach to knowing the whole of a subject, is by hearing what can be said about it by persons of every variety of opinion".\textsuperscript{14} Only in this way will truth be sought.

Along with this search for truth, Mill's premise that there is "no such thing as absolute certainty"\textsuperscript{15} contributes to the undermining of infallibility, a fundamental concept of the Catholic Church, hence exemplifying a point of conflict between Liberalism and Catholicism.

In relation to the liberty of individuality Mill acknowledges that freedom of actions may need to be more limited than freedom of opinion. "The liberty of the individual must be thus far limited; he must not make himself a nuisance to other people."\textsuperscript{16}

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\textsuperscript{13. ibid., p. 19.}
\textsuperscript{14. ibid., p. 21.}
\textsuperscript{15. ibid., p. 20.}
\textsuperscript{16. ibid., p. 53.}
Mill's fundamental point in relation to individuality is the encouragement of diversity of action in that "different persons also require different conditions for their spiritual development; and can no more exist healthily in the same moral, than all the variety of plants can in the same physical, atmosphere and climate."\(^{17}\) Essentially Mill is opposed to uniformity thus indicating another point of conflict with the Catholic Church.

On the issue of the limits to the authority of society over the individual Mill upholds the notion of individuality. "To individuality should belong the part of life which it is chiefly the individual that is interested; to society, the part which chiefly interests society."\(^{18}\) It would seem that society has the right to interfere with individuality only when its exercise affects other members of society. While Mill acknowledges the interrelationship of individuals within society he maintains the necessity for individual freedom:

> In the conduct of human beings towards one another it is necessary that general rules should for the most part be observed, in order that people may know what they have to expect: but in each person's own concerns his individual spontaneity is entitled to free exercise.\(^{19}\)

\(^{17}\) ibid., p. 64.

\(^{18}\) ibid., p. 70.

\(^{19}\) ibid., p. 71.
Mill claims that society has its chance to oversee the development of its members during childhood thus ensuring "rational conduct in life." While bad conduct may set a poor example to others, as long as it does not infringe on the rights of others, the freedom of the individual must always be upheld.

Mill applies the two basic principles of his doctrine, namely that the individual is not accountable to society for his actions when they constitute no infringement on the rights of others, and that the individual may be punished by society in order to protect itself if those actions do interfere with the interests of others, to specific areas of activity within society, ranging from the law, the economy, moral protection to the curtailment of bureaucracy. Of particular interest are Mill's views on education in the context of his doctrine.

In regard to education Mill clarifies the concept of liberty. As education involves children the State ought to see that the parent fulfils his obligation. The State therefore has the right to enforce that the liberty of

20. ibid., p. 77.
21. ibid., see p. 76.
22. ibid., see p. 87.
23. ibid. See Chapter V 'Applications'.
children be attained. The underlying principle here is Mill's conception of education as important to the fulfilment of the individual and ultimately of society.²⁴

While Mill therefore has no argument with State enforcement of education it is in the provision of education that Mill's concepts of individuality and diversity are reinforced:

All that has been said of the importance of individuality of character, and diversity in opinions and modes of conduct, involves, . . . diversity of education. A general State education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another . . . An education established and controlled by the State should only exist, if it exist at all, as one among many competing experiments, carried on for the purpose of example and stimulus, to keep the others up to a certain standard of excellence.²⁵

Thus Mill proposed the provision of education on the voluntary principle, as compulsory and with State aid being offered to those in need of it.²⁶

Mill's concern for education formed part of his overall belief in what was good for the individual was ultimately good for society. As he concludes his essay, the "worth of a State, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it . . .".²⁷

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²⁴. ibid., see p. 97.
²⁵. ibid., p. 98.
²⁶. ibid., see pp. 98-99.
²⁷. ibid., p. 106.
Liberalism has been identified as a key element in the Catholic Church's pursuit of a separate Catholic education system. Considering the above ideas in the context of Catholic educational development possible points of conflict have been acknowledged.

It is in Chapter Four that Fogarty particularly details societal changes which impinged on the breakdown of the denominational system of education and underlined the movement towards a liberal state. His references to liberalism here are quite specific and need to be further explored. As already discussed, Fogarty points to the changed Protestant attitudes in detailing the reasons for the denominational system's loss of favour, and to the changed role of religion in society. He also points to the impact of nineteenth century liberalism in politics and religion. 28

Fogarty sees the developments within education as part of the "general trend of liberal reform which, once started, could not be arrested." 29 A.G. Austin points to the similarity here between the interpretations put forward by J.S. Gregory and Fogarty. The fact that such 'secular' legislation became so acceptable was related to

29. ibid., p. 149.
the influence of liberalism which helped to produce a particularly 'receptive' state of mind.  

Fogarty's elaboration on John Henry Newman's definition of liberalism exemplifies his own perception of liberalism and its influence. According to Newman, as Fogarty documents, liberalism was identified with the principle of anti-dogmatism: "Liberalism in religion, . . . was the doctrine that there was no positive truth in religion and that therefore one creed was as good as another." In reviewing Fogarty's work, K.S. Inglis has pointed to the unsatisfactory use of such a polemical definition. He is critical of Fogarty in making no mention of J.S. Mill or no attempt to show the influence of liberal attitudes within the Catholic Church itself.  

Fogarty goes on to use Newman's definition to explain what happened in education in the Australian colonies. Referring to this definition, liberalism therefore formed the basis of the "various non-dogmatic types of instruction that were suggested as solutions of the religious difficulty in the Australian colonies." Thus  

31. Fogarty, op. cit.  
33. Fogarty, op. cit., p. 150.
the step from non-dogmatic religious instruction to straight out secular instruction was small. "'Purely secular' education, untrammelled by sectarian teaching, would, it was claimed, 'break down the creedal barrier' which, until then, had 'foster[ed] class hatred' and disrupted social life."\(^{34}\) With this viewpoint came a new attitude towards the Bible - one of doubt. Given Mill's interpretation, many would have held this as a search for demonstrated truth rather than skepticism. However, Fogarty perceives the movement of many Protestant groups towards secularism in education as being inevitable against this background of thought.\(^{35}\)

Fogarty looks beyond the sphere of religion to find instances of the changed outlook in society. The influence of liberalism upon the social thought of the day was manifested according to Fogarty by the particular doctrine of democratic liberalism as put forward by the Rationalists. Underlying this doctrine was the belief in every man's right to vote, a right which could only be exercised intelligently if he was educated. As the Church had failed in the provision of universal education its influence therefore needed to be removed from the sphere of education.\(^{36}\)

\(^{34}\) ibid.

\(^{35}\) ibid., see p. 151. See also Footnote Nos. 12-18 in Chapter Two.

\(^{36}\) ibid., see p. 152.
Fogarty cites the writings of educationists such as John H. Plunkett, W.A. Wilkins, G.W. Rusden and W.A. Duncan as further evidence of the new interest in education in the atmosphere of liberalism. All were seeking a solution to the education problem. All four agreed that there should be a national or common system. Fogarty sees the influence of liberalism on Wilkins and Rusden as being strong as indicated by their proposals for secular instruction. Both held to the non-dogmatic principle.

Further evidence of the changed views on education according to Fogarty is "revealed in the views and political careers of those statesmen who were intimately connected with educational legislation during the period." George Higinbotham of Victoria and Henry Parkes of New South Wales were two such statesmen.

Fogarty also underlines the important role played by the press in bringing about educational change. It contributed to the development of national education by its advocacy of non-denominational instruction and secular education. In various ways it kept alive the issue of

37. ibid., see p. 153.
38. ibid., see p. 154.
39. ibid., p. 155.
sectarianism by provoking Protestant feelings against Roman Catholics.\textsuperscript{40} Overall, it was the reflection in the press of a general liberalist tone which Fogarty particularly highlights:

More constant, however, was the strong and unmistakable liberalist tone of the press. This was discernible not only in the marked preference for non-dogmatic or secular instruction but also in the prominence given to the conflict between traditional beliefs and the new scientific theories of the time. It was customary, for example, to accuse the Church of hindering 'the development of free thought', and churchmen of having 'set themselves in antagonism to popular education and political progress'.\textsuperscript{41}

The Catholic Church was particularly accused of obstructing the progress of liberal ideas. It was identified with ultramontanism and conservatism. There seemed to be a conflict between Catholicism and Free thought.\textsuperscript{42} Thus within this intellectual milieu the Catholic Church was viewed as something apart. Was a separate approach to education therefore inevitable if such a perception prevailed at the time?

Fogarty examines this conflict in Chapter Five in his examination of the Catholic position as put forward by the Church hierarchy. Fogarty perceives the strengthening of the Bishops' attitude toward the State noted in this

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{40} ibid., see pp. 160-166.
\item \textsuperscript{41} ibid., p. 165.
\item \textsuperscript{42} ibid., see pp. 165-166.
\end{itemize}
chapter as being partly a reaction to liberalism. In rejecting secular education Catholics believed they were rejecting the forces of liberalism "which were so hostile to the Church in Europe." 43

To the liberals among Protestants liberalism was hailed as a sort of renaissance, a happy release from the 'creedal wrappings' of the past. To Catholics it was a renaissance of another sort - a renaissance of paganism, a 'torrent of irreligion', 'an atheistical current running swift and broad in the ocean of life', making the future ominous. 44

Underlying the theme of liberalism is that of secularism which is indicated throughout Fogarty's text. The movement towards secular education is perceived by Fogarty as evidence of the influence of liberalism. The place of religion and education in the fabric of Australian society becomes apparent in Fogarty's examination of the issue of religious instruction.

Fogarty refers to religious instruction and the control of schools as major issues in the education debate which underlined the changes in society and highlighted the differences between Roman Catholics and other denominational groups. 45 Such changes as already noted, manifested themselves in the decline of denominational

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43. ibid., p. 186.
44. ibid.
45. ibid., see p. 179.
schools, the rise of the national schools and the emergence of a separate Catholic system of schools.

Fogarty details the changed Protestant views in Chapter Four wherein the underlying theme of secularism is traced. The overall trend towards less ecclesiastical control of education seemed to be apparent in an atmosphere which fostered the belief in religion as being something between man and God. As the State could not interfere with such a private matter it could not give aid to denominational schools.

Overall it is not entirely clear whether secular education was indeed the ultimate aim of legislators or rather non-sectarian instruction. Common ground however for all religious groups proved to be an impossibility to reach thus making secular education a more acceptable alternative. Thus rather than being anti-religious in not providing for religious instruction the State simply adopted a more satisfactory system in terms of being outside sectarian wrangling. There is a sense that Church/State conflict was not the central issue. As James Murtagh points out in Australia: The Catholic Chapter, the Catholic leaders' fears of apostasy seemed unreal to

46. ibid., see p. 121.
47. See Footnote No. 14 in Chapter Two.
their contemporaries who maintained Christian ideals.\textsuperscript{49} The underlying notion of Australian liberalism rather, seemed to be the belief in the general participation in democracy.\textsuperscript{50} No one institution could therefore command authority. Education became a vehicle through which this belief could be adopted and the institution of a national education system ensured its implementation. Denominationalism was cast aside given the spirit of the day.

The 'neutral' schools proposed by the State however, did not suit the particular needs of Catholics and so the 'Catholic grievance' came into being. Fogarty examines this phenomenon in Chapter Five.\textsuperscript{51}

As the State assumed more and more control over education via the Boards the Church's right to exercise authority over its subjects in relation to religious instruction was curtailed.\textsuperscript{52} According to Fogarty, "... when subsequent enactments began to hand over more and more control to the civil authority the bishops grew alarmed: certain clauses in the new Acts already 'invaded the rights inherent in the episcopal office'."\textsuperscript{53} This

\textsuperscript{49} ibid., p. xviii.

\textsuperscript{50} ibid. See Introduction.

\textsuperscript{51} Fogarty, op. cit., see pp. 195-207.

\textsuperscript{52} See Footnote No. 11 in Chapter Two.

\textsuperscript{53} ibid., p. 180.
concern again exemplified the desire by the Church to protect its members and its belief in its own institutionalism. This became a fundamental reason for the Church making a stand against the national educational system.

On the issue of religious instruction its position was made clear in opposition to the proposals put forward to overcome the religious difficulty:

... Catholics feared direct attempts to change the faith of their children less than they did those schemes in which religion was either neglected entirely or watered down until practically nothing remained. They protested, therefore, not because the new schemes taught things harmful to the Catholic Church, ... but because they excluded so much of positive revealed truth. 54

Although harmful in itself the Catholic Church would accept secular instruction in preference to that which was counter to their beliefs. Secular education was not regarded as being good for the souls of Catholic children. 55

Those in favour of secular education claimed that religious instruction should be left to the parents. Again this was not agreed to by the Catholic Church which considered the poverty and indifference of its people as

54. ibid., pp. 183-184.
55. ibid., see p. 184.
rendering them inefficient in this regard. Secular education would never allow the development of those religious insights and attitudes which Catholic children were to acquire, and that by superimposing a form of religious instruction outside school hours it would incur the risk of developing even a distaste for religion. . . .56

As already indicated independent Catholic schools seemed to be the only answer for Catholics. Inherent in this is the particular type of religious instruction which the Catholic Church believed to be fundamental. As Fogarty points out "dogma itself played an important role"57 as did the practice of Christian principles. Religious instruction therefore could not be limited to "one period of the day or . . . one day out of the seven. The whole of a Catholic's life was to be lived in the spirit of prayer; 'the whole day with its deeds was to bear the mark of the special Christian doctrines'.58 The environment of schools wherein Catholics were to be educated needed to be Catholic itself. As Bishop Geoghegan remarked, "'every kind of instruction imparted to them [the children] should be interpenetrated by Catholic doctrine, by Catholic feeling and practice'. . . ."59 Hence secular education was not an

56. ibid., pp. 185-186.
57. ibid., p. 186.
58. ibid., p. 187.
59. Quoted in Fogarty, ibid., p. 188.
alternative for Catholics as religion permeated the whole instruction of the child.

As government regulations progressively became more restrictive in terms of setting the hours of religious instruction, prescribing the books to be used and with the government training of teachers, the Catholic Church felt very restrained in carrying out what it believed to be its duty.\textsuperscript{60} It was this feeling of frustration which formed the basis of the 'Catholic grievance'.\textsuperscript{61} The full religious education of the Catholic child was the responsibility of parent and pastor under the guidance of the Bishop.\textsuperscript{62} The State was interfering with this responsibility and as such was involved in religious persecution in expecting Catholics to send their children to schools "to which they conscientiously objected."\textsuperscript{63} The spirit of Protestantism conveyed through the various Education Acts of the colonies added to this sense of injustice.\textsuperscript{64}

As it became more difficult to operate the denominational schools on their terms the Catholic Bishops

\textsuperscript{60} ibid., see p. 194.
\textsuperscript{61} ibid., see pp. 195-201.
\textsuperscript{62} ibid., see pp. 195-196.
\textsuperscript{63} ibid., p. 199.
\textsuperscript{64} ibid.
were forced into a decision between compromising with the State or supporting their own schools. In a sense they had been "squeezed out"\textsuperscript{65} of the education system by their non-compliance to the educational developments of the day. In order to uphold the principles above outlined, a separate system, despite the inherent difficulties, appeared inevitable.

Overall, Fogarty outlines the movement towards this inevitable conclusion as being related to changes in society. In Chapter Two Church/State relations were examined and in this chapter the underlying themes of liberalism and secularism as perceived by Fogarty have been explored.

Reviewers of Fogarty's text have pointed to the generalization of Fogarty's use of these terms. K.S. Inglis for example, shows that Fogarty does not distinguish between the two senses of secularism. It "is not always clear whether he means it to describe an anti-religious view of the universe, or the belief that religion should not be taught in schools".\textsuperscript{66} W.F. Connell points to Fogarty's illustration of the perceived relationship between liberalism and secularism, however, he sees that a clearer explanation of the distinctive

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\textsuperscript{65} ibid., see p. 27. \\
\textsuperscript{66} Inglis, op. cit., p. 448.
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nature of Australian Liberalism is necessary to make this relationship more understandable.67

In "The Liberal State and the Control of Education"68 Max Charlesworth considers the application of liberalism to the Australian situation. Charlesworth points to the confusion among liberal thinkers between two views of a liberal society, namely the belief in the neutrality and non-confessional character of the state in relation to religion and values and the interpretation of this neutrality in a confessional sense,

as involving the particular set of values or 'world-view' that is loosely called 'secularism'. Education came to be seen as necessarily involved with this liberal secularist 'world-view', and consequently the state was seen as having the sole exclusive right over education.69

Hence State provision of education was perceived as fundamental to a liberal society. Such a perception was essentially contrary to Mill's ideals, as already noted. However, at the same time, his principle formed the basis of argument over this perception. As Charlesworth points out:

A good many nineteenth century arguments for state control of education were based on

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69. ibid., p. 20.
this 'protection of minors' principle. It was assumed that having proven the state had a right to 'protect' children from ignorance . . . one had also proved that the state had the right to provide education.70

In the Australian context men like Charles Gavan Duffy called for "free trade in education".71 According to Millian principles "Duffy argued that 'one of the bases of modern society is the recognition of a conscientious right to differ' and protested that a state-controlled system of education was an invasion of that right."72 Hence in these terms it would seem that the Catholic Church had nothing to fear from liberalism itself but rather from the interpretations of it by those advocating Church and State separation.73

Due to colonial conditions the traditional relationship between Church and State did not develop in Australia in that a particular confessional state did not exist, thereby the involvement of the State in the provision of education appeared logical. As Helen Bannister summed up, "the 'peculiar conditions' of New South Wales' settlement as a convict colony meant that the government represented by a military or naval governor was

70. ibid., p. 23.
71. ibid., p. 21.
72. ibid.
73. ibid., see p. 20.
responsible for everything including the provision of schools.\textsuperscript{74} The role of the State as provider of education was already in place in such early colonial experiences. With the influence of liberalism and the changes in Protestant thinking secular education became an extension of the State's educational involvement in a climate wherein common religious principles could not be attained.

Excluded from the national system of education through its stated opposition to it, the Catholic Church therefore found it necessary to develop its own system of education in order that its principles in regard to education be upheld. Volume II of Fogarty's text examines this system and at the same time explores many of the themes already mentioned.

\textsuperscript{74} Bannister, op. cit., p. 62.
Chapter Four: The Definition of Catholic Education

Volume II of Fogarty's text details how the Catholic education system develops and in so doing further highlights many points about Catholicism itself.

The 'exclusiveness' of the Catholic Church is noted from the outset and traced throughout Volume I in Fogarty's examination of how the Catholic Church was perceived by those outside it. A paradox underlies such an examination. Did the Catholic Church remain aloof because it was treated as such or by necessity of its particular beliefs? Thus was a separate Catholic education system inevitable or simply a consequence of colonial circumstances?²

Fogarty begins his examination of the Catholic education system by considering the role played by the religious orders. The fact that schools were developed under these orders also points to the uniqueness of the Catholic experience. Would the system have developed without the religious? Thus a peculiarly Catholic phenomenon enabled the survival of a Catholic system to occur.

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1. Fogarty, op. cit. See Chapter One, p. 16 - irregular services of a chaplain for Catholics, Chapter Four, p. 141 - mistrust of Catholics, Chapter Six - exclusion of Catholic Schools.

2. ibid. See Fogarty's conclusion, Chapter Twelve.
Chapter Seven, 'The Coming of the Religious', underlines the necessity of the religious teaching orders in setting up an independent system of Catholic education. The scheme proposed by Bishop Vaughan was almost entirely dependent on the religious. "'Without the religious teaching orders', the Australian bishops were to admit seventy years later, 'Catholic schools might gradually have disappeared after the passing of the State Education Acts.'"\(^3\) The quest for the religious, their coming and the various cultures they brought with them had great impact on Catholic education.\(^4\)

The issue of Catholic education in fact became linked to the future of the Church itself in Australia. Vaughan took up the challenge of developing an education system accordingly. "The Catholic schools had to be saved."\(^5\) As Vaughan proclaimed:

> 'If our Catholic people,' . . . 'bring up their children thorough Catholics, that is, educate them in thorough Catholic schools, the victory is ours; if, on the contrary, the State takes possession of them and they are thrown into Public Schools, the victory will eventually be with our opponents.'\(^6\)

Religious teachers were ideal in providing the true

\(^3\) ibid., Volume II, p. 257.
\(^4\) ibid.
\(^5\) ibid., p. 258.
\(^6\) Quoted in Fogarty, ibid.
Catholic environment in which Catholic children needed to be educated.\textsuperscript{7}

Such teachers, . . . would 'give a tone and thoroughness to the rising generations', and 'hold an attraction which even non-Catholics [would] find difficult to resist'. In them the Church would 'possess an instrument of power . . . \textit{[dreamt]}'\textsuperscript{8} of which her opponents little dreamed.

Thus as Fogarty concludes, the introduction of the religious was not only of economic necessity but, according to Vaughan, a moral one too.\textsuperscript{9}

By the end of the nineteenth century, "the Catholic people of Australia had come to look upon Catholic education as education of a specific type: that which was imparted not only in Catholic schools but also by teachers who were at the same time religious."\textsuperscript{10} Overall, as Fogarty concludes, their contribution was not only in educational terms but one which "raised the morale of the Church itself".\textsuperscript{11} Hence in this chapter Fogarty reflects the 'exclusiveness' of the Catholic Church in its development of a system of education and culture which set it apart.

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7. ibid., see p. 260.
8. ibid.
9. ibid.
10. ibid., p. 268.
11. ibid., p. 303.
In Chapter Eight, 'Catholic Schools Under the Religious Orders', Fogarty particularly looks at the parochial system of schools which formed the basis of the Catholic system. The feature of exclusiveness is also reinforced here.

The new system of Catholic schools developed rapidly. Determined, after the Education Acts of the seventies and eighties, not to allow their children to be drawn into the un-Catholic atmosphere of the state schools, the Catholic community spared no efforts in multiplying the number of Catholic schools. 12

Archbishop Mannix noted that "the Catholic school in this country constituted the 'ante-chamber of the Church'; without the schools the Churches would have been empty." 13 The system of Catholic schools was regarded as "the glory of the Catholic Church in Australia." 14 Thus once again the institutionalism of the Catholic Church is highlighted. Its involvement in education was perceived as a necessary form of organization through which the Catholic faith would be maintained.

The scheme of parochial schools was central to this whole Church development in that "each parish had built its own parish school, installed a community of religious teachers, and made itself responsible for their support. Such a system was bound to confer many obvious advantages

12. ibid., p. 304.
13. Quoted in Fogarty, ibid., pp. 304-305.
14. ibid., p. 305.
upon the Catholic life of the parish." \(^{15}\) Growing out of traditional European practice, the denominational system as developed in Australia during the mid-nineteenth century, and the desire to improve the condition of the largest element of the Catholic population, namely the working class, \(^{16}\) the parochial primary schools received the Church's "first care and the bulk of its educational legislation." \(^{17}\)

As Fogarty points out, the Catholic Church adopted a 'schools before Churches' policy for "without the school the Church would have been severely handicapped in the carrying out of its mission: the one was the complement of the other", \(^{18}\) hence underlying the total integration of Church and education advocated by the Catholic Church. Such could not be satisfied by the schools proposed by the State. Primary education formed the foundation of the Church. \(^{19}\)

Fogarty completes Chapter Eight by tracing the development of Catholic secondary education, regarded as important by the Catholic Church as it needed a "learned

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15. ibid.
16. ibid., see pp. 306-308.
17. ibid., p. 309.
18. ibid., p. 310.
19. ibid., see p. 311.
and cultured Catholic laity which would further its interests and uphold its prestige."20 However, its development was attended by many problems, not the least being the poverty of the Catholic community in general. Initially therefore the growth of secondary schools was slow as Catholics could not afford to leave their children at school.21 However, with the development of State secondary education so came the expansion in Catholic secondary schools.22

Certain features of the whole Catholic education system are reflected in this expansion. Firstly, the growth indicated a desire by the Catholic Church to provide secondary education which would be accessible to its own community in order that its members attain a better position in society. A scheme of "higher education was necessary - an education that would transcend the mere bread-and-butter pre-occupations of the masses, and prepare an élite from among whom the offices of Church and state could eventually be filled."23

The Church's desire to operate a separate and viable system is exemplified in the proposal of a scholarship

20. ibid., p. 314.
21. ibid., see p. 334.
22. ibid., see p. 331.
23. ibid., p. 312.
system in response to that conducted by the State. The State scholarship system, relates Fogarty, was perceived as a 'threat' to Catholic schools in trying to poach the best students. This is a reference to the scholarship system proposed by the State in order to "foster the development of state secondary schools . . . Not secondary education as such but state secondary education was its primary objective." Where the Catholics perceived this system as a threat was in the fact that according to the particular conditions laid down by the States, scholarships could only be tenable at public high schools or won if in attendance at a state school. The desire also to be as good as the State system offering the highest quality of instruction is also evident.

These features are underlined in Chapter Nine, 'The Curriculum: Profane Subjects', wherein Fogarty details the actual curriculum undertaken in the school provided by the Catholic system. In 1905, the Third Plenary Council of Bishops had agreed that Catholic schools would conform to the standards of State schools thus rendering Catholic schools equal to those of the State. Fogarty outlines the particular subjects included in the

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24. ibid., see pp. 336-337.
25. ibid., p. 336.
26. ibid.
27. ibid., see p. 358.
curriculum and in reference to secondary education reveals the various educational options offered by the different teaching orders and according to the particular clientele to be educated.\textsuperscript{28}

The role of the Public Examination System is particularly significant in highlighting again the desire of the Catholic Church for its system of education to be recognized as equal to that of the State, in that "it supplied a recognized test of the efficiency of the school, thereby raising it considerably in public estimation."\textsuperscript{29} Not only was uniformity encouraged by the system but also a link between the State and Catholic systems.\textsuperscript{30} However, at the same time the system had a 'narrowing' effect on the education being offered.\textsuperscript{31} In fact the overall weakness of the Catholic system seemed to be a lack of diversity.\textsuperscript{32}

Underlying this discussion about the curriculum and the preparedness of the Catholic schools to accept State conditions is the question of 'how distinctive was Catholic education?'

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28. ibid., see pp. 358-369.
29. ibid., p. 373.
30. ibid.
31. ibid., see p. 374.
32. ibid., see p. 376.
E.L. French has provided detailed analysis of secondary curriculum in his thesis: "Secondary Education in the Australian Social Order, 1788-1898". The overriding feature which emerges is the uniformity of secondary education in response to the specific regulations of examinations as determined by the colonial universities. Catholic education it would seem, according to French, was part of such uniformity. As he concludes Volume I of his thesis, "Between the schools of the various churches there were no differences of curriculum . . .".

French identifies the lack of the sharp social divisions which determined secondary education in England as a factor in the uniformity of colonial education. In the colonial setting, "the various public and matriculation examinations, were controlled by institutions of similar constitution and educational outlook." Hence secondary education generally adhered to a middle class position. "The colonial secondary schools, no matter what their religious affiliation, the


34. ibid., p. 296.

35. ibid., see p. 478.

36. ibid., p. 479.
sex of their student population or their geographical location, were committed to the substantially middle class type of education."\(^{37}\)

French examines the role of the colonial university as 'arbiter' of the standards of secondary education,\(^{38}\) and traces the movement away from the classical curriculum to the inclusion of 'modern' subjects.\(^{39}\) The recognition that the university was not to be the culminating point for all undertaking secondary education made this change possible,\(^{40}\) hence the emergence of public examinations, Junior and Senior, other than the Matriculation examination.\(^{41}\) Gradually the matriculation course was diversified too.\(^{42}\) However, it would seem that overall the universities set the examinations which in turn determined the curriculum. In this context such curriculum was narrow and text-book oriented.\(^{43}\)

French perceives the schools' acceptance of such

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37. ibid., p. 298.
38. ibid., see p. 176.
40. ibid., see p. 194.
41. ibid., see p. 220.
42. ibid., see pp. 251-254.
43. ibid., see p. 302.
conditions as part of their quest for some sort of measure of their contribution to society.44

They [the schools] had accepted the universities as their means of articulation with the world beyond their borders, and part of the price of this acceptance was submission to such limitations on methods of teaching as might be imposed by the prescriptions and practices of university examiners.45

As, according to French, "few schools in the eighties and nineties remained indifferent to examination requirements",46 secondary education in Catholic schools was in line with that offered in other schools of the time.

Essentially Catholic Religious Education is what distinguished Catholic schools from others. In Chapter Ten, 'The Curriculum: Religious Education', Fogarty gives insight into this. As already discussed, the issue of religious instruction - its provision and the methods involved, had set the Catholic approach to education apart. Certain documents relating to education were published within the Catholic Church; thus prescribing its own uniqueness in this matter. The 1929 encyclical of Pius XI, 'Divini Illius Magistri' - 'The Christian Education of Youth', - was particularly significant as the "authoritative statement on Catholic education, not only

44. ibid.
45. ibid., p. 439.
46. ibid., p. 274.
in Australia but throughout the whole world.47 It re-established the Christian basis of education in a climate wherein secular State education had separated education and social life from its Christian basis. The false liberalism of the past had been replaced by a new paganism.48

Underlying this Christian education was the role of the family which was also re-affirmed in this encyclical. The term 'family' was also extended to the school in being regarded as part of the religious community. The religious orders were deemed a necessary part of that community making the whole school environment Catholic.49

The community life of the one would be the guarantee, so to speak, of the corporate life of the other, and through the union of the religious community with the living Church there would come down to the child the immense spiritual vitality of the Church itself.50

Once again the total integration of Catholic life and education is noted thus underlining the exclusiveness of the Catholic Church in the area of education.

Fogarty examines the many factors relating to Religious Education under the headings of 'Religious

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47. Fogarty, op. cit., p. 385.
48. ibid.
49. ibid., see p. 388.
50. ibid.
Instruction' and 'Moral and Religious Formation', all of which made up the whole approach to Religious Education within the Catholic educational sphere. The underlying belief held by the Catholic Church that put the "teaching of religion as the unequivocal centre of Catholic education"\(^{51}\) led to the laying down of a syllabus of religious instruction. Despite the predominance of religious teachers the Church felt it necessary to safeguard its responsibility by doing so.\(^{52}\)

The syllabus of religious instruction was therefore under ecclesiastical control subject to diocesan examination.\(^{53}\) Efforts were then made through the first half of the twentieth century to draw up a uniform syllabus in Christian doctrine in Australia.\(^{54}\) Its concentration on the personality of Jesus Christ made it 'Christo-centric' and 'expressive of a way of life' which was the main thrust of Catholic education.\(^{55}\)

The emphasis on dogma and revealed truths put the Catholic Church at odds with the contemporary educational philosophies, namely naturalism espoused by Rousseau and

\(^{51}\) ibid., p. 389.
^{52}\) ibid., see p. 390.
^{53}\) ibid.
^{54}\) ibid.
^{55}\) ibid., see p. 391.
Spencer, ultra-experimentalism, and pragmatism as practised by Dewey.\textsuperscript{56} However, the fact that the methods used in the teaching of religion embodied some of the characteristics of these pedagogical ideas revealed that the Catholic Church was open to influences of the day.\textsuperscript{57} Fogarty also noted the influence of Catholic writers on methods of teaching religion.\textsuperscript{58}

The emphasis on moral and religious formation highlighted the 'total' education advocated by the Catholic Church.

... the teaching of religion as such, regarded simply as a body of revealed truth to be delivered, was not the only purpose of the Catholic school. Knowledge, even of holy things, was not its ultimate goal. That goal, according to the 1950 Syllabus of Religious Instruction for Victoria, was for teachers to form the image of Christ in the children entrusted to them. Formation, in other words, was as important as information.\textsuperscript{59}

Such formation was three-fold according to Pius XII's interpretation of orthodox Catholic practice, imparting discipline, truthfulness and prayer to the child.\textsuperscript{60} Fogarty's study of these three aspects reveals what set Catholic education apart.

\textsuperscript{56} ibid., see p. 392.
\textsuperscript{57} ibid., see pp. 393-399.
\textsuperscript{58} ibid., see pp. 399-401.
\textsuperscript{59} ibid., p. 401.
\textsuperscript{60} ibid., see p. 402.
Education to discipline in order to guard the child "against his own weakness" was undertaken by the strict supervision apparent in Catholic schools and the segregation of the sexes. These features set the Catholic schools apart from their secular counterparts.

Education for truthfulness in order to develop a Christian mentality was undertaken by making Catholic schools truly religious. In a climate in which the State schools impinged on Catholic schools in terms of similar courses of study and methods, text books and through the effect of the public examination system, difficulties in upholding the Catholic spirit of the Catholic schools were encountered. A positive step to stem such difficulties, and to encourage the development of a Christian mentality was the emergence of sodalities. These were "special training grounds within the general training of the school; they aimed at cultivating higher ideals and stressed the obligation of self-improvement and of using one's influence for good . . ." Such associations added to the particular nature of Catholic

61. ibid.

62. ibid., see pp. 402-409.

63. ibid., see p. 402.

64. ibid., see p. 409.

65. ibid., p. 413.
education in Australia. The Young Catholic Students' movement particularly exemplified such commitment to Christianizing the environment.\textsuperscript{66} As the Bishops had argued, "only by being good Catholics . . . could Catholics be good citizens."\textsuperscript{67} Thus the Catholic ideal while being realized in a separate education system was related to being part of the society. "In the regeneration of society . . . these same Catholic citizens were to play a special part."\textsuperscript{68}

Education to prayer in order to train the child to use the "various supernatural aids with which religion provided him"\textsuperscript{69} was achieved through the inclusion of the Church's liturgical and sacramental life in the environment of the school.\textsuperscript{70}

As Fogarty concludes, the devotional life of the school was to be closely integrated with:

\begin{quote}

the liturgical and sacramental life of the parish so that habits acquired in school would carry over directly into adult life. . . . this strong supernatural element in the Church's educational battery, once set in motion by the first sacramental grace
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{66} ibid., see pp. 414-417.
\item \textsuperscript{67} ibid., p. 415.
\item \textsuperscript{68} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{69} ibid., p. 402.
\item \textsuperscript{70} ibid., see pp. 417-418.
\end{itemize}
of baptism, continued through school days to adult age, becoming in effect continuous with life itself.\textsuperscript{71}

Such an element distinguished Catholic education from all other forms\textsuperscript{72} and highlighted again the interconnection between education and Catholic life.

At the same time as being unique, Fogarty reveals in Chapter Eleven, 'Re-organization and Reaction', that the Catholic system of education was becoming more adopted by society. He points to changes in the Catholic outlook as well as those generally in society during the years after the Education Acts until 1950 where Fogarty's study concludes. The changed Catholic outlook was most evident in the attitude of the Church hierarchy towards liberalism. Pope Leo XIII was determined to:

show Catholics how to live in a liberal world without sacrificing any of their Christian principles. This he did, not only by his famous encyclical letters, but also by the policy he outlined and the men he appointed to implement it.\textsuperscript{73}

Men like Cardinal Moran and Archbishop Carr embodied the new outlook.

The reorganization and expansion of the Catholic education system, according to Fogarty, originates in this changed outlook, and is not only evident in regard to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{71} ibid., p. 420.
\item \textsuperscript{72} ibid., see p. 417.
\item \textsuperscript{73} ibid., p. 422.
\end{itemize}
Catholic education but to political and educational developments in the community as a whole. 74 Within this a new relationship between Church and State emerged. The suspicion and hostility that had characterized the dealings between Catholic and state educational authorities in the eighteen-sixties and seventies had completely disappeared, giving place to a new spirit of mutual respect and co-operation, a spirit which succeeding decades served only to consolidate and extend. 75 Hence the Catholic system remained separate but also part of the general educational development of the community.

Fogarty perceives the new outlook in terms of developing an educational system appropriate to the needs of society, being exemplified in curriculum development, as already discussed, and in other areas, namely Inspection, Teacher Training, Organization, Finance and Expansion. 76

Inspection had always been regarded as vital by the Catholic hierarchy in gaining public respect for their schools hence the ongoing commitment to state inspection as well as their own. 77

74. ibid.
75. ibid., p. 423.
76. ibid. Note sections in Chapter Eleven.
77. ibid., see pp. 424-428.
In order to further redress the problems found to exist within Catholic schools due to incompetent teaching, teacher-training received the Church's focus. Fogarty traces the development through three phases.\textsuperscript{78}

The organization and control of Catholic education developed alongside this rise in the professional status of religious teachers.\textsuperscript{79} As Fogarty points out, "In the system itself three distinct units emerged - the parish, the religious teaching community, and the diocese."\textsuperscript{80} Initially the emphasis had been on simply setting up schools but as the system grew the organization grew more complex and the need for uniformity became paramount.

By the close of the first half of this century, . . . the pattern of organization from one diocese to the next had become more or less uniform. In each case the bishop exercised his authority and his duty of supervision through his own inspectors. Superimposed on this was a wider provincial organization operating under a Director of Catholic Education in each capital city.\textsuperscript{81}

Fogarty's pictorial representation of the organization of authority in the Catholic school system\textsuperscript{82} exemplifies the continuity within the system, the ultimate obedience being to the Pope. "In this way the Church in Australia found

\textsuperscript{78} ibid., see pp. 428-437.

\textsuperscript{79} ibid., see p. 437.

\textsuperscript{80} ibid.

\textsuperscript{81} ibid.

\textsuperscript{82} ibid. See Figure 20, p. 441.
herself in possession of a body of teachers already closely knit and suitably organized for the work they were supposed to do."\textsuperscript{83}

Fogarty's examination of the expansion of Catholic education in terms of university education, kindergartens, special schools and programs to reach those children not attending Catholic schools,\textsuperscript{84} exemplified the desire of the Catholic Church to be involved in all avenues of education, as well as the need to protect itself and preserve the Catholic faith. For example, participation in university education was encouraged in order to improve the perception of Catholics within the community.\textsuperscript{85} The participation was in terms of establishing Catholic colleges within a non-denominational or secular university.\textsuperscript{86} The question of establishing a Catholic university provided further insight into Catholic thinking of the time.\textsuperscript{87} It was felt by some to be better that Catholics mix with others in the lay environment of the non-denominational university. Archbishop Mannix for example, saw that:

\begin{quote}
Catholics could give their 'best service' to the Church 'and the whole community and the universities... by holding [their] places
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{83} ibid., p. 442.
\item \textsuperscript{84} ibid. See section Expanding the System.
\item \textsuperscript{85} ibid., see p. 447.
\item \textsuperscript{86} ibid., see pp. 447-448.
\item \textsuperscript{87} ibid., see p. 449.
\end{itemize}
in the existing universities'. That done, they should use the 'wide opportunities' given 'to christianize [their] environment'.

Fogarty places this later development of the Catholic education system in the context of societal changes, as he did with the early development. "This more liberal trend in Catholic policy was accompanied by a corresponding change of attitude in the community as a whole, not only to religious instruction but also to government grants to non-state schools." At the basis of this change in attitude was the reaction against the extreme secularism of some of the state school systems which had developed after the Acts of the seventies. The exclusion of every reference to God in some instances exemplified such extremity.

The quest for some form of non-denominational instruction and re-introduction of the Bible emerged amongst some Protestant groups. This was not a move to re-establish the denominational system with separate grants to denominations, or dogmatic religious instruction, but merely an attempt to return the Bible to a place in normal instruction. However, Catholic

88. Quoted in Fogarty, ibid., p. 450.
89. ibid., p. 457.
90. ibid.
91. ibid., see p. 458.
92. ibid., see p. 459.
opposition to this echoed the original opposition of the Catholic Church to the State school system.

It was not the Bible as such they objected to, but the fact that the state schools 'for which they were taxed heavily', were to be used to 'teach a form of religion which they could not conscientiously accept'. . . . 'reading of the Bible without note or comment', . . . would be equivalent to 'Protestantizing' the state schools. 93

Fogarty outlines the parallel changes of opinion in other non-religious spheres. Generally the earlier argument had been over government aid to denominational schools but now the terminology changed to government aid to private or independent schools. 94 This was significant in reflecting these changes in opinion. It became acceptable that to aid religious schools would be for the good of the community in terms of improving educational standards and catering for the individual's right to be educated as he or she liked. 95 Religion itself was no longer the central issue in this context. Thus the matter of state aid to non-state schools was to be judged according to the principles of ordinary economics and social justice, religion itself being regarded as merely accidental and more likely to obscure rather than clarify the real issues. 96

Political views reflected these changes. Although

93. ibid., pp. 460-461.
94. ibid., see p. 463.
95. ibid.
96. ibid., p. 464.
initially committed to the 'free, secular and compulsory' platform in education, the Labor Party had extended the various scholarship schemes to non-state schools. 97 Eventually in 1950 at the Labor Party Annual Conference it was resolved that "the expected federal grants for education should be shared among all schools, state and non-state alike, on a strictly per capita basis". 98

The change in Liberal Party policy was reflected in its proposed scheme of tax deductions for those sending their children to non-state schools. 99 Hence the matter of state aid for non-state schools had become an economic issue. In recognizing the need for financial assistance the parents' right to educate their children according to their beliefs was recognized. 100

In conclusion Fogarty looks at the 'Changing Views of Protestants and Catholics'. While there still existed some mistrust of Catholic motives in terms of their system of education creating divisiveness and fostering disloyalty to the State, 101 the general consensus of opinion underlined the parental right above mentioned.

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97. ibid.
98. ibid., p. 465.
99. ibid.
100. ibid., see p. 466.
101. ibid., see p. 467.
The Anglicans for example proposed that:

'Every citizen,' . . . 'is bound by law to have his child educated. He has the right for the cost of this education to be defrayed by the Government. If the citizen chose an alternative method to the Government school, he saved the Government money and should in fairness receive assistance.'

Overall the quest for social justice in education became the dominant factor leading to the acceptance of state aid for non-state schools. The Catholic hierarchy referred to the education problem as not a religious one as "those directing private schools 'were not seeking "aid" or "grants" or concessions from anyone', but simply a right to social justice." Hence the Catholic Church was prepared to conciliate with the State on liberal grounds in order to perpetuate its own system of education.

Thus the pendulum had made a full swing away from a system which had to be solely self-supportive to one which would be given assistance, thus indicating the changes of attitude occurring in society. In Volume II Fogarty has underlined the exclusive features of the Catholic Church in terms of the system of education which it developed. While circumstances as already discussed, demanded this separate Catholic system, at the same time efforts to

102. ibid., p. 468.
103. Quoted in Fogarty, ibid., p. 469.
reorganize and expand it, and to compete with the State system, indicated a desire to be part of the overall educational community. As such it became a viable system and one entitled to assistance. The appropriate changes of opinion within society in relation to social justice made such assistance possible. The sectarianism of the past gave way to concern for the general education of the community. The Catholic education system thereby benefitted.

As well as defining the exclusive features of the Catholic education system, other themes already explored such as Church/State relations and the Catholic response to liberalism have emerged. Fogarty concludes Volume II, indeed his entire work, with a retrospective overview of these themes. Such an overview will now be considered.
Chapter Five: Retrospect

In an attempt to sum up the Catholic educational experience in Australia Fogarty interrelates many of the themes already explored in his final chapter. Using Fogarty's summary as a basis it will be the purpose of this chapter to do the same.

Fogarty perceives that the underlying principles in the development of Catholic education were based on the Catholic philosophy of life "which ultimately is derived from that concept of man - his nature, origin and destiny - as determined by reason and revelation."¹ Such principles of natural law and positive divine law formed the basis of the Church's definition of her role in education and those of the family and state:

Nothing in these definitions, however, suggests that a separate system of Catholic education independent of the state is essential or even desirable. The fact that such a system does exist in this country is an indication that circumstances have demanded it.²

This opening passage in Chapter Twelve, 'Retrospect', provides insight into Fogarty's whole interpretation of the Catholic educational experience, and at the same time highlights the underlying paradox involved: did the development of a separate Catholic education system

² ibid.
reflect the exclusiveness of the Catholic Church or the circumstances of colonial society?

Fogarty identifies particular issues related to these circumstances leading to the development of a separate Catholic education system which have been subjected to misunderstanding. Such issues relate to the themes already identified and discussed.

The involvement of the State in education is one such issue. According to Fogarty the Catholic grievance was not State involvement in education as such but that it did not extend far enough in providing the Catholic Church with equal rights. The Catholic solution was exemplified in their development of a separate system in conjunction with their efforts to make such a system competitive with that of the State. This relates to the theme of Church/State relations explored by Fogarty throughout the text. Initially there was a certain preparedness to co-operate with the State as long as the Catholic Church's position in terms of control over education was not compromised. When compromise diminished this control a separate system of education was therefore perceived as necessary. Essentially underlying the Church/State

3. ibid.
4. ibid.
5. See Footnote Nos. 28, 29 in Chapter Two and discussion in Chapter Three.
relationship was the institutionalism of the Catholic Church in its desire to maintain such control.

The role of Parkes in discriminating against Catholics through his involvement in the Education Acts has, according to Fogarty, been over-emphasized. Fogarty makes the observation that the 1880 Act in New South Wales was inevitable given the trend of educational developments in other colonies, therefore 'Parkes or no Parkes' education would have developed accordingly. He argues that "the Act would have come - perhaps even ten years earlier, when Vaughan would not have been there to parry it nor the teaching orders prepared to step into the breach." Yet another paradox underlying the development of a separate Catholic education system is thereby highlighted. The Catholic grievance was their non-inclusion in the State system and the fact that their specific needs were not addressed in the secular education offered by the State schools; however, the very cause of their grievance provided the Catholics with a catalyst to develop their own system of schools. As K.J. Cable points out in his review of Fogarty's text, in referring


7. Fogarty, ibid., p. 471.

8. See discussion in preceding chapters. See also Fogarty, ibid., p. 304 "... the withdrawal of state aid ... appeared to act as a stimulant."
to the creation of a distinctively Catholic educational system, "the Education Acts of 1870-1880 were a blessing in disguise."9

This conclusion raises the question of what alternative action the Catholic Church could have taken after these Acts. Was the overall Protestant course of action in accepting the national system of education possible? Fogarty has identified the Protestant acceptance of State education as part of the changing attitudes towards Church and State within society;10 however it is difficult to determine the extent of such acceptance. The variations among the Protestant groups are complex and thereby need further clarification than Fogarty provides. As he is dealing with the Catholic story he is of course essentially concerned with the Catholic solution to the education issues.11

The Anglican position for example, is an interesting one given the initial similarity to that of the Catholic Church in terms of the Church's role in education.12 Was Anglican acquiescence made possible because of the


12. See Footnote No. 19 in Chapter Two.
The seemingly general Protestant character of education as perceived by the Catholics?¹³ The change in Anglican attitude away from the rigid ecclesiastical control of education advocated by Bishop Broughton would constitute a separate study. Suffice to state here is that the Catholic Church's commitment to institutionalism in terms of being involved in the education process remained firm.

Fogarty underlines again the factor of sectarianism involved here in highlighting the differences between the Catholic and Protestant groups. Opposition to Catholics, indeed fear of their motives, extended from politicians to Protestant clergyman to the colonial press.¹⁴ The failure of the denominational schools was due in part to such sectarianism as it was also to the defects inherent in the schools themselves.¹⁵

Fogarty sees the Church school as losing its significance given the climate of liberal and rationalist thought. As Protestants no longer had the need for dogmatic, denominational instruction Church schools consequently were no longer required. The breakdown of the denominational system seemed inevitable. The non-sectarian or secular schools were perceived as better

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¹³. Fogarty, op. cit. See also Footnote No. 62 in Chapter Three.
¹⁴. ibid. See also Footnote No. 39 in Chapter Three.
¹⁵. ibid.
suited to a "liberal, democratic society which accorded privileges to none and equal opportunity to all."\textsuperscript{16}

However, such schools were not suitable to Catholic needs thereby Catholics did not share in this equality of opportunity. To them, the 'new' schools "were in fact Protestant - not in the sense that they taught positive Protestant doctrine but in the sense that what was done in them was acceptable to Protestants and in no way prejudicial to their conscience."\textsuperscript{17} Hence it seems apparent that compromise was not possible in the minds of Catholics, thereby no alternative action to that of developing their own educational system seemed plausible if their principles were to be upheld. According to Fogarty:

\begin{quote}
national education took a direction which Catholics claimed they were not able in conscience to follow. Had they been able to do so, the separate Catholic system as it exists in Australia today might never have developed - certainly not to the extent it has.\textsuperscript{18}
\end{quote}

The Catholic Church's stand against liberalism is identified by Fogarty as an inherent factor in the development of such a system. The Catholic Church, according to Fogarty, seemed adamant that State education

\textsuperscript{16} ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} ibid., p. 473.
was "synonymous with secular education".19 Catholics had perceived the danger of such education in Europe emanating from "straight-out infidelity and hatred of all revealed religion in general and of Catholicism in particular."20 Vaughan in particular appeared steadfast against secular education which he saw as the "dreaded offspring of liberalism, 'the main instrument of the great apostasy'".21 This stand therefore partly explains why the Catholic Church perceived the development of a separate education system as necessary in the fulfilment of the particular needs of Catholics.

Underlying Fogarty's treatment of the place of liberalism in the Catholic story are two fundamental issues. Firstly the Catholic response to liberalism, and secondly the relevance of such fears about secularism as held by the Catholic Church to the colonial situation, given that the problem in Australia was not the exclusion of religion but how to include it.22 As already noted, there is no recognition of the tenets of nineteenth century liberalism as put forward by J.S. Mill thus a clear perception of the Catholic response is not

19. ibid., p. 474.
20. ibid.
21. ibid.
22. Note previous references to non-denominational instruction. Footnote No. 39 in Chapter Two, further discussion in Chapter Three.
attained.\textsuperscript{23} However, 'fear' is a factor which Fogarty clearly demonstrates as impinging on all those involved in the education question. The Catholic 'fear' of secular education runs parallel to the Protestant 'fear' of Catholic dominance.\textsuperscript{24} The consequent division between Catholics and Protestants is highlighted. Essentially both groups were concerned with their own members. Perhaps if the State had adopted the true Millian liberal principle of 'free trade' in education, sectarianism would never have been a contributing factor in the development of education in Australia.\textsuperscript{25} It would seem that such sectarian fears, however inappropriate to today, form part of the development of education thereby the Catholic story as related by Fogarty.

Fogarty's re-evaluation of Vaughan's role and that played by other key members of the Catholic hierarchy reiterates the importance of the hierarchy in developing a separate Catholic education system. While Fogarty has examined some points of conflict between the Catholic hierarchy and other members of the Catholic community,\textsuperscript{26}

\footnotesize
23. See Chapter Three for discussion of J.S. Mill. Note Footnote No. 32.

24. Note previous references to this issue. Footnote No. 51 in Chapter Three.

25. See Chapter Three for discussion of Max Charlesworth's ideas relating to this issue.

and identified the condition of the Catholic laity, the main thrust has been in terms of the hierarchy's position.

Fogarty highlights the difficulties in making the decision to pursue a separate education system in his examination of the concerns of the hierarchy in gaining the support of the clergy and laity. The Bishop's pastoral letter of 1885 reveals such concerns:

Some said it was foolish of Catholics to contemplate keeping up a system for themselves; some, that it was despotic of the clergy to 'force' the laity into the manifold self-impoverishment it would entail. . . . 'they [the laity] will not complain; but by degrees . . . the call for funds will be grumbled at, and finally, . . . the schools will imperceptibly disappear.'

In reference to Vaughan's stand against liberalism and his quest to raise the alarm, the difficulty of gaining this support is again highlighted. "His [Vaughan's] was the particularly difficult task of rousing to a sense of apprehension and responsibility a laity (and to some extent a clergy) whom state aid had for so long lulled into a false security."

Fogarty goes on to summarize the role played by other members of the hierarchy to counter the popular image of Vaughan as the hero of Catholic education. "Vaughan was

27. ibid., see pp. 210-216.
28. Quoted in Fogarty, ibid., p. 473.
29. ibid., p. 474.
30. ibid., see p. 475. See also Inglis, op. cit.
a leader, not an innovator. For the real architects of the present system of Catholic schools it is necessary to go further back - to Geoghegan, Serra, James Quinn, Sheil, and especially to Tenison Woods.31 Fogarty places Vaughan's contribution in the context of a developing Church/State relationship which saw the Catholic hierarchy gradually strengthening their resolve in relation to control over education.32

Fogarty reiterates the importance of the role played by the religious orders in the eventual development of a separate Catholic education system underlining their contribution to society in general.33 They were a key element in the ability of the Catholic Church to fulfil the educational challenge, thereby providing a unique opportunity for the Catholic Church to stand alone without state financial support. As K.J. Cable points out in his review, Fogarty is clear and definite in outlining the role of the teaching orders in creating a distinctive system of education. In doing so he answers Cable's fundamental question: "why did the Roman Catholic Church preserve its scholastic system while the others went down in the wreck of the 1870's?"34 Their success lessened the

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31. ibid.
32. ibid.
33. ibid., see p. 476.
34. Cable, op. cit., p. 58.
hierarchy's concern and confirmed its decision to stand alone.

Even before the end of the century, results showed that, though the struggle had been 'hard and costly', they [the Bishops] had acted wisely and in the best interests of their people and their Church. For that God was to be thanked, but 'particularly for two blessings' - 'the singular unity by which [the] Bishops [were] united with their people, and the uncompromising spirit of Faith which [had] filled and sometimes sustained the heart of Catholic Australia'. Both these blessings, they felt, had resulted from the stand they had taken.35

Thus the Catholic education system emerged as an integral part of the Catholic Church in Australia.

While acknowledging the defects of the system,36 Fogarty concludes by illustrating the integral part the system has played in the community in moving from rival to partner of the State system.37 Underlying this conclusion is the determination of the future of such a system. Fogarty puts forward the inherent factors.

Fogarty points to the defensive mentality among Catholics relating to the prescription of a syllabus by the State, a non-Catholic authority, as one of the difficulties of the Catholic system.38 While Fogarty

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35. Fogarty, op. cit., p. 476.
36. ibid., see p. 477.
37. ibid., see p. 479.
38. ibid., see pp. 477-478.
concedes that this is disappearing now in the change above mentioned, such a mentality originally derived from the inferior social and economic position of the predominantly Irish Catholic population. This factor therefore is particularly relevant to the theme of the exclusiveness of Catholicism. As already explored, this sense of being underprivileged formed part of the Catholic Church's need to maintain control over education in order that its members attain a better position in society.

The position of the Irish in this context has received greater focus from other historians. Patrick O'Farrell, for example, explores the 'Irish Factor' in many spheres other than education. Suffice to say here is that the identification of the Catholic Church with the Irish cause, as well as the Irish sense of loyalty prevalent among Catholics, certainly contributed to the aloof position of the Catholic Church in Australia and its ability to meet the educational challenge.

As to the future of the Catholic education system, Fogarty poses the question about its continued viability. Should the system be considered only a temporary answer to

39. ibid., see p. 478.


41. See Footnote Nos. 43-45 in Chapter Two.
the problems of the latter part of the nineteenth century and so, given new circumstances, should it now be abandoned?\textsuperscript{42} Such new circumstances included the increasing number of lay teachers involved in the system which in effect would alter the whole structure of the system thereby "reversing the whole order of its development".\textsuperscript{43} Fogarty concludes in favour of the Catholic education system. Any abandonment of the system would be generally regarded as retrograde.

Though in no way incompatible with Catholic principles, it would be out of harmony with the cherished Catholic conception of education and opposed to the express wish of ecclesiastical authority.\textsuperscript{44}

The struggle to establish and maintain such a system would be rendered meaningless. The return of state aid, and its consequent benefits to the Catholic education system, a theme which Fogarty does not pursue largely because many of the changes became effective after his thesis was written, made such a struggle worthwhile.

Overall, Fogarty sees the Catholic education system not only as an integral part of the Catholic Church reflecting Catholic principles but of the Australian community in general, firmly upholding a belief in a religious foundation to education. The return of the

\textsuperscript{42} See Fogarty, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{43} ibid.
\textsuperscript{44} ibid., pp. 478-479.
State and other denominations to this belief exemplified the Catholic Church's unique contribution to the survival of Christian education.\textsuperscript{45} The final passage of the text summarizes Fogarty's overall assessment of the Catholic education system.

Conspicuous from the beginning as the Church's uncompromising protest against the liberal tendencies of the nineteenth century, this system stands today as her considered and sustained criticism of the prevailing ideologies and socializing pressures of the twentieth. Besides giving great satisfaction to the ecclesiastical authorities and to the Catholic laity, it has rendered valuable service to society as a whole, buttressing by its relative independence a precarious pluralism, enriching by its insistence on ultimate values an age of spiritual impoverishment.\textsuperscript{46}

All of these issues have been addressed in Fogarty's interpretation of the Catholic educational experience.

Fogarty has examined the nature of the Catholic Church in terms of its desire to provide for its members. He has noted its exclusiveness in terms of its firm belief in an all-embracing form of religious education. Events in society which seemingly did not allow it to pursue these fundamental rights therefore forced it to consider a separate education system. In these circumstances this system became a vehicle through which the Church could care for its flock. While the impact of liberalism and

\textsuperscript{45} ibid., see p. 479.

\textsuperscript{46} ibid., p. 479.
secularism, and their particular application to Australian society needs further clarification, their prevalence nevertheless, was perceived by the Catholic Church as further evidence of their need to act separately in developing an education system in order to protect the Catholic Church itself.

In Volume I Fogarty outlines the steps towards the development of such a system identifying the contributing factors within society. In Volume II he defines the actual system emphasizing the vital role played by the religious orders. Overall, the explanation of why and how a separate Catholic education system developed is provided. How such an explanation fits into Australian historiography, Catholic and educational, will be discussed in the concluding chapter.
**Conclusion**

In considering the contribution that Fogarty's text has made to Australian historiography, its value has been seen in terms of providing insight into the development of the Catholic Church in Australia with the overall development of Australian society in view. Fogarty's focus on education has provided the key with which to examine this development.

Fogarty's interpretation of the Catholic educational experience has been in the context of the whole development of education in Australia. Many themes have been identified as relating to the development of a separate Catholic education system, each one potentially forming the basis of an individual study. However, the interrelationship of these themes has been the basis of Fogarty's explanation of why and how such a system developed.

Reviewers of the text have applauded Fogarty's contribution to Australian historiography commenting on its relevance to the development of Australian education in general, as well as its significance in relating a particular denominational experience.

In further evaluating this contribution the underlying paradoxes of Fogarty's interpretation emerge.
In the way the text is written Fogarty has demonstrated a tendency towards liberal history, in presenting the teleological movement of events towards a liberal state thus contributing to the development of a separate Catholic education system. The fundamental paradox herein is that the Education Acts of the seventies and eighties, so deplored by the Catholic Church, actually provided the impetus for this development. Through the triumph of the State the Catholic Church was excluded from the public education system. This exclusion paradoxically ensured the Church's own triumph.

In this context Fogarty's text provides an insight into liberal thought on two levels, firstly in terms of the 'liberal' nature of the text, and secondly, in examining the Catholic response to liberalism. Fogarty's text may be seen as an example of that liberal mode of ordering an historical narrative, where significance is given to events in terms of a consummation of the narrative in times future to the events described but known to the historian. In his criticism of the one-sidedness of Butterfield's The Whig Interpretation of History, Bernard Lord Manning points to the existence of many views of history depending on the historian's viewpoint.

For if there has been, and is, a Whig and Protestant view of history, there has been, and is, a not less vicious Tory and Communist and Popish and Atheistic twisting
of history; and I refuse, as a Protestant Whig, to have this particular vice attributed solely or chiefly to me.¹

As distinct from a peculiar partisan view of English political history 'Whig history' could therefore be identified as just one way of interpreting events. Hence Fogarty's text represents this extended view of 'Whig history' in its presentation of a developmental view of the events relating to the development of Catholic education in Australia. In demonstrating the inherent complexity of the subject, Fogarty's text has raised many issues which may be further explored.

Overall, Fogarty's fundamental premise that the development of Catholic education in Australia was a unique solution to a particular set of circumstances, provides a vehicle through which the education developments and condition of Australian society may be examined. The text therefore has much wider appeal than a narrow denominational survey. As such, it is indeed "a monumental work",² and continues to make a valuable contribution to Catholic and educational historiography, indeed Australian historiography in general.

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