A GOTHIC VISION:

THE ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE OF BISHOP JAMES GOOLD IN COLONIAL VICTORIA

PAOLA COLLEONI
ORCID: 000-0003-0456-6338

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Abstract

During his almost 40 years long episcopacy, James Alipius Goold (1812-1886), the first Roman Catholic bishop of Melbourne, laid strong foundations for the Catholic church in Victoria. The diocese of Melbourne counted only two churches and two chapels when he arrived in 1848, but, during his lifetime, clergymen claimed he laid as many foundations stones as Saint Patrick himself. After ten years spent as a missionary in New South Wales, Goold dedicated himself to the diocese of Melbourne. He established a firm administration, and was involved in several aspects of church building. He selected prominent locations and provided parish priests with suitable designs, he decided how to allocate Government funds and visited the building site whenever possible. His architectural patronage exemplifies the evolution of Gothic taste in Victoria. While earlier commissions encompassed Gothick churches, in the wake of the gold rush Goold had the resources to commission archaeologically correct Gothic Revival churches from the English architects Joseph and Charles Hansom. Over the years Goold developed a network including leading manufacturers in Europe and Australia to provide glass, furnishings and metalwork of the finest quality for the Gothic churches he was building. He gifted items to the parishes to dignify also the humble temporary buildings used for Sunday mass. In 1858, the English Catholic-convert architect William Wardell relocated to Melbourne. He had worked on about 30 church commissions in England, almost all of them in the Gothic Revival style faithful to AWN Pugin's principles. Wardell was the man Goold needed to pursue his Gothic vision in Victoria. In the following decade, the bishop commissioned him

to provide plans for at least a dozen parish churches ranging in size and refinement for city parishes and rural districts alike. His ambitious patronage culminated with the realisation of St Patrick's Cathedral to Wardell's grand design, a building rooted in French and English mediaeval tradition matching the size of European cathedrals. Bishop Goold played a remarkable role in shaping the built environment of the colony. His championing of the Gothic Revival style ascribes his name among the group of patrons who translated European culture to colonial Australia.

Declaration

This is to certify that:

I. the thesis comprises only my original work towards the Ph.D.;

II. due acknowledgment has been made in the text to all other material used;

III. the thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

Signed:

Paola Colleoni May 2020

Preface

This dissertation discusses the architectural patronage of James Alipius Goold, the first Roman Catholic bishop of Melbourne, focusing on his commitment to the realisation of archaeologically correct Gothic Revival churches in colonial Victoria. The thesis is one of the outputs of the Australian Research Council Discovery Project *A Baroque Archbishop in Colonial Australia: James Goold (1812-1886)*, conducted jointly by the University of Melbourne and the University of Divinity. The research was initially supported by the Faculty of Arts at the University of Melbourne, and in 2016, as research assistant, I joined the team investigating bishop Goold's collection of books held at the Archives of the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission and at Mannix Library. The ARC project was commenced in February 2017 and concluded in February 2020. Its chief investigators, Professor Emeritus Jaynie Anderson, the Reverend Dr Max Vodola and Shane Carmody devised the project to investigate Goold's cultural vision from four different perspectives: re-assessing the bishop's formative years in Ireland and Italy, and analysing his painting collection, his architectural patronage and his private library. I was granted an ARC doctoral fellowship to investigate Goold's relation with the Catholic-convert English architect William Wardell.

The ARC project team was composed of several persons who focused on different aspects of Goold's cultural patronage. Professor Jaynie Anderson and Dr Callum Reid investigated the provenance of Goold's paintings and their reception in colonial Victoria, while conservator Helen Gill provided her professional expertise providing the condition reports of the paintings in the

collection. Max Vodola and Rachel Naughton, respectively Chairman and archivist of the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission shared with us their excellent knowledge of the archdiocesan collections and of Bishop Goold's episcopacy. Shane Carmody worked closely with Mannix Library at the Catholic Theological College, and in particular with the Library Manager, Kerrie Burn, and the Technical Services Librarian Huw Sandaver, to reconstruct the private library of Bishop Goold. Nick Gellatly rediscovered and created a detailed database of all of Goold's books nowadays scattered in several libraries and archives. The library team work led to the creation of the Archbishop Goold Special Collection at Mannix Library, that today holds more than 1,000 volumes known to have been part of the bishop's library. I dedicated myself to the study of Bishop Goold's architectural commissions in Victoria, and I retraced the steps that led to the creation of refined examples of Gothic Revival churches in the diocese of Melbourne. Goold became interested in architecture before the arrival of William Wardell, and his previous commissions inform his patronage of the English architect, who designed a dozen of churches for the diocese and a cathedral for Bishop Goold. My research was constantly enriched by the contributions of the other team members.

Two major conferences were organised during the three year project on Bishop Goold. The first international symposium *A Baroque Bishop in Colonial Australia The Cultural Patronage of Bishop James Goold (1812 – 1886)* was held at the University of Divinity and at the University of Melbourne between 14th and 16th February 2018. The international conference *Translating European Culture to Colonial Melbourne: James Goold and his Legacies* was

held between the 17th and the 18th February 2020 at Newman College and at the University of Melbourne. Both occasions proved to be exceptional events where I could present and discuss the results of my research in front of an expert audience and look at the subject of my thesis from different perspectives. The conference proceedings of the 2018 conference were published in a book titled *The Invention of Melbourne*, while the papers of the 2020 conference will be published in a forthcoming book next year.

In 2019, the ARC project team curated an exhibition to display the rich collection of Bishop Goold. Titled *The Invention of Melbourne: a Baroque archbishop and a Gothic architect,* the exhibition was held at the Old Treasury Building between the 1st August 2019 until the 2nd March 2020. I had the pleasure to curate one of the rooms and I edited the exhibition catalogue with Rachel Naughton. The exhibition was a success, registering more than 40,000 visitors.

The participation in the ARC project team meetings constantly provided me with new ideas and stronger motivation to investigate my subject from different perspectives. I will always be grateful to my colleagues for their constant support.

Paola Colleoni

Acknowledgments

I am pleased to acknowledge the roles of several persons who were instrumental for the completion of my PhD dissertation. My thanks go first to my supervisors, Professor Emeritus Jaynie Anderson and Redmond Barry Distinguished Professor and Chair of Architecture Philip Goad, who have supported and motivated me throughout my candidature. Professor Jaynie Anderson encouraged me to pursue this project and I owe to her guidance my greatest intellectual debt. She shaped the way I think about art history and her advice has been fundamental to complete this research. Professor Philip Goad's limitless knowledge of Australian architectural history and his many suggestions taught me how to look at buildings and enriched my research project with new perspectives. My supervisors are inspiring mentors who helped me develop as an academic researcher and writer, and I sincerely thank them.

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to all the people who participated in the ARC project team. From Reverend Dr Max Vodola I learned about the history of the Catholic church in Victoria. Rachel Naughton provided essential guidance in navigating the materials held in the archdiocesan archives and her excellent knowledge of the archives helped me discover new things at every visit. Her patience and her attention to details have enriched my work and I am deeply grateful. I am thankful to Shane Carmody, Kerrie Burn and Huw Sandaver, who have taught me a great deal regarding colonial libraries. I would also like to thank Dr Callum Reid, Helen Gill and all the others who took part in the ARC project as they provided a supportive atmosphere that encouraged my research.

The conferences convened by Professor Anderson, Rev. Dr. Vodola and Mr Carmody have been stimulating events where I discussed my research with international scholars, such as Dr Colin Barr, Professor Peter Cunich, heritage conservator and architect Peter Lovell, architect and heritage consultant Arthur Andronas, Dr Catherine Kovesi, Professor Mark McGowan, Dr Ruth Pullin, Professor Klaus Krüger and Professor Tanja Michalsky, who provided insights and new ideas, for which I am very thankful. In addition to the networking possibilities derived from these events, also the publication of the conference proceedings has helped me greatly in developing as an academic writer, and I am deeply thankful to Professor Jaynie Anderson for being always available to support and encourage me.

I am grateful to Margaret Anderson, director of the Old Treasury Building museum, who agreed to host the exhibition organised by the ARC project team *The Invention of Melbourne: a Baroque archbishop and a Gothic architect,* held between the 1st August 2019 until the 2nd March 2020. I would also like to thank Kate Lonel, who assisted in curating the exhibition, and, again, Rachel Naughton, who helped me to edit the exhibition catalogue. Their assistance was indispensable.

Working on this project wouldn't have been possible without the support of several grants. The Discovery Grant from the Australian Research Council provided me with an ARC doctoral fellowship to pursue my studies. I am grateful to the donors of the Alma Hansen scholarship and the Ursula Hoff Art History scholarship, who funded my fieldwork in Italy, England and Ireland and enabled me to present my research in Europe. For the same purpose, I must

thank also the Faculty of Arts of the University of Melbourne for the support provided by the Faculty of Arts Graduate Research International Grant, the Graduate Research in Art Travel Scheme, and the Melbourne Research Scholarship. The Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning of the University of Melbourne allowed me to audit the course 'Australian Architecture', while at the Catholic Theological College I audited the course 'the Church in Australia' offered by the University of Divinity. Both courses contributed to set the background of my project and I am indebted to my teachers, Professor Julie Willis, Dean of the Faculty of Architecture, and Rev. Dr Max Vodola.

It is impossible to name all of the many people who assisted me in my project. Many thanks go to the librarians, archivists and support staff who helped me collect material with remarkable patience. In particular, I would like to thank the staff at the Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide and the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, the Archivio del Pontificio Collegio Irlandese in Rome; the Royal Institute of the British Architects Drawings and Archives Collection and the Incorporated Church Building Society at Lambeth Palace Library in London; the Downside Abbey Archives and Library in Stratton-on-the-Fosse; the Birmingham Diocesan Archives, the Birmingham Library Archives and Collections that holds Hardman's Archive; and the National Library of Ireland in Dublin. I am thankful to the archivists and librarians of the ANZ archives, the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, the State Library of Victoria, the Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives and the Catholic Diocese of Sandhurst Archive and Collection.

I am grateful to the staff of the Baillieu Library and the University Digitisation Centre of the University of Melbourne who assisted me in several queries. I would also like to recognise the invaluable assistance provided by the staff of the Faculty of Arts and in particular the School of Culture and Communication. In particular, I would like to thank Ms Gabrielle Grigg, who as Research Support Officer has answered all of my questions and made bureaucracy easier, and Ms Annemarie Levin, who always helps everyone in need with a smile on her face.

The research culture at the Faculty of Arts encouraged and inspired me from the first day of my candidature. A special thanks goes to my colleagues in the graduate research cohort, where I found a happy network providing not only a wealth of knowledge, but also intellectual, emotional and social support. My officemates Juanjuan Wu, Mengtian Sun and Vu Lan Anh Pham are the best friends I could have possibly had by my side to complete this journey. I will treasure our discussions and I will be forever grateful for being by my side when I needed a break.

Finally, I must thank my family and friends, whose support has been unwavering. My parents Giampiero and Camilla, and my sister Chiara and my niece Emma have always encouraged me. My partner Angelo has listened to me patiently and criticised my work harshly when needed, constantly motivating me to do my best. To him I owe my gratitude as he made my days happier and peaceful.

A Note on Style

This dissertation includes both content footnotes and bibliographic footnotes that direct the reader to sources that elaborate on a given topic. A complete bibliography including published Sources, Newspapers and Online Sources is provided at the end of the dissertation. The bibliography is followed by two appendixes. Appendix I encompasses extracts of unpublished correspondence relevant for the purposes of the topic discussed. Appendix II is a transcript of relevant sections of the Reports on the Status of the Melbourne Diocese that Bishop Goold submitted to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome.

Throughout the text measures are provided in the British Imperial System that was used in Australia at the time the buildings discussed were conceived. (1 feet = 0.3048 meters). Similarly, all sums of money are reported in the currency in use in Victoria at the time the British Pound Sterling, unless the amount is discussed in other currencies in relevant correspondence.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT I

DECLARATION III

PREFACE IV

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS VII

TABLE OF CONTENTS XII

LIST OF IMAGES XIV

LIST OF CHURCHES XXVII

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1: A BAROQUE BISHOP AND A GOTHIC ARCHITECT 22

1.1 A Baroque Bishop 25
1.2 The Australian Mission 39
1.3 A Gothic Architect 46
1.4 Wardell's architectural practice in England 50
1.5 The Catholic church in Victoria 70
1.6 Conclusion ..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

CHAPTER 2: GOTHIC TASTE IN THE COLONY OF NEW SOUTH WALES 80

2.1 The Catholic church in New South Wales 82
2.2 Church building in the Campbelltown mission 86
2.3 Archbishop Polding's taste for Gothic Revival architecture 93
2.4 Goold's elevation to the episcopacy 106
2.5 Conclusion 110

CHAPTER 3: CHURCH BUILDING IN THE DIOCESE OF MELBOURNE, 1848-1858 116

3.1 The Roman Catholic church in the Port Phillip District (1839-1848) 119
3.2 A Missionary Bishop 126
3.3 First *ad limina* visit to Europe 131
3.4 The golden age 137
3.5 Goold's commissions to Charles and Joseph Hansom 145
3.6 Hansom's Gothic Revival churches in Victoria 149
3.7 Unsuccessful commissions 166
3.8 Conclusion ..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

CHAPTER 4: GOOLD'S CATHEDRAL....173

4.1 The site on Eastern Hill and the first St Patrick's Church....175
4.2 The second St Patrick's Church....182
4.3 Wardell's cathedral design....190
4.4 Goold's European networks....203
4.5 John Bunn Denny....210
4.6 The building of the nave....214
4.7 Transepts and chancel....226
4.8 Conclusion....239

CHAPTER 5: 'GOOD TASTE AND SOUND JUDGMENT': WARDELL'S PARISH CHURCHES IN THE MELBOURNE DIOCESE....251

5.1 St Mary's Church, Williamstown....254
5.2 St John's Church, Heidelberg....258
5.3 St Mary's Church, East St Kilda....260
5.4 Ss Peter and Paul's Church, Ashby....268
5.5 Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, Sunbury....272
5.6 St Patrick's Church, Wangaratta....276
5.7 St Ambrose's Church, Woodend....281
5.8 Church of the Infant Jesus, Koroit....286
5.9 St Joseph's Church, Warrnambool....292
5.10 St Mary's Church, Hamilton....296
5.11 St Ignatius' Church, Richmond....300
5.12 Conclusion....307

CONCLUSION....320

BIBLIOGRAPHY....331

Archival Funds....331
Published sources....331
Newspapers....347
Online Sources....363

APPENDIX 1: EXTRACTS FROM RELEVANT CORRESPONDENCE....368

APPENDIX 2: REPORTS ON THE STATUS OF THE DIOCESE OF MELBOURNE....438

Goold to *Propaganda Fide*, 1851....438
Goold to *Propaganda Fide*, 1858....442
Goold to *Propaganda Fide*, 1867....450

IMAGES....453

List of Images

Figure 1: Unknown artist, *Portrait of Bishop Goold OSA*, oil on canvas, 1859, Institute of the Sisters of Mercy of Australia and Papua New Guinea.

Figure 2: Michele Gordigiani, *Portrait of Bishop Hynes, Order of Preachers*, oil on canvas, 1859, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 3: Unknown artist (after Carlo Maratta), *The Flight into Egypt*, oil on canvas, 18th century, Sacristy of St Patrick's Cathedral.

Figure 4: Unknown artist (after Guido Reni), *Crucifixion*, oil on canvas, 19th century, St Mary of the Angels Church, Geelong.

Figure 5: Unknown artist, *Christmas at St Patrick's*, wood engraving, 1875, published in the *Australasian Sketcher*, 28 December 1875, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 6: Jacques Stella, *Jesus in the temple found by his parents*, oil on canvas, 1642, Baptistry of St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne.

Figure 7: John B. Waring and Vincent Brooks, *Portion of vaulting from the Baptistry Siena*, plate 16, published in J. B. Waring, *Arts Connected with Architecture Illustrated by examples in Central Italy*, 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 8: A.W.N. Pugin, *Contrasts, or A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day shewing the present decay of taste*, frontispiece, 1841, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 9: James G. Graham, R. Hutton, G. M. Grieg and F. Schenk, *Interior looking east*, plate IV, published in J. G. Graham, *The Chapel of St. Anthony the Eremite: At Murthly, Perthshire, the Seat of Sir William Drummond Stewart of Grandtully, Bart.*, 1850, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 10: Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Veduta di Campo Vaccino*, etching, 1807, published in Giovanni Battista e Francesco Piranesi*, Vedute di Roma*, Baillieu library. The University of Melbourne.

Figure 11: Nathaniel Whitlock, *The city of Melbourne, Australia*, colour lithograph, 1855, State Library Victoria.

Figure 12: Unknown artist, *William Wardell*, photograph, c. 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 13: William Wardell, *St Birinus Church Dorchester Oxfordshire, Side elevation and elevation near road*, ink on paper, 1847, PXD 379, f.105, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 14: Unknown artist, *Roman Catholic Church 'Our Lady Star of the Sea', Greenwich, Mr W. W. Wardell, Architect*, lithography attached to a scrapbook, ca. 1847, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 15: William Wardell, *Chantry Chapel, Thorndon Hall, Brentwood, Essex, West and South Elevations*, 1854, PDX 379, f. 72, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 16: William Wardell, *Exterior view of the Church of Ss Mary and Michael, Commercial road, London*, ink on paper, ca. 1852, PXD 381, f. 120, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales

Figure 17: Unknown artist, *Exterior view of the Church of Ss Mary and Joseph, Poplar, London*, lithography attached to a scrapbook, 19th century, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 18: Unknown artist, *St Richard's Church, Chichester*, photograph, c.1900, online location.

Figure 19: William Wardell, *Miscellaneous [Ground plan of the proposed church at Primrose Hill],* ink on paper, 1857, PXD 382, f. 118, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 20: O'Shannessy & Co., *Portrait John Fitzpatrick*, photograph, ca. 1870s, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 21: A. McDonald, *Rt Revd. Jas. A. Goold, Lord Bishop of Melbourne,* photograph, 1870, H96.160/1457, State Library Victoria.

Figure 22: Troedel & Co., *Victoria*, lithograph, 1880-1900, H2009.161/18a, State Library Victoria.

Figure 23: Alexr. Findlay, *Australia*, cartographic map, 1841, MAP T567, National Library of Australia.

Figure 24: Unknown artist (possibly Joseph Fowles), *Roman Catholic Church, Hyde Park*, watercolour drawing, 1840-1850, PXD 123/2c, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 25: Unknown artist, *Old St John's Church, Campbellton, N.S.W.,* photograph, c. 2010, online source.

Figure 261: Unknown artist, *St Bede's Church, Appin, N.S.W.*, photograph, c. 2016, online source.

Figure 27: William Hetzer, *The belltower and Pugin extensions of St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, under construction*, stereoview photograph, c. 1855, 87/1019-6, Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, Sydney.

Figure 28: F. C. Terry*, St Mary's Sydney, [showing the façade according to Pugin's plans],* pencil on paper, c. 1855, SV/300, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 29: Brian Andrews, *St Francis Xavier's Church, Berrima, N. S. W.*, photograph, 2005.

Figure 30: John S. Prout, *Cathedral Church of St Mary's, interior view*, tinted lithograph, c. 1842-1843, V1/Chu/St Ma/2, State Library New South Wales.

Figure 31: W. and A. K. Johnson, *Australia Felix or District of Port Phillip*, engraving, 1847, file 1612885, City of Melbourne Art and Heritage Collection.

Figure 32: Thomas Ham and Joseph Pittman, *St Francis Church, Melbourne*, lithograph, 1845, H990, State Library Victoria.

Figure 33: Lucy Powell and Misses L. and W. Brown (after A.W. Pugin's design), *Cope*, silk, 1852-53, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 34: Oswald R. Campbell and Frederick Grosse*, Consecration at St Francis' Cathedral, Melbourne*, wood engraving, 1866, published in the *Australian News for Home Readers*, 27 September 1866, IAN27/09/66/8, State Library Victoria.

Fig. 35: Eugene Von Guérard, *Katholische Kapelle an der Gravel Pit Linie zu Ballarat Janner 1854*, pen and sepia ink on cream paper, 1854, H12532, Eugene Vin Guerard's pencil drawings and watercolours collection, State Library Victoria

Figure 36: Melbourne Australia Photos, *Lady Chapel in St Francis' Roman Catholic Church*, *Melbourne*, 2011, photograph, online location.

Figure 37: C. E. Winston, *St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Yarra St., Geelong,* lithograph, 1855, published in *The Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer,* 25 October 1855, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 38: Vanheems & Co., *St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Kilmore, Vic.*, photographic print, 1861, H1825, State Library Victoria.

Figure 39: Rose Stereograph Co., *All Saints R. C. Church & Loreto convent, Portland, Vic.*, photograph, c.1920-1954, H32492, State Library Victoria.

Figure 40: John T. Collins, *Port Fairy, St Patrick's Catholic Church*, photograph, 9 March 1969, J.T. Collins Collection, La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria

Figure 41: Unknown artist, *St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church,* photograph, early 1860s, VPFH62-04-008, Port Fairy Historical Society Museum and Archives.

Figure 42: Rose Stereograph Co., *St Mary's church, Kyneton, Vic. [Our Lady of the Rosary],* photograph, c.1920-1954, H32492/2199, State Library Victoria.

Figure 43: William Wardell, *Completion of Kyneton Church, Elevation of Chancel and Chapels*, ink on paper, 1859, PXD 316, f. 86, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 44: Rose Stereograph Co., *St Mary's Church, Kyneton, Vic. [Our Lady of the Rosary]*, photograph, c.1920-1954, H32492/6224, State Library Victoria.

Figure 45: Solomon & Bardwell, *Unidentified church, Ballarat [architect's elevation of the proposed St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church]*, photograph, 1861, H2047, State Library Victoria.

Figure 46: Charles Bayliss and D. J. Ryland, *Interior of St Patrick's Church, Ballarat*, photograph, 1875, H96.160/2707, State Library Victoria.

Figure 47: Rose Stereograph Co., *St Patrick's Cathedral, Ballarat, Vic.,* photograph, c.1920-1954, H32492/5172, State Library Victoria.

Figure 48: John T. Collins, *Keilor Catholic Church*, photograph, 1966, H97.250/1212, J. T. Collins collection, La Trobe picture collection, State Library Victoria.

Figure 49: Unknown artist, *St Patrick's Church, Mount Moriac*, Vic., photograph, c.1900, Mount Duneed History Group.

Figure 50: Hardman & Co. (after A.W. Pugin's design), *Sacrying bell*, brass and iron, ca. 1858-1859, Meredith Parish Group.

Figure 51: Unknown artist, *St Kilian's Church, Bendigo,* photograph, 1860-1890, Catholic Diocese of Sandhurst archives.

Figure 52: Benjamin P. Batchelder, *St Kilian's Church, McCrae Street, Bendigo,* photograph, 1861, H2006, State Library Victoria.

Figure 53: John Fitzpatrick*, St Patrick's C. Melbourne*, ink on paper, 1850, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 54: S. T. Gill, Campbell and Fergusson, *St Patrick's Church, East Melbourne,* lithograph, 1854, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 55: Gerald Griffin, De Gruchy & Leigh, *Saint Patrick's College*, colour lithograph, 1859-1861, H31701, State Library Victoria.

Figure 56: George and Schneider, *St Patrick's Church, Eastern Hill, Front Elevation,* ink and watercolour on paper, 1856-1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 57: George and Schneider, *St Patrick's Church, Eastern Hill, transverse section and east elevation,* ink and watercolour on paper, 1856-1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 58: George and Schneider, *St Patrick's Church, Eastern Hill, Contract no. 1 and contract no. 2*, ink and watercolour on paper, 1856-1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 59: George and Schneider, *Interior of St Patrick's Church, Eastern Hill,* ink and watercolour on paper, 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 60: Unknown artist, *St Patrick's Church, the bishop's Palace, St Patrick's College and Holy trinity Lutheran Church on Eastern Hill,* photograph, early 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 61: *William Wardell, General Plan for the proposed Cathedral Church of St Patrick, Melbourne, showing the plan of the previous church*, ink on paper, November 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 62: William Wardell, *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, Elevation of South Western Side*, ink on paper, 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 63: William Wardell, *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, Elevation of North Western Side*, ink on paper, 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 64: William Wardell, *Church at Galashiels, Selkirkshire, N. B., Side Elevation - opposite Railway Station*, ink on paper, 1856, PXD 379, f. 124, Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

Figure 65: William Wardell, *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, North East Elevation next Albert Street,* ink on paper, 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 66: *Nave of St Patrick's Cathedral*, photograph Paola Colleoni, 2018.

Figure 67: Lucy Powell and Misses L. and W. Brown (after A.W. Pugin's design), *Mitre*, cloth and silk, 1858-1859, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 68: Charles Nettleton, *St Patrick's Cathedral under construction, Melbourne,* photograph, ca. 1861, H36668, State Library Victoria.

Figure 69: Albert C. Cooke, *Mediaeval Court, Intercolonial Exhibition*, wood engraving, 1866, published in the *Australian News for Home Readers*, 20 December 1866, IAN20/12/66/8, State Library Victoria.

Figure 70: William Lamberth, *Baptismal Font*, soapstone with cedar wooden cover, 1865-66, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Paola Colleoni, 2019.

Figure 71: John Hardman & Co., *The Ascension*, *Western window,* stained glass, 1865-1866, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 72: Unknown artist, *Holy Water Stoup*, white marble, 1868, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Paola Colleoni, 2019.

Figure 73: Wilhelm Achtermann, *Crucifix*, white marble, 1868, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Paola Colleoni, 2019.

Figure 74: Angerls & Göschl, *Achtermann's altar*, lithograph, 1868, online location.

Figure 75: Charles Nettleton, *St Patrick's Cathedral*, photograph, c. 1866, H2119, State Library Victoria.

Figure 76: W. Wardell, Ebenezer and Syme, *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*, wood engraving, 1868, published in the *Illustrated Australian News*, 25 April 1868, IAN25/04/68/1, State Library Victoria.

Figure 77: Denny, Ferguson, Urie and Lyon*, Altar [as it appears today after recent renovations],* photograph courtesy of the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission; and David Syme & Co., *St Patrick's Cathedral Altar [as it appeared in the 1890s],* 1896, detail of photograph published in the *Illustrated Australian News*, 1 May 1896, IAN01/05/96/4, State Library Victoria.

Figure 78: C. E.Winston. P. R. Campbell and A. C. Cooke, *Blessing of St Patrick's Bells in St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*, wood engraving, 1869, published in the *Illustrated Australian news for Home Readers*, 4 January 1869, IAN04/01/69/8, State Library Victoria.

Figure 79: C. E.Winston. P. R. Campbell and A. C. Cooke, *Blessing of St Patrick's Bells in St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne,* detail, wood engraving, 1869, published in the *Illustrated Australian news for Home Readers*, 4 January 1869, IAN04/01/69/8, State Library Victoria; and Angerls & Göschl, *Achtermann's altar*, detail, lithograph, 1868, online location.

Figure 80: [Attributed to] Francisco Meneses Osorio, *Dead Christ*, oil on canvas, 17th century, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 81: Unknown artist, *Procession Celebrating the synod of the Australian bishops*, photograph, 1869, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 82: Charles Nettleton, *St Patrick's from Parliament House [showing the façade of the cathedral before the completion of the spires],* photograph, c. 1875, H11954, State Library Victoria.

Figure 83: S. Calvert, Ebenezer and Syme, *The Right Reverend Dr. Goold, Roman Catholic Bishop of Melbourne, bestowing the papal benediction in St Patrick's Cathedral on Sunday 29th January 1871*, engraving, 1871, published in the *Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers*, 27 February 1871, IAN27/02/71/49, State Library Victoria.

Figure 84: Unknown artist, *Bishop Goold laying the foundation stone of one of the pillars of the chancel*, 1870s, photograph, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 85: Unknown author, *The new organ at St Patrick's (R. C.) Cathedral and the opening ceremony,* lithograph, 1880, published in the *Australasian Sketcher*, 27 March 1880, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 86: Unknown artist, *St Patrick's Roman Catholic Cathedral Eastern-Hill,* lithograph, 1876, published in the *Australasian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil*, 8 July 1876, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 87: J. D. Ryland, *Interior of St Patrick's Cathedral Melbourne*, ink on paper, 1876, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 88: Albert C. Cooke, *Exterior of St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, now in course of erection*, ink on paper glued to linen, 1879, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 89: James McGowan, *Model of St Patrick's Cathedral*, plaster, wood, glass and stone, 1880, H2010.202, State Library Victoria.

Figure 90: Mayer & Co., *The Last Supper*, stained glass, 1879-80, Blessed Sacrament Chapel, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 91: Mayer & Co., *Melchizedech giving bread and wine,* stained glass, 1879-80, Blessed Sacrament Chapel, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 92: Charles Nettleton, *View from Exhibition buildings towards St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*, photograph, 1880, H14127, State Library Victoria.

Figure 93: Hardman & Co., *The Resurrection, the Crucifixion and the Ascension*, stained glass, 1886-87, Holy Souls Chapel, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 94: Johnstone, O'Shannessy & Co., *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*, photograph, 1897, H96.160/536, State Library Victoria.

Figure 95: William Wardell, *St Mary's Church, Williamstown,* ink on paper, 1859, PXD 316, f. 141, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 96: Andrew Rider, *St Mary's Catholic Church, Cecil st., Williamstown,* photograph, c.1880, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 97: William Wardell, *Church Heidelberg, Victoria, Elevation of Chancel and Sacristy,* ink on paper, 1859, PXD 316, f. 61, Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

Figure 98: William Wardell, *Church Heidelberg, Victoria, Elevation of Side of Church,* ink on paper, 1859, PXD 316, f. 63, Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

Figure 99: Unknown Artist, *H'berg R. C. Church, 1863,* photograph, 1863, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 100: William Wardell, *Our Lady's Church, East S. Kilda Melbourne, Western Elevation,* ink on paper, 1858, PXD 378, f. 46, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 101: William Wardell, *Our Lady's Church, East S. Kilda Melbourne, Ground Plan,* ink on paper, 1858, PXD 378, f. 48, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 102: William Wardell, *St Mary's Church East S. Kilda with proposed additions, Ground Plan,* ink on paper, 1869, PXD 378, f. 54, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 103: William Wardell, *St Mary's Church East S. Kilda with proposed additions, Western Elevation,* ink on paper, 1869, PXD 378, f. 63, Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

Figure 104: Unknown artist, *St Mary's Church, East St Kilda,* photograph, 1870s, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 105: Hugh George for Wilson and MacKinnon, *Melbourne churches, Interior of St Mary's Church (Roman Catholic), St Kilda*, wood engraving, 1877, published in the *Australasian Sketcher*, 12 May 1877, A/S12/05/77/21, State Library Victoria.

Figure 106: *St Mary's Church, East St Kilda, [as it appears today],* photograph Paola Colleoni, 2019.

Figure 107: William Wardell, *Ashby Church, Geelong,* ink on paper, 1860-61, PXD 379, f. 28, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 108: William Wardell, *Church at Ashby near Geelong, elevation next Mercer Street,* ink on paper, 1861, PXD 316, f. 39, Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

Figure 109: *Ss Peter and Paul's Church, West Geelong [as it appears today],* photograph Paola Colleoni, 2018.

Figure 110: Ferguson and Urie, *St Peter, the Ascension and St Paul,* 1866, stained glass, St Peter and St Paul's Church, West Geelong, photograph Ray Brown, 2015, online location.

Figure 111: *Our Lady of Mount Carmel Roman Catholic Church at Sunbury, Victoria,* photograph, 2012, online location.

Figure 112: William Wardell, *Church Wangaratta, Ground Plan*, ink on paper, 1865, PXD 378, f. 66, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 113: William Wardell, *Church Wangaratta, Transverse and Longitudinal Sections*, ink on paper, 1865, PXD 378, f. 67, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 114: Ferguson, Urie and Lyon, *Crucifixion,* stained glass, 1871, St Patrick's Church, Wangaratta, photograph Ray Brown, 2015, online location.

Figure 115: William Wardell, *Brick Church, Woodend, Side and Front Elevation*, ink on paper, 1863-1864, PXD 317, f. 60, Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

Figure 116: Unknown artist, *Very Rev. Dean Geoghegan at St Ambrose's Church Woodend*, c.1866, photograph, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 117: Unknown artist*, St John's Chapel-school, Hoddle St., Melbourne*, photograph, 1990s, n. 65134, Victorian Heritage Database.

Figure 118: William Wardell, *Church at Koroit, Ground Plan,* ink on paper, 1863, PXD 316, f. 65, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 119: William Wardell, *Church at Koroit, Elevation of Western Side,* ink on paper, 1863, PXD 316, f. 69, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 120: Ferguson and Urie, *The Crucifixion, the Birth at Bethlehem and the Ascension,* stained glass, 1870, Koroit Catholic Church, photograph Ray Brown, 2011, online location.

Figure 121: Ferguson and Urie, *St Patrick, St Mary Magdalen and St Mary,* stained glass, 1870, Koroit Catholic Church, photograph Ray Brown, 2011, online location.

Figure 122: Augustus Andrew Fritsch, *R. C. Church Koroit,* photograph, 1909-1913, H41.233/26, State Library Victoria.

Figure 123: Rose Stereograph Co., *St Patrick's Church, Koroit, Victoria*, photograph, c. 1920-1954, H32492/2787, State Library Victoria.

Figure 124: Unknown artist, *St Joseph's Chapel-school, Warrnambool*, photograph, ca. 1860, online location.

Figure 125: William Wardell, *Church Warrnambool, Elevation of Western Side*, ink on paper, 1867, PXD 316, f. 167, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 126: William Wardell, *Church Warrnambool, Elevation of Northern End,* ink on paper, 1867, PXD 316, f. 166, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 127: Unknown artist, *St Joseph's Chapel-school and a section of the new Church*, photograph, ca. 1872, online location.

Figure 128: Rose Stereograph Co., *St Joseph's Church, Warrnambool, Victoria*, photograph, c. 1920-1954, H2006.34/39, State Library Victoria.

Figure 129: William Wardell, *Church Hamilton, Ground Plan and Elevation next Gray Street*, ink on paper, 1865, PXD 378, f. 29, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 130: William Wardell, *Church Hamilton, Side Eastern Elevation next Dinwoodie Street*, ink on paper, 1865, PXD 378, f. 35, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 131: John T. Collins, *Penshurst Catholic Church [with the transepts added in the 1890s],* photograph, 1968, H98.250/1598, J. T. Collins Collection, La Trobe picture Collection, State Library of Victoria.

Figure 132: Albert C. Cooke, Alfred May and Alfred M. Ebsworth, *The town of Hamilton [detail showing St Mary's Church],* wood engraving, 1881, published in the *Australasian Sketcher*, 16 July 1881, A/S16/07/81/236, State Library Victoria.

Figure 133: Rose Stereograph Co., *St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Hamilton, Vic.,* photograph, c.1920-1954, H32492/1343, State Library Victoria.

Figure 134: Rose Stereograph Co., *Interior of St Mary's Church, Hamilton, Vic.,* photograph, c.1920-1954, H32492/2730, State Library Victoria.

Figure 135: Cox and Luckin, *Roman Catholic Church Bridge Road, Richmond*, photograph, 1861, H682/1, State Library Victoria.

Figure 136: J. Vaures*, Ground and buildings belonging to the Revd Jesuit Fathers in the town of Richmond*, ink on paper, 1878, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 137: Albert Cooke and C. E. Winston, *Church of St Ignatius, Richmond,* wood engraving, 1870, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 138: G. R. Reid, *Richmond [showing in the background the section of St Ignatius' built at the time*], photograph, ca. 1872, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 139: Unknown artist, *Nave of St Ignatius Church [closed by the temporary wall],* photograph, 1870s, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 140: William Wardell, *Ground Plan of St Ignatius Church, Richmond*, ink on paper, 1884, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 141: William Wardell, *Church of St Ignatius, Richmond, Melbourne East Elevation and Plan of Spire*, ink and watercolour on paper, 1884, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 142: William Wardell, *Church of St Ignatius, Richmond, Melbourne, North Elevation*, ink and watercolour on paper, 1884, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 143: *Interior of St Ignatius Church*, photograph, 2016, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus online location.

List of Churches

St Patrick's Cathedral, Eastern Hill, Melbourne (first structure 1851, second structure 1856), 1858, W. Wardell.

St Francis' Church, Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, 1841, S. Jackson.

St Mary of the Angels Church, Geelong (first structure 1846) 1854, Dowden and Ross.

St Paul's Church, Coburg (Pentridge), 1850, S. Jackson.

St George's Church-School (former), Drummond Street, Carlton, 1855, George and Schneider.

St Patrick's Cathedral, Ballarat, 1857, Dowden and Shaw, J.B. Denny and W. Wardell (after Hansom's design).

St Patrick's Church, Port Fairy, 1857, N. Billing (after Hansom's design).

All Saints' Church, Portland, George and Schneider, Nicholson, Denny and Wardell (after Hansom's design).

St Kilians' Church, Bendigo, 1857, George and Schneider (after Hansom's design) [replaced].

St Patrick's Church, Kilmore, 1857, George and Schneider (after Hansom's design).

Our Lady of the Rosary (St Mary's) Church, Kyneton, 1857, George and Schneider (after Hansom's design).

St Augustine's Church, Keilor, 1858, J.M. Barry (after Hansom's design).

St Patrick's Church (former), Mount Moriac, 1858, Clement Nash (after Hansom's design).

St John's Church, Heidelberg, 1859, W. Wardell.

St Mary's Church, East St Kilda, 1859, W. Wardell.

St Mary's Church, Williamstown, 1859, W. Wardell.

St Joseph's Church, Collingwood, 1861, J.B. Denny and T.A. Kelly.

St Peter's Church, Daylesford, 1863, W. Wardell (after Hansom's design).

Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, Sunbury, 1864, W. Wardell.

Ss Peter and Paul's Church, Ashby, 1864, W. Wardell.

St John's Church-School (former), Hoddle Street, East Melbourne, 1865, W. Wardell.

St Mary's Church, Hamilton, 1865, W. Wardell.

St Joseph's Church, Penshurst, 1865, J.H. Fox (after Dowden's design).

St Patrick's Church, Wangaratta, 1866, W. Wardell.

Church of the Infant Jesus, Koroit, 1867, W. Wardell.

St Ignatius' Church, Richmond, 1867, W. Wardell.

Church of the Immaculate Conception, Hawthorn, 1867, Crouch & Wilson.

St Mary's Church, Dunolly, 1868, R. Dowden.

St Augustine's Church, Bourke Street, Melbourne, 1869, T.A. Kelly and J.B. Denny.

St Brigid's Church, North Fitzroy, 1869, T.A. Kelly.

Ss Peter And Paul's Church, South Melbourne, 1869, T.A. Kelly.

St Joseph's Church, Warrnambool, 1869, W. Wardell.

St Joseph's Church, Blampied, 1869, E. Shepardson (after Hansom's design).

St Augustine's Church, Creswick, 1870, H.R. Caselli (after Hansom's design).

St Ambrose's Church, Brunswick, 1870, J.B. Denny.

St Patrick's Church, Stawell, 1871, H.R. Caselli (inspired by Hansom's design).

St Bernard's Church, Bacchus Marsh, 1871, H.R. Caselli (inspired by Hansom's design).

St Finbarr Church, Brighton, 1871, J.B. Denny

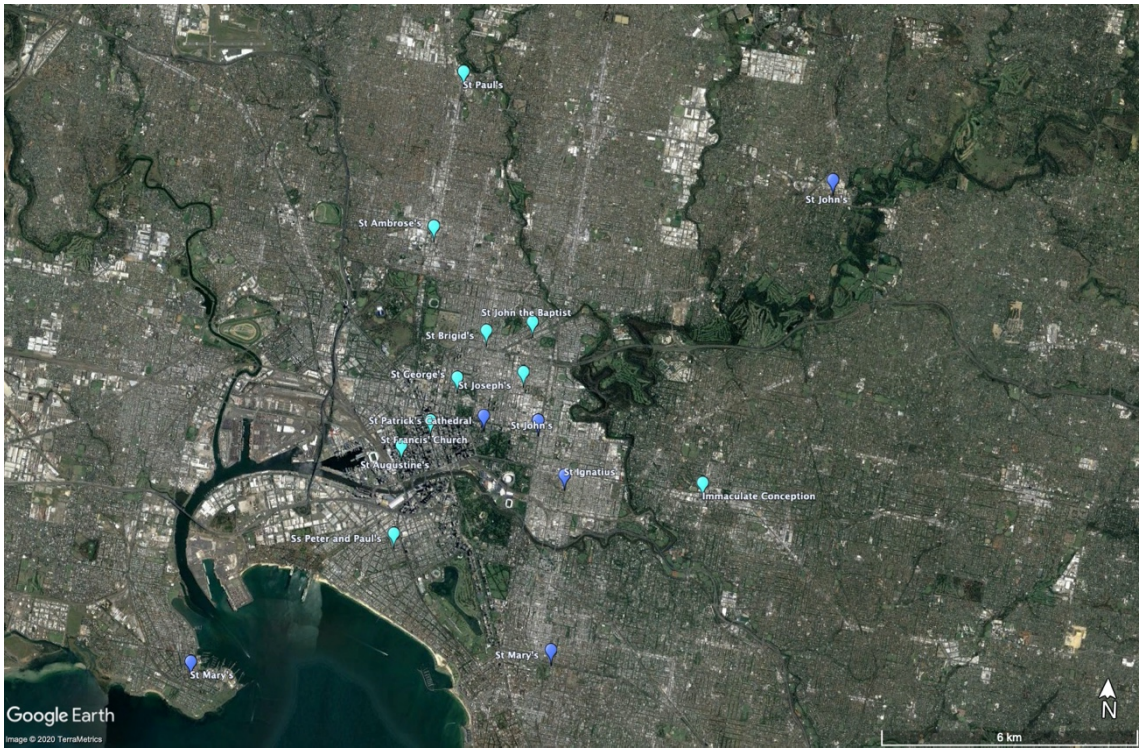
St Patrick's Church, Gordon, 1872, H.R. Caselli (inspired by Hansom's design).

Church of the Sacred Heart, Diamond Creek, 1872, J.B. Denny.

St Thomas Aquinas' Church, Clunes, 1873, H.R. Caselli (inspired by Hansom's design).

St John the Baptist Church, Clifton Hill, 1876, J.B. Denny.

Sacred Heart Cathedral, Bendigo, 1896, Reed, Smart and Tappin.



Location of the churches discussed in the thesis in Melbourne and Victoria. Wardell's churches are indicated in blue. The ones derived from Hansom's plans are marked in green. All others are shown in light blue.

Introduction

The interior of St. Patrick's Cathedral has been described as 'a Gothic vision probably unsurpassed by any other building in the four hundred years since the great Gothic era'.[1] The largest Gothic cathedral commenced and completed in the 19th century (without spires), St Patrick's is a testimony to the ambitious patronage of the first Roman Catholic bishop of Melbourne, James Alipius Goold (1812-1886), and the vision of English-born architect William Wilkinson Wardell (1823-1899).

This thesis investigates Bishop Goold's architectural patronage, revealing his role in the establishment of substantial Gothic Revival buildings throughout colonial Victoria. As a young missionary, Goold became acquainted with English architect Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's evocative theorisation of the Gothic Revival, and, once elevated to the bishopric, he committed to the realisation of archaeologically correct Gothic buildings rooted in English and French mediaeval traditions. This research aims to add to the understanding of Australian colonial heritage highlighting the Catholic patrimony in the colony of Victoria. Goold's commissions of Gothic Revival churches show that he played a remarkable role in shaping the built environment of the colony. Moreover, his championing of the style ascribes his name among the group of patrons of refined taste who transplanted a cultural expression of Catholic Europe to the Antipodes.

[1] Boyd, 1962, p. 37.

The creation of the city of Melbourne coincided with the dawning of the Gothic Revival movement in England. The city was founded in August 1835, one year before Pugin published *Contrasts*, which advocated a return to the architecture of the Middle Ages to restore the morality of society. For Pugin there was an unbreakable connection between architecture and the religious sentiment that produced it, and this was a key reason for his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1835.

Since the Reformation, the Catholic church's leading cultural position in Western society had been challenged by a crisis that reached its climax during the French Revolution. But in the first half of the 19th century, Pope Gregory XVI and his successor, Pius IX, infused strength in the diffusion of Catholicity in Europe and beyond. Gregory XVI had been elected prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith in 1826 and held the role until his election to the pontificate in 1831. During his papacy, he supported missionary activities, and this, together with the growing influence of European culture through colonial expansion throughout the globe, translated into a new wave of church building. Pugin's writings deeply influenced church architecture worldwide well into the 20th century, but the Gothic Revival was not to be the prerogative of the Catholics. In fact, Pugin's theories reasoned with the liturgical revival promoted by the High Church members of the Church of England. Pugin considered Gothic architecture to be the 'national' style of England, and quickly Gothic architecture became the favoured style of church architecture throughout the British empire. Colonial Australia was inevitably affected.

Pugin and his influence on architecture and design in the Victorian period and beyond have been studied in a series of publications after Nikolaus Pevsner reassessed his reputation in an article published in 1943.[2] The most notable sources for the purposes of this study include *Gothic revival: religion, architecture and style in western Europe 1815-1915* (2000), and *Gothic Revival worldwide: A.W.N. Pugin's global influence* (2016).[3] The first deals with the relationship between religious revival and Gothic architecture highlighting the tight networks and the international connections maintained between remarkable personalities promoting the propagation of Gothic Revival values in different European countries. *Gothic Revival Worldwide* expands the discussion to other continents, encompassing a section discussing Puginism in the Americas and the Pacific. The multifaceted essays unveil networks, practices and various interpretations to show how Puginian ideals were re-elaborated in places that had different circumstances, ranging from Argentina to Canada, and from Australia to Mongolia.

The most complete and authoritative study of Victorian Gothic ecclesiastical architecture is Alex Bremner's *Imperial Gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British Empire c. 1840-1870* (2013). The book analyses how the Anglican church championed the use of Gothic Revival in the colonies revealing their impact as the style reached a global dimension. The study is of immense value as it clearly delineates how a tight network of Oxford educated

[2] Pevsner, 1943. A full account of relevant publications on Pugin and the shifting perspectives in his historiography has been published by Brittain-Catlin, De Maeyer and Bressani as the introduction of their volume discussing the architect's influence worldwide. Brittain-Catlin, De Mayer and Bressani, 2016.

[3] De Maeyer and Verpoest, 2000; and Brittain-Catlin, De Maeyer and Bressani, 2016.

clergyman exported the standards of church architecture set in England, and how the colonies became a place for further experimentations in the Gothic style. As a study, it presents insights for the analysis of Goold's architectural patronage. Differently from many of the Anglican bishops discussed by Bremner, Goold, a Roman Catholic, exerted a tight episcopal authority that was only rarely questioned by the members of his congregation. This allowed him more freedom to impose his aesthetic and formal choices upon the developments of church architecture. However, Goold did not have the support of bodies like the Cambridge Camden society or the Oxford architectural society which provided suitable church designs to colonial bishops and advice, suggestions and criticism through the pages of *The Ecclesiologist*.

The transmission of Gothic Revival architecture to the colonies took time. In Melbourne, the first stone church built by the Anglicans, St James' Old Cathedral, was commenced in the Regency style with Greek detailing in 1839. Two years later, when the Catholic congregation commenced the erection of St Francis' Church, they adopted a plan derived from Regency style which, however, included stuccoed-gothic detailing. These structures can be considered primitive compared to the latest developments in New South Wales. There, the Roman Catholic Archbishop John Bede Polding had commissioned designs directly from Pugin in 1842, while the Anglican bishop, William G. Broughton engaged Edmund Blacket, who was to become one of the most successful architects working in the Gothic Revival style in the colony. From Sydney, the taste for Gothic spread throughout Australia.

James Goold had arrived in New South Wales in 1838, where he served as a parish priest for Archbishop Polding for almost ten years before his election to the newly established diocese of Melbourne. From his mission at Campbelltown, Goold witnessed the evolution of the Gothick taste to more refined and correct forms of Gothic Revival. This transformation is described in Joan Kerr's doctoral dissertation, one of the most important resources available for students of Gothic Revival architecture in Australia. Kerr's thesis has been fundamental to correctly set the background of Goold's experience in Chapter 2.[4] Once in Melbourne, Goold's architectural patronage followed the example set before him by Archbishop Polding, and his passion for Gothic was further enhanced by the good relationship established with Robert W. Willson, the first Bishop of Hobart. Willson was a friend of Pugin and was working towards establishing a 'Gothic paradise' in Van Diemen's Land. Initially, Goold imported from Europe architectural plans commissioned from renowned Catholic architects working in the Puginian tradition, such as Joseph and Charles Hansom. Later on, he employed William Wardell, one of the most scholarly exponents of Puginian Gothic Revival to work in Australia.

Brian Andrews' *Australian Gothic: the Gothic revival in Australian architecture from the 18440s to the 1950s* presents a detailed framework indispensable for understanding the Australian response to the global Gothic movement. Andrews recognises that associationism, provincialism and patronage were the three key factors in the shaping of Australian Gothic architecture. In particular, Chapter Three deals with the work of English

[4] Kerr, 1977.

architects who either sent church designs to Australia or relocated to the colonies, and includes an overview of Wardell's ecclesiastical works in Victoria. Chapter Four investigates patronage. In this section, the figure of Robert W. Willson is studied in connection with his friend Welby Pugin. The bishop took to Tasmania several items designed by Pugin including models of churches, furnishings and episcopal regalia, which are discussed extensively in the catalogue of an exhibition curated by Andrews in 2002.[5] In this, Goold is mentioned in relation to the commissions to English firms manufacturing items from Pugin's designs, most notably Hardman's & Co.. In *Australian Gothic*, Goold's name appears only on five occasions. Furthermore, Victorian churches are used to illustrate how 'architectural priorities were in the hands of an autocratic, predominantly Irish-born clergy' who preferred the erection of large buildings for maximum accommodation and paid little or no attention to interior fittings.[6] Andrews' overview of the Gothic Revival in Australia is extremely valuable as it provides the context for the study of Goold's patronage. However, he does not recognise Goold's role and his significant contribution to the realisation of some of the purest examples of Puginian Gothic in Victoria.

Goold's role in the creation of several Gothic churches, which form a significant part of colonial built heritage, has never been studied in its entirety. Previous studies have focused on biographical accounts of the bishop's life or the architects that he employed. This dissertation instead focuses on the collaborative relation between episcopal authorities, architects and local

[5] Andrews, 2002.

[6] Andrews, 2001, 100.

prelates to uncover the ambitions of Goold's architectural patronage. Within this context, the investigation of the bishop's patronage and his central role in the creation of archeologically correct Gothic churches parallels Haskell's study of patronage in Baroque Italy on a much smaller scale.[7] Haskell was the first to recognise how patrons influenced the direction of Italian baroque art, analysing several individuals and their sponsorship of painters. His study analyses the goals and ambitions of 17th and 18th century patrons in a narrative prosopography aimed at revealing the patterns of Baroque patronage. Differently, this study focuses on a single man commissioning churches in a 19th century colonial context. It also seeks to demonstrate how Goold's patronage was essential in determining the character of Catholic Gothic churches of Victoria. Goold found himself in an enviable position, where he was able to exploit the favourable conjuncture of material wealth, national and international networks, and available talents. This research does not provide a complete account of all the projects undertaken during Goold's episcopacy, nor an aesthetic evaluation of the churches erected. Focusing on large projects that were clearly a primary concern for the bishop, the thesis reassesses the role Goold played in the Australian Gothic Revival with his patronage of English architects, his taste for the arts, and his ambitious vision for the Catholic church.

Born in Ireland and educated in Italy, as first bishop of Melbourne Goold was called upon to determine the place of the Catholic church in a small colonial outpost at the fringes of the British Empire. He was equal to the task. Goold

[7] Haskell, 1963.

strove to shape his Church on a monumental scale, to assert its weighty presence in a country so far removed from the cradle of Christianity. As such he consistently chose archaeologically correct Gothic as Pugin's theorisation had imbued the style with associations about the morality and religiosity of ages past. Impressed by the majesty of Italian churches he had visited as a young student, Goold established high standards in church building, valuing not only scale, but also location and materials to ensure the establishment of the Catholic church, quite literally, from the ground up. Emphasising the patron's perspective allows this study to explore the multifaceted meanings connected with the realisation of these ecclesiastical structures in the socio-cultural framework of colonial Victoria. The churches built under the bishop's patronage, and in particular St Patrick's Cathedral, are the architectural expression of his aspirations for the Catholics of Victoria and his vision for the colony's future.

In addition to a number of stone churches that appeared across the diocese in the wake of the Victorian gold rush, the large influx of Irish migrants and the material wealth of the diocese allowed Goold to envisage a cathedral that exemplified what the Catholics could achieve in a young colony. The grandeur of St Patrick's had a special symbolic value for all Irish Catholics, who had undergone years of discrimination for their religious beliefs. The cathedral testifies to Goold's ambition. He commissioned it only ten years after the creation of the diocese and after two failed attempts at building a smaller structure on the same site. St Patrick's is also a tribute to the genius of William Wardell, who designed it shortly after his arrival in Melbourne. The architect

put before the bishop's eyes a grand plan comparable in scale to the European cathedrals of the Middle Ages, taking into account the necessary expedients to adapt it to the peculiarities of Australian climate. As seen in several of the churches designed in England, Wardell's architectural expression was denoted by a careful balance between massiveness, solidity and strength. St Patrick's is no exception, and these elements were welcomed by the bishop who needed a strong statement for the future position of the Catholic church in the colony.

The same is true for the substantial Gothic Revival churches that were commenced in rural townships or city neighbourhoods alike. However, not all of Goold's clergyman shared his aspirations and not all congregations were able to meet the economic demands of large projects. On most occasions, the churches were built in stages. Wardell provided plans for the first section of the building, including in most instances a sketch or a ground plan of the complete building as well. Only in a few instances were the buildings realised as they were initially conceived. Some of the churches' second phases were scaled down; sometimes the architect was asked to provide additions and enlarge the whole structure; on other occasions, the second phase of a building was delayed for so long that, eventually, another architectural firm took over the project.

Nevertheless, the study shows how in Victoria some remarkable examples of Gothic Revival ecclesiastical architecture, distinguished by total fidelity to Mediaeval examples, were created by an organic system of patronage that encompassed the bishop's authority, the architects' skill, and the local community which was primarily concerned in the building of a new church. Coherent stylistic choices, attention to internal organisation in addition to

ecclesiastical furnishings and decoration are illuminating examples of how architect and patron interpreted the Puginian teachings and adapted them to the circumstances of the diocese of Melbourne. Together, Goold and Wardell played a distinct role in the Australian Gothic Revival, and this thesis aims at placing the churches which they created in their proper context both nationally and internationally.

Wardell's outstanding output can be summarised in numbers. In Miles Lewis' list of Victorian churches protected by the National Trust of Australia, Wardell is attributed 14 churches, second only to the firm of Crouch & Wilson.[8] In Lewis' book, the opening essays provide an accurate description of the relation between government and the church, the different denominations present in Victoria, and the evolution of church architecture from the foundation of Melbourne until the 1950s. While these have been helpful in understanding the context of this research, the listed buildings have been a starting point for further research into the commission of Catholic churches during Goold's episcopacy.

Rev. Walter Ebsworth has compiled the only overview of the early development of the Catholic church in Victoria.[9] The book, published in 1973, encompasses historical sketches of all the parishes of the diocese from their foundation until the opening of the 20th century. A mosaic of archival sources, newspaper

[8] Lewis, 1991. The firm Crouch and Wilson was established in 1858 and, given Crouch's background as a Wesleyan-Quaker, they received the commission to design, in part or whole, at least 40 Wesleyan churches. They also designed the church of the Immaculate Conception, Hawthorn, for the Jesuit fathers. See Corallo, 1979.

[9] Ebsworth, 1973.

reports, and local chronicles, Ebsworth's work includes details on several of the churches built during Goold's episcopacy in addition to an introductory essay on the bishop. Several parishes have published little monographs on their churches, but most of these are not scholarly publications and include very little details on the genesis of the design. As a matter of fact, almost none of them recognises the bishop's role in the creation of churches, focusing instead on the life of pioneer parish priests. Goold's patronage has not been properly researched until a recent publication was realised as a result of the ARC Discovery Project. Almost 60 years ago, J. R. Grigsby wrote an account on Goold's episcopate submitted as an honours thesis for the Department of History at the University of Melbourne, and a decade later he summarised his conclusions in the entry published in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: 'He had no broad views or scholastic achievement and ruled his archdiocese with the conservatism and single-mindedness of an Irish bishop in an Irish see'.[10] Goold's administration of the diocese was further researched by Frances Hale and Margaret Pawsey, who reconstructed the early history of the church in Victoria and the scandals in which it was involved.[11]

Goold was reassessed only more than a century after his death, when in 1998 Fr John Rogan curated an exhibition which highlighted his collections for the first time.[12] The previous year, Rogan had organised an exhibition on St Patrick's Cathedral and William Wardell, where the bishop's interest in architecture was

[10] Grigsby, 1962 and 1972.

[11] Hale, 1976 and Pawsey, 1982. Goold was studied by also by professor F. X. Martin who published two articles in preparation for a biography that, however, was never written.

[12] Rogan and Carmody, 1998.

touched upon for the first time.[13] The catalogue published sections of some relevant letters preserved at the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission (MDHC) archive, providing a glimmer of the rich holdings that proved fundamental for this dissertation. St Patrick's Cathedral was also the subject of a monograph compiled in 1939 by Rev. Ebsworth.[14] This includes historical details spanning almost over a century from the early history of the acquisition of the site on Eastern Hill, and was used as a starting point for the writing of Chapter Four. St Patrick's can be considered among the greatest achievements of the Gothic Revival in Australia and its architect, William Wardell, was one of the most eminent exponents of the style.

Wardell and his churches, especially the English ones, have been studied by several architectural historians. Already in 1872, Charles Eastlake briefly mentioned Wardell's buildings (among others designed by Roman Catholic architects) describing them 'equal if not in some cases superior to any similar structures created for the establishment'.[15] His name was associated with Pugin's by Nikolaus Pevsner and later writers, including Henry Russell Hitchcock, who judged him 'the ablest of Roman Catholic architects working in the tradition of Pugin'.[16] Stephen Welsh accumulated a substantial amount of material with the intention of writing a biography of Wardell between 1960s and 1970s, but he did not live to complete it. Nevertheless, his notes and his

[13] Rogan and De Jong, 1997.

[14] Ebsworth, 1979. The first edition of Ebsworth's monograph was published in 1939. Another monograph was compiled by Fr Thomas Boland in 1997. This adds a few details to Fr Ebsworth research and is beautifully illustrated.

[15] Eastlake, 1872, 346.

[16] Pevsner 1952, 41 and Hitchcock, 1954, 95.

correspondence are preserved within the archives at the Royal Institute of British Architects, and include fascinating details on Welsh's understanding of the evolution of Wardell's practice from England to Australia.[17] Welsh was in contact with Donald I. McDonald, who helped with the antipodean section of his research. Wardell's buildings were briefly discussed in Freeland's book on Australian architecture, but it was only in 1970, that McDonald published the first sketch of Wardell's career.[18] His article acknowledged Wardell's time in England, but it focused on the attacks on his right to private practice and the political controversies that surrounded the Public Works Department during his time as Inspector General.[19] The next scholarly publication discussing Wardell aimed to present a history of Australian architecture through the career of leading architects representative of an historical moment and a style.[20] Wardell's biography followed that of Edmund Blacket to exemplify the diffusion of Gothic Revival in the Australian colonies.[21]

In the 1980s Ursula M. De Jong undertook pioneering work on Wardell starting with her doctoral dissertation, which provides a critical evaluation of the architect's oeuvre.[22] The first part includes a detailed analysis of Wardell's sketchbooks to retrace his knowledge of mediaeval and contemporary architecture, while the examination of his English buildings sets the background for the analysis of his Australian work. In this study, the discussion of Wardell's

[17] Welsh files, WeS/28-33, RIBA.

[18] Freeland, 1968.

[19] McDonald, 1970.

[20] Tanner, 1981.

[21] Collingridge, 1981.

[22] De Jong, 1988. I am grateful to Ursula for lending me a copy of her thesis.

English practice in Chapter One is indebted to De Jong's work. The second part of her thesis is dedicated to Wardell's Australian practice. One chapter is dedicated to St Patrick's Cathedral, and another to the Victorian parish churches. De Jong ascertained that Wardell valued a one-to-one relationship with his clients, however, she did not investigate his relationship with Goold. Assuming that 'each parish was allowed a degree of autonomy when it came to building projects', De Jong failed to recognise the hierarchical structure of the Catholic church in Victoria. Goold imposed his authority on virtually all the building projects of the diocese, and Wardell's commissions were all managed by the bishop's palace.[23] De Jong authored several publications on Wardell, but his biography was completed only in more recent years by Anthony G. Evans.[24]

The book to which I am most indebted was published as one of the outcomes of the ARC project. *The Invention of Melbourne* (2019) collects most of the papers delivered at the international symposium 'A Baroque Bishop in Colonial Australia – The cultural patronage of Bishop James Goold (1812-1886)'.[25] The conference brought together scholars of different fields from Australia and abroad to discuss Goold's rich collections and his influence on the cultural life of the young colony. The book looks at the bishop's cultural legacy from three different perspectives: his collection of paintings, his architectural commissions and his large library. Providing a comprehensive overview of his person and his passion for the arts, the essays demonstrate Goold's intention to bring European

[23] Colleoni, 2019.

[24] De Jong, 1983, 2000, 2009 and 2019; and Evans, 2010.

[25] Anderson, Carmody and Vodola, 2019.

culture to the fringes of the British Empire. Particularly useful for this thesis, were the chapters written by Max Vodola, who presented an updated biography of Goold in relation to the larger contexts of the Australian Catholic hierarchy, and Colin Barr, who assessed Goold's position within the network of Irish bishops of Roman background led by cardinal Paul Cullen.[26] Inspiration for Chapter Two of this thesis came from the essay by Peter Cunich, who shed new light on how Goold's patronage was inspired by that of archbishop Polding.[27] The papers in the second section of the book deal with Goold's passion for Baroque paintings. They all contribute to the assertion in this thesis that Goold did not limit himself to build large structures for maximum accommodation without paying attention to details, but he provided parish churches big and small alike with treasures from his collection. Jaynie Anderson unveils Goold's artistic networks in Italy and the scope of a painting collection assembled to inspire conversions.[28] Moreover, Anderson's discovery of archival material proving the bishop exported more than 140 paintings towards Melbourne in the earlier years of the episcopate, demonstrates Goold's ambitious patronage of the arts even before the discovery of gold.[29] In the architectural section of the book, my essay demonstrates Goold's centralised management of the architectural projects of the diocese, while Peter Lovell describes the fascinating relationship between Wardell and Sir George Vernon, who commissioned the now celebrated Gothic Bank in Collins Street, Melbourne.[30] Lovell's contribution provides

[26] Vodola, 2019; and Barr, 2019.

[27] Cunich, 2019.

[28] Anderson, 2019.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Colleoni, 2019; and Lovell, 2019.

testimony of how Wardell enjoyed discussing architectural forms and design with his clients, thus providing a very good comparison with Goold's patronage of his architects.

Dealing with macro-areas of analysis such as architectural patronage, colonial architecture and the Gothic Revival movement worldwide, this study re-evaluates Goold's architectural patronage highlighting his contribution to the shaping of the architectural identity of colonial Victoria. From the methodological standpoint, the study emphasises the value of archival research highlighting the importance of primary sources. Much of the material essential for the narratives of this study were unpublished primary sources available in Australian archives. In particular, at the MDHC archives detailed research into the surviving correspondence dating back to Goold's episcopacy allowed the retracing of the steps of several commissions, to reconstruct the bishop's aspirations for the diocese and to reveal his uncompromising commitment to provide the diocese with ecclesiastical structures meeting the standards he dictated. Among this rich collection are also the original drawings of St Patrick's Cathedral by Wardell and the architects who worked on the project before him. Other files regarding the contracts for the construction of the building, receipts of purchases made in Melbourne or abroad in addition to ledgers, account books and a wealth of other documents all helped in the reconstruction of the narratives contained in this work. Research in the Jesuit archives revealed much about how the bishop was perceived by the contemporaries who worked by his side. Letters, diary entries and memoirs describe Goold's personality, how he mediated delicate situations and enforced his authority when needed. The

MHDC archives and other libraries, especially the Mannix Library at the Catholic Theological college hold fragments of Goold's partially dispersed book collection.[31] Research on Goold's wide book interests highlighted a significant section of publications regarding architecture, which informed the development of his personal taste.[32] Goold regularly compiled a diary which was transcribed and published in 2009, but the entries are scant records of his daily routines, and it seems that only when travelling, the bishop actually had the time to devote a few minutes of reflection to the pages.[33] Part of the diary was transcribed in Moran's history of the Catholic church in Victoria, which includes the first account of Goold's achievements.[34]

Field research in Italy, England and Ireland was essential to delineate Goold's European networks. All the original reports and the correspondence that the bishop exchanged with the papal authorities survive in Roman archives. These highlight the issues that were of primary importance in the administration of the diocese. At the archives of Hardman's & Co., held within the Birmingham City Library, it was possible to retrace the various commissions that both Goold and Wardell placed over the years to furnish Australian churches with high quality furnishings and metalwork. The Mitchell Library within the State Library of New South Wales holds Wardell's archive. This encompasses all of Wardell's letter-books since his relocation to Sydney in 1878, his family papers

[31] Goold's special collection at Mannix Library has been partially digitised and is available online: https://gooldlibrary.omeka.net/

[32] Goold's reconstructed library is discussed in Carmody et al., 2019.

[33] Goold et al., 2009. Significantly, also the original diaries of Goold's uncle, bishop John Thomas Hynes is preserved at the MDHC. Hynes and Condon, 2002.

[34] Moran, 1890. Moran used Goold's original diaries as his source and transcribed some excerpts. However, he also destroyed part of the diaries he used.

and, most importantly to the ends of this study, most of his surviving architectural drawings.[35] Including both English and Victorian churches, the holdings of the archive have proven fundamental for the analysis of the evolution of Wardell's design over the years and the development of some of his most successful Australian projects.

Nineteenth century newspapers and chronicles defined the social, cultural and economic context in which the bishop operated. In this regard, Geoffrey Serle's seminal work on the early years of the colony of Victoria has been illuminating.[36] Several of the churches discussed in this dissertation were the subject of articles that give one a glance of how they were received by the colonial communities. Reports on the proceeding of buildings and the ceremonies connected with them, in addition to letters to the editors showing the disparate opinions of the public, were helpful for inferring how the churches were perceived by colonial society. In the framework of the global Gothic Revival movement, correspondence and newspaper articles created the possibility of analysing how the churches built under Goold's patronage were experienced in their original social and religious context. In doing so, Baxandall's concept of the period eye can be productively applied.[37] Although Baxandall's idea was theorised in a book dealing with Italian art and the society of the 15th century, the period eye is a plastic concept that can be implemented for the study of different geographical and chronological contexts. Baxandall

[35] The originals of the cathedrals are preserved at the respective diocesan archives, while the drawings of St Ignatius' church, Richmond, are held at the Jesuit archives.

[36] Serle, 1963.

[37] Baxandall, 1972.

recognises that a work of art is the product of the socio-cultural and religious context in which it was produced. It is informed by the artist's craft, the interests of patrons in their commissions, and the values shared between them and the public. Artworks are the products of the cultural practices of the time in which they are created. The way they were perceived by society and the context of their creation gives meaning to them. This study applies Baxandall's premises to the Australian colonial context. Architecture was used to establish the identity of a settler's community. The Gothic Revival promulgated the heritage of the Christian tradition and the monumental scale of some of the Catholic churches discussed display the aspirations of the community which erected them. In Victoria, Wardell's ecclesiastical architecture expressed strength and boldness, fundamental qualities for a bishop concerned in determining the presence of his Church in the colony, and, at the same time, a strong statement for the Catholic society whose members, in some cases, had been prevented from practicing their faith in previous years. All of these instances are essential for the analysis of Goold's patronage. For the study of his Gothic churches, this thesis takes into account his mission, the architect's skill, and how colonial society responded to those churches.

Chapter I gives an account of Goold's life. It provides a sense of the man, his personality and taste, and positions him within the wider networks of colonial society and catholic missionary bishops. His biography unwinds parallel to that of William Wardell, who trained as an architect when Pugin's theorisation of the Gothic Revival was reaching its apex. The chapter discusses the evolution of Wardell's practice in England before his relocation to Melbourne, allowing the

possibility to see how it evolved over time and highlighting some of the stylistic features that remained favoured in his Australian churches.

Chapter Two deals with the evolution of Gothic taste in the colony of New South Wales where Goold served as parish priest for ten years. The formative experiences under Archbishop Polding's influence were fundamental in shaping Goold's understanding of his duties as a missionary bishop. Moreover, Goold learned about church building, as he was involved in several projects over the years which demonstrated the rapid assimilation of Gothic Revival principles in the colony.

Moving from N.S.W. to the Port Phillip district, Goold had to face the reality of providing for a large diocese with meagre financial resources. Chapter Three starts with retracing Goold's early years in Melbourne before the gold rush that drastically changed Victoria, discussing the bishop's ambitions before and after the discovery of mineral wealth and the large influx of migrants transformed Melbourne from a colonial outpost into a major settlement. The chapter shows how Goold's patronage was influenced by national and European networks, it describes his commissions to English architects and illustrates how the bishop created a centralised system in order to overview every aspect of church building in his diocese.

The genesis of Goold's cathedral is presented in Chapter Four. From the purchase of the site until the arrival of William Wardell, St Patrick's had a troubled history reconstructed thanks to archival material. Wardell's grand design and the bishop's commitment to realise it show the two men's ambitious

vision for the colony of Victoria. The different stages of construction, the response of Melbourne's population in the collection of funds, and the commissions of furnishings and metalwork from European workshops demonstrate how bishop and architect worked together productively in realising one of the grandest Gothic Revival churches completed anywhere in the world in the 19th century.

Chapter Five deals with the parish churches Wardell designed for the diocese of Melbourne. It shows how Goold exerted a tight control over the buildings that were erected in Victoria, giving advice, providing architectural plans, and busily travelling from one township to the other to lay foundation stones and blessing new churches. At the same time, Wardell had to adapt his style to Australian conditions and the financial resources of the scattered communities, which his buildings were to serve. The chapter shows how Wardell's designs, emphasising solidity, responded well to the bishop's need to establish the Catholic church position in the colony of Victoria, and how the Catholic communities responded in the realisation of the bishop's architectural ambitions.

There are two appendices in this dissertation. The first includes extracts of unpublished correspondence that illustrates Goold's architectural patronage. Appendix 2 encompasses Goold's reports to Propaganda Fide illustrating the progresses of the diocese. To conclude, it must be noted that throughout the thesis, when discussing churches I refer to their orientation in liturgical terms, with the east end behind the altar notwithstanding the actual compass orientation, as it was common mediaeval practice to orient churches so that the altar faced Jerusalem, which is located east of Europe.

Chapter 1: A Baroque bishop and a Gothic architect

James Alipius Goold was appointed first bishop of the newly created bishopric of Melbourne in July 1847, after spending nine years as a missionary in the archdiocese of Sydney. When he arrived in Melbourne, he was thirty-five years old, a young man acquainted with the hard labours of missionary life. He spent the rest of his life constantly travelling in his city and diocese to attend to the needs of the Catholics of Victoria. During his episcopacy, the small colonial outpost of Melbourne, which was barely ten years old at his arrival in 1848, developed into a major city in the wake of the gold rush, and became known as 'marvellous Melbourne' one year before his death in 1886.[1]

Goold was influenced by his maternal uncle, bishop James Thomas Hynes when he decided to go to Italy to take up his calling as a priest. In Rome he became interested in art, a passion he shared with his uncle, who collected copies of Renaissance masters and original seventeenth-century paintings.[2] After his election to the episcopacy, Goold collected several volumes, which reproduced the grand churches of Rome, and these certainly impressed him as a young student. Most notably, he acquired an almost complete set of Piranesi's first Paris edition of prints. Over time, the bishop collected a significant number of books, creating in his palace one of the largest private libraries of colonial Victoria. Among these books, the architectural publications are of particular relevance as they informed the bishop's taste and contained patterns and

[1] The English journalist George A. H. Sala coined the phrase during a visit in March 1885. See Davison, 2008.

[2] Hynes and Condon, 2013.

specifications that had a practical value for the carpenters engaged by the diocese in his ambitious building program. They provide an intellectual framework for his patronage.

Since the early years of his episcopacy, Goold exerted a tight control over the administration of the diocese. The building of churches and the recruitment of clergymen were his main preoccupations. The new riches and the large influx of population following the gold rush demanded adequate ecclesiastical structures, and Goold established a firm management of diocesan affairs. He was harshly criticised for his autocratic management, but he maintained good relations with the *Propaganda Fide* authorities in Rome and prevented others from meddling in his administration.

As a missionary bishop, Goold visited rural settlements every year, selected the locations for the new churches, allocated government grants and approved the designs. His taste for the Gothic Revival, fostered by Archbishop John Bede Polding and Bishop Robert William Willson of Hobart, led him to commission architectural plans from English catholic architects Joseph and Charles Hansom before William Wardell's arrival to Melbourne.

Wardell had completed his architectural training as Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's theorisation of Gothic Revival architecture was changing the nature of the movement in England. He established a practice in London after converting to Catholicism in 1846. The architectural drawings produced for his commissions in England show how he reinterpreted mediaeval Gothic forms and how he adapted his designs to the patrons' requirements. Wardell focused

on the functional expression of masses and spaces, and he had an eye for asymmetry and diagonal lines, so that his buildings were relieved with graceful decoration. Over time, his practice was enriched by his travels to continental Europe. French Gothic exerted a significant influence on his designs, which evolved towards a simplification of form.

In the wake of the gold rush, Victoria's wealth attracted several British architects. Wardell, thanks to his Catholic acquaintances, was most probably aware that Bishop Goold intended to realise a grand cathedral in Melbourne. When the architect arrived in Victoria, he found Goold to be an ambitious patron with a refined and personal taste for the arts. The partial structure of St Patrick's Cathedral was ruthlessly demolished as Wardell provided a design that would dignify the fast-growing colony. There is no correspondence telling more about the relationship between the bishop and the architect. As they lived in the same town, they would have to meet to discuss their projects. Goold's diary, which was compiled regularly with scant, factual entries, does not even mention Wardell until 1864.[3] Nevertheless, the two men worked together for twenty years to provide the diocese with substantial Gothic Revival churches that dominated the landscape. Together, Goold and Wardell brought European Gothic traditions and mediaeval splendour to colonial Victoria.

[3] Goold had opened St Mary's church, Dandenong Road, East St Kilda, and noted: 'It was 2 when I took breakfast at Mr Wardell's - he is the Architect of the Church'. Goold et al., 2009, 31 July 1864, 251.

1.1 A Baroque Bishop

James Goold was born on the 4th November 1812 to a merchant family residing in Cork, Ireland.[4] (Fig. 1) He was instructed at the Classical academy established by the Augustinian Edmund Keating in the 1780s, one of the first Catholic schools licensed after the Relief Act of 1872.[5] Goold's enrolment at the academy had benefits for his education and determined all of his future, as he subsequently applied for, and was accepted, within the Augustinian order, who had its church, St Augustine's, just opposite the academy.[6] From the time he was a young adult, Goold was deeply influenced by his maternal uncle, James Thomas Hynes, with whom he corresponded throughout his life. (Fig. 2)

Hynes, born in 1799, had entered the Irish Dominican Order in Rome in 1819, and, while still a student, had left for missionary work in America, where he was ordained in 1822.[7] He served in various roles in British Guyana, Grenada and Rome before his appointment as administrator apostolic of Demerara in 1843. He resigned his position in 1857, and returned to Europe, where he devoted his time to managing several business affairs for his nephew both in Ireland and Italy. [8]

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[4] The most complete biographical accounts are provided in Moran, 1890; Martin, 1988 and Vodola, 2019.

[5] Martin, 1988.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] For a complete biographical account and the correspondence regarding Hynes' missionary works see Walsh, 1966. Personal correspondence exchanged with his nephew is in Hynes files, MDHC.

[8] Walsh, 1966.

Aged 20, Goold made his profession of vows after his novitiate at the Augustinian priory at Grantstown, and, possibly advised by his uncle, he was to continue his studies in Italy.[9] Initially, he resided at the house of the Irish Augustinians in Rome, Santa Maria in Posterula, and after a short time, he was transferred to the Augustinian house in Perugia, where he was ordained a priest in July 1835.[10] In this regard, it is significant that Goold compiled a formal request for a special dispensation of 1 year and 5 months from the *Propaganda Fide* to be ordained ahead of schedule.[11] It is unclear if this was a suggestion of Goold's superiors or Hynes or the *Propaganda Fide* authorities to fast-forward his career. The papal authorities were aware that able missionaries were in high request at the time, and Hynes may have wanted his nephew to join him. Nevertheless, Goold completed his studies in Italy, and one year later, he was at the Convent of the Holy Trinity in Viterbo, where he prepared a *disputatio* studying theology and philosophy before heading on to the Augustinian Monastery at Rome.[12] In March 1837, while coming out of the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome, Goold first met William Bernard Ullathorne the vicar of John Bede Polding.

Ullathorne had been educated at the English Benedictine school at Downside, England. After his ordination, he was sent to Sydney in 1832, where he

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[9] It was customary for Irish Augustinian students to finish their training in one of the European countries.

[10] Vodola, 2019.

[11] The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith is the dicastery responsible for missionary work and all the related activities. Fondo della Cancelleria vescovile, *Ordinationes 1835 al 1836*, Busta 41, Archivio Diocesano di Perugia, copy held at the MDHC archives. Naughton, 2018.

[12] Naughton, 2018.

effectively administered the mission until the arrival of Polding in 1835 as the newly appointed vicar-apostolic of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land.[13] Ullathorne became Polding's vicar general and was soon sent to Europe to recruit priests for the mission. By 1837 the whole of Australia counted only six Catholic priests. There was a demand for young and capable clergymen, and, furthermore, the large convict population included several Irishmen, which made Goold a very suitable choice. Considering that Goold had received special dispensation for an early ordination from the *Propaganda Fide,* it is likely he had been directed towards missionary life thanks to his uncle's influence, and during the chance meeting with Ullathorne, he decided that Australia was the perfect place to prove himself.

The years spent in Italy had given the future bishop many values: he developed a refined taste for the arts, and he became fluent in Italian, two skills that would prove invaluable in the following years. On a practical note, learning Italian facilitated his interactions with the Roman curia whenever he had to report or discuss the management of the diocese. This skill turned out to be particularly useful when he came under attack, and the bishop became aware of the linguistic advantage he had over his opponents.[14] Possibly, proficiency in Italian

[13] William B. Ullathorne (1806-1889) entered the English Benedictine school at Downside in 1823 and was ordained in 1831. At the time, he acted as vicar general of William P. Morris, the vicar apostolic of Mauritius, a mission that at the time encompassed the whole Australia together with South Africa, Madagascar and the Seychelles Islands. In 1834, John B. Polding (1794-1877) was appointed vicar-apostolic of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land after spending 15 years covering various positions at Downside Abbey. Ullathorne helped Polding to establish the Australian hierarchy and he served the mission until 1840, when he returned permanently to Europe. Ullathorne and Madigan, 1995; Ullathorne, 1891; and O'Donogue, 1982.

[14] During the 1858 'Dunne scandal' on church finances, Goold wrote to his vicar regarding his critics: 'Take care that they don't use the Italian'. Goold to Fitzpatrick, 29 December 1858, MDHC. Unless differently specified, all correspondence referred to in the thesis is part of the collection of Goold's original correspondence: Correspondence 19th century - Originals, MDHC.

also allowed him to travel through the Italian states and establish profitable dealings with workshops and artists.

In Rome, Perugia and Viterbo, Goold saw some of the finest examples of Italian early modern art and architecture which left an impression on him, so that he developed a personal affinity with ancient monuments and churches. In Perugia, the Cathedral of San Lorenzo was built in stages between the 10th and the 15th century. It has an imposing cruciform plan terminating in an apse, and its interior is of the *hallenkirche* type, meaning that the nave and side aisles are of the same height. The structure encompasses a stratification of styles, including an early Renaissance loggia, Roman walls in the basement of the Gothic bell-tower, ogival arches in the nave lit by large Gothic windows, a pulpit preserving some Cosmatesque mosaics and a baroque portal added in the early 18th century. Furthermore, San Lorenzo's interior was enriched by several furnishings and artworks, most notably a wooden choir with intarsia wood inlay, and the *Deposition from the cross* (1569) by Federico Barocci. This dramatic composition commissioned by the guild of merchants for the altar in the chapel of St Bernard's (still *in situ*) was Barocci's first great masterpiece.[15] Barocci's art aligned with Goold's taste for art, as he was one of the great exponents of Counter-Reformation painting and a precursor of the Baroque, the style favoured by the bishop as demonstrated by his art collection.[16] The grand Gothic structure of Perugia cathedral infused the bishop with ambitions for his own cathedral. Goold spared no expenses in realising St Patrick's complex

[15] Pizzorusso, 2018, 43.

[16] On Barocci see Mann, 2018. On Goold's painting collection see Anderson, 2019, Reid, 2019 and Lo Conte, 2019.

design and to achieve the majesty of the churches he had visited in Italy. For St Patrick's Cathedral Wardell and Goold also envisaged a comprehensive decoration of the chancel, with mosaic floors and Gothic stencilling. Even before this was realised (it was completed only after Goold's death), the wooden temporary altar was a refined work, lavishly decorated as was the wall behind it.[17] This was adorned by large paintings disposed to shape an altarpiece. Notably, among Goold's painting collection, a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (17th) bears the inscription 'F. Baroccio' on the reverse of the canvas. The attribution to the Italian master is unlikely, even if the composition was informed by Barocci's painting on the same subject.[18] The bishop's painting is more likely the work of a later imitator, but it is a further testimony to the deep influence the youthful years spent in Italy had on the formation of Goold's taste for art.

Goold became fond of Italian art and architecture, and, in particular, of Rome. Over the years, Goold collected several publications illustrating Roman churches, thus bringing back to Melbourne examples of the grandeur of the capital of Christianity. The Roman late baroque churches represented the most convincing statement of religious aesthetics. Goold's lifetime project was to create something as equally majestic in the antipodes. Several entries in his diary testify to his ever-lasting passion for Italian ecclesiastical architecture. In fact, every time he was in Rome, he recorded spending time visiting churches in different neighbourhoods, but only rarely wrote his thoughts describing them in

[17] See Chapter 4.

[18] See Colleoni and Naughton, 2019, 22.

his diary.[19] Significantly, among the books Goold collected over the years, there are two Royal folios of the illustrated *Istoria della Sacrosanta Patriarcale Basilica Vaticana* (1867) by Filippo Maria Mignanti; *La patriarcale Basilica Lateranense* (1832) illustrated by Agostino Valentini; and the two-volume set of Giacomo Fontana's *Raccolta delle Migliori Chiese di Roma e Suburbane* (1855) which included planimetries of an extensive number of Roman churches erected between the 17th and 18th centuries.[20] These testify to Goold's interest in architecture together with others such as William Wilkins' *Prolusiones Architectonicæ; or Essays on subjects connected with Grecian and Roman Architecture* (1837), William Pain's *British Palladio; or, the Builder's General Assistant* (1790), T. Hudson Turner's *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England* (1851), and *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London* (1838) by Augustus Pugin and John Britton.

During his formative years, Goold developed a liking for Italian Baroque sacred art. Already during his first *ad limina* visit to Rome in 1852, Goold acquired 145 paintings, all described as 'sacred images'.[21] Of these, 135 were labelled 'antichi maestri', while ten were modern works.[22] This was only the first shipment that the bishop organised, and several shipments of pictures, mostly of the Italian

[19] In particular, see the entries dated June to August 1867, one of the most complete accounts of Goold's *ad limina* visits to Italy. Goold et al., 2009, 383-392.

[20] Goold's library, housed in a dedicated wing of the Bishop's palace on Eastern Hill, was one of the most important private libraries in colonial Australia, encompassing 2 to 3 thousand books. A description of its content is given in Carmody et al., 2019.

[21] The license for the exportation of the paintings was found by Professor Anderson at the Archivio di Stato di Roma: Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici, Commercio Belle Arti, Industria e Agricoltura, Busta 680, ASR. Quoted in Anderson, 2019.

[22] See Anderson, 2019 and Reid, 2019

school, including both copies and re-interpretations of old master's artworks, arrived in Victoria throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.[23]

Copies after Maratta, Reni and Domenichino show how he appreciated the 'Classical Baroque', the style developed during the first half of the 17th century by the Bolognese pupils of the Carracci in Rome.[24] Moreover, several of the artworks of which Goold commissioned copies, were hung in ecclesiastical structures significant for him. For example, the original Maratta's *Flight into Egypt* was at St Isidoro, the church of the Irish community in Rome, while a copy of Guido Reni's *Crucifixion* hung above the high altar in the Church of St Augustine in Cork, which Goold attended in his juvenile years.[25] The copy after Maratta, still hangs in the sacristy of St Patrick's Cathedral, while the copy of the *Crucifixion* was hung above the high altar from 1868. (Fig. 3 and 4) It remained in its dominating position on the temporary wall closing the nave of the half-completed cathedral while the transepts and sanctuary were under construction. (Fig. 5) The painting was in St Patrick's until 1900, when Carr presented it to arch-priest McKenna who took it to St Mary of the Angels Church, Geelong, where it can be found still today.

In addition to the personal appreciation that Goold had for some of these artworks, he consistently acquired dramatic and deeply religious images, encompassing representations of newly created saints, martyrdoms and

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Wittkower, 1999, 46-58.

[25] Augustinians in Cork, 2007.

conversions.[26] These subjects were deemed particularly suitable by missionaries as they effectively conveyed their religious meaning, exciting the devotion of the congregation attending mass.[27] During his visits to Europe Goold noticed the display of artworks in churches, and, in his diocese, he harmonised the paintings with the Gothic Revival architecture of the churches he was building.[28] As noted by Anderson, despite Gothic and Baroque being seemingly antithetical, they were both anticlassical movements recognised to be expressions of deep religiousness. [29] Thus, Goold was able to complement his architectural commissions recalling the mediaeval past, combined with affective and moving Baroque paintings.

One of Goold's early acquisitions, and indisputably the most impressive work of art of his collection rediscovered so far, is Jacque Stella's altarpiece *Jesus in the Temple Found by his Parents* (1642), which hung unrecognised for more than a century in the Baptistry of St Patrick's Cathedral.[30] (Fig. 6) Anderson suggests that it is possible that Goold saw it in Rome as the painting was part of Cardinal Fesch's collection, and was exhibited in his palace. Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, collected sixteen thousand paintings. In conversation with his uncle, both were asked to justify the expenditure of their collections. Fesch stated that his collection had an educational purpose, for the missionaries visiting his palace

[26] Anderson, 2019.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] On Goold's artworks display and their reception see Reid, 2019.

[29] Anderson, 2019.

[30] The painting was commissioned for the Jesuit church of the Novitiate in Paris. Jacques Stella (1596-1657) was born in Lyon and spent time at the Medici court in Florence before moving to Rome. His art was deeply influenced by Nicolas Poussin, whom he befriended in Rome. After ten years in Italy Stella was appointed painter of the king in Paris. See Anderson, 2016 and 2019.

were to learn about art: 'these men will dominate far-away places, by virtue of their talents, knowledge of art, and will gain unappreciable advantages'.[31] Both the numbers and the subjects of the paintings acquired by Goold indicate his intention to disseminate religious artworks in the churches of the diocese. There, the pointed arches of Gothic architecture emphasised the sacred message that the paintings conveyed to excite the devotion of the parishioners. To date, research on the bishop's paintings indicated that he was one of the most innovative collectors of European baroque art in colonial Victoria.[32]

Goold had a passion for the Baroque style of Italian churches testified by his acquisition of publications illustrating them, and the diary entries written during his travels. He was also fascinated by the artworks therein on display. In addition to these, during his education in Europe Goold also developed an interest in antiquities. Shane Carmody notices that since 1819 the Cork Institution housed a collection of more than 200 casts of classical figures, busts, reliefs and fragments realised under the supervision of the Italian sculptor Antonio Canova.[33] The Canova casts were commissioned by Pope Pius VII as a gift to George the IV, who was then Prince Regent. They were made to express the pope's gratitude for Britain's role in the deposition of Napoleon after the Battle of Waterloo.[34] In fact, Napoleon had a very complicated relationship with

[31] Letter from Cardinal Fesch to Napoleon, 14th August 1807, published in Du Casse, 1855, 136, quoted in Anderson, 2019.

[32] See Anderson, 2019; Reid 2019 and Lo Conte, 2019.

[33] Carmody, 2015. On Canova's art see Canova, Honour and Mariuz, 2017.

[34] Waldron, 2019.

the Papal States.[35] With the Treaty of Tolentino in 1797, the pope was forced to agree to the confiscation of artworks belonging to his territories in the Italian peninsula. But after Napoleon's defeat, in 1815 the pope entrusted Canova to oversee the return of works of art and antiquities from Paris, and later commissioned the artist to supervise the creation of more than 200 casts of sculptural works to thank the British.[36] The Royal Academy did not have the space necessary for accommodating such a large gift, and when the president of the Cork Society for Promoting the Fine Arts, William Hare, asked to bestow the casts to Cork, the Prince Regent agreed.[37] In the aftermath of their arrival, the Cork School of Art was founded. They were exhibited in the Apollo Society Theatre, conveniently positioned on Patrick's Street, in the heart of the city centre.[38] The casts inspired a rebirth of city culture and introduced the students of the Classical Academy to European aesthetics. Goold, who was then a young pupil, was certainly impressed by the large gift received from Rome, and one can only imagine how this impressive collection shaped his appreciation for the arts in the following years.

Goold was fascinated by Roman antiquities and ruins. During his visits to Italy, he always engaged in archaeological activities. In the second half of the 19th century, archaeology was undergoing a surge in popularity, and Rome was then

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[35] On Napoleon see Lyons, 1994. For studies focusing on the relationship between the Emperor and the Catholic church see Hales, 1962.

[36] On the repatriation of the artworks see Johns, 1998, chapter 7.

[37] Waldron, 2019.

[38] Today, the casts are the basis of the collection of the Crawford Art Gallery, Cork. The exhibition *Recasting Canova*, which opened in February 2019, celebrates how their presence transformed 'the ways in which art has been appreciated, studied and practiced in the south of Ireland'. See Waldron, 2020.

subject of an extensive campaign of excavations following the impressive findings at Pompeii and Herculaneum in the 18th century. In 1852, Pope Pius IX appointed the *Commission for Sacred Archaeology* following the suggestion of Giovanni Battista de Rossi, the archaeologist who, together with Alexander de Richemont, had rediscovered the Catacombs of St Callixtus in 1849.[39] De Rossi laid the scientific bases of Christian archaeology, applying a modern typographical method exploiting both historical sources and monuments, and his discoveries prompted a new interest in Roman archaeological excavations. Goold's passion is well represented not only by the visits he recorded in his diary, but in his library as well, where he collected Piranesi's albums of 1784 including *Le antichità romane, Antiquités de la Grande-Grèce, Antiquités d'Herculanum, Choix des meilleurs statues antiques*, along with other publications such as Professor Ramsay's *Manual of Roman antiquities* (1851).

In June 1867, arriving from Australia, Goold toured the famous Vesuvian sites.[40] In Rome, he recorded visiting the excavations at the Basilica of San Clemente during his second *ad limina* visit, when he met De Rossi.[41] He visited the site again twice during his third trip to Rome, when he joined the procession for the re-entombment of the relics discovered underneath the church. During his fourth *ad limina*, he recorded walking with William Wardell to San Clemente in order to introduce the architect to the superior at the Basilica, the

[39] Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822-1894) later founded the Museo Cristiano Lateranense, today part of the Vatican museums, and published extensively on Roman Christian archaeology. Goold et al., 2009, 19 March 1859, 97-98. Baumgarten, 1908.

[40] Goold et al., 2009, 19 March 1859, 97-98.

[41] *Ibid.*

Irish Dominican Joseph Mullooly, who was probably a close acquaintance.[42] As a matter of fact, this is one of the rare entries of Goold's diary where he mentions Wardell. However, the fact they arranged to visit Rome together suggests that their relationship was more profound than what transpires by the scant correspondence they exchanged.

Goold's library was housed in a separate wing of his palace on Eastern Hill, and it displayed the bishop's wide range of interests.[43] In fact, only half of it was made of religious texts, including, among others, theology, canon law and church history. The second half encompassed secular publications from different fields of knowledge, ranging from languages and linguistics to geography, history, chemistry, mathematics and astronomy.[44] What remains of the library indicates that Goold had a taste for large, lavishly illustrated books. Nevertheless, it is the architectural section of the library that is impressive. Most of the architectural publications are large folio volumes, but, despite their aesthetic value, they also had a practical purpose. As first bishop of Melbourne, Goold spent considerable energy in providing Victorian Catholics with adequate structures for worship, commissioning more than eighty churches in his lifetime.

In this perspective, architectural books were essential as Goold had only little training in church building. For example, *Pain's British Palladio* (1790) was advertised to be 'universally useful for carpenters and masons' and contained

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[42] Goold et al., 2009, 12 March 1870, 422; Mullooly presented Goold with at least three copies of his book S*aint Clement, pope and martyr, and his basilica in Rome* (1869).

[43] Goold's library is discussed in Carmody et al., 2019. See also Colleoni, 2017.

[44] *Ibid.*

not only detailed designs in the Classical style, but also descriptions and estimates of the price of labour and materials. To the same end, the bishop's library contained *Modern Building and Architecture: A Series of Working Drawings and Practical Designs, Including Numerous Examples form the Paris and Havre International Exhibitions* (1870s), *Registered Designs for Ornamental Modern Window Glass* (1855) and architect John B. Waring's *Arts Connected with Architecture Illustrated by examples in Central Italy* (1858), an imposing coloured volume containing more than forty plates with examples of Italian Gothic stained glass, fresco ornament, wood and marble inlay. (Fig. 7)

Goold also acquired several of AWN Pugin's books on Gothic Revival architecture: *Contrasts,* or *A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day shewing the present decay of taste,* (1841); *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts*; *the Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament* (date unknown); and *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1853). (Fig. 8) He most likely used these publications to learn about the most fashionable style of church building, an interest fostered by both Archbishop Polding and Robert Willson, Bishop of Hobart.[45] In Goold's library there is still *Examples of Gothic architecture, selected from various antient edifices in England* (1830s) a publication authored by AWN Pugin's father, Augustus Pugin, and Edward J. Willson, uncle of the bishop of Hobart, who provided historical and descriptive texts. These

[45] Robert William Willson (1794-1866) was born in Lincoln, England. He was ordained priest in 1824 and was assigned to the parish of Nottingham for 18 years. He was appointed bishop of Hobart Town in 1842 and resigned his position a few months before his death in 1866. A large amount of correspondence was exchanged between Melbourne and Hobart, even if only the letters sent by Willson survive today at the MDHC. See Southerwood, 1989 and 1993.

accompanied the illustrations of plans, elevations and sections intended for practical construction prepared by both Augustus and a young AWN Pugin. On the same subject Goold owned John S. Hawkins' *A History of the Origin and Establishment of Gothic Architecture* (1813) which he acquired in 1856, and James G. Graham's *The Chapel of St. Anthony the Eremite: At Murthly, Perthshire, the Seat of Sir William Drummond Stewart of Grandtully, Bart* (1850). The latter encompassed several colour lithographs of the first Catholic chapel dedicated after the Reformation in Britain and which had been designed by James Gillespie Graham in collaboration with AWN Pugin. (Fig. 9)

The jewel of Goold's extensive library was an almost complete set of the first Paris edition of Piranesi's prints, which included some of the most suggestive views of Rome.[46] (Fig. 10) The most famous printmaker of the 18th century, Giovanni Battista Piranesi was able, in his etchings, to communicate the powerful evocative meaning of Classical antiquities.[47] Since the mid-eighteenth century, ruins had been perceived as emblems of a past that still reflected the present and the future. As a trained architect, Piranesi was fascinated by the architectural technique and the scale of Roman buildings. In his etchings, he displayed the beauty and magnitude of ruins, presenting them also as the concrete testimony of a glorious past. Piranesi eventually created a romantic vision of Rome, which still lasts today. The set of prints certainly fascinated

[46] The library inventory compiled by the bishop in 1865 lists 26 volumes dated 1784. However, the bindings of the volumes are the work of different binders and suggest they were binded between 1804 and 1807. On Goold's set of Piranesi volumes see Holden, 2015, Carmody, 2015, and Lo Conte, 2019.

[47] See Ficacci, 2006.

Bishop Goold: they were splendid folios that conjugated his love for Rome, antiquities, architecture and baroque lines.

1.2 The Australian Mission

When Goold volunteered for the Australian mission, he was not yet 25 years old, but his formative years in Italy left an ever-lasting impression of the Catholic aesthetic ideal that pervaded the Italian states. His subsequent visits to Italy fostered and enhanced the refined taste that the bishop displayed in building his collections and in his commissions of churches.

After meeting with Ullathorne, Goold travelled to Cork to seek the approval of the Irish Augustinian Provincial, Fr Bernard O'Neill, for permission to work in Australia.[48] He was released from his duties in September for a period of seven years at the service of Archbishop Polding. As a matter of fact, in 1844, writing from Cork, Hynes congratulated his nephew on being a successful missionary, adding, however, that his time in Australia was approaching an end.[49] Thus, he proceeded, delineating two alternatives to his nephew: his hope was to have him join the mission in the British Guyana, however, Goold could also return to his brethren in Ireland, where his superiors were 'most anxious for your return' and there would be 'no difficulty in getting a position in Dublin or Cork'.[50] Both options Hynes 'would counsel in preference to your continuing longer on the

[48] Vodola, 2019, 18-9.

[49] Hynes to Goold, 16 March 1844, Hynes correspondence, MDHC.

[50] Hynes to Goold, 16 March 1844, Hynes correspondence, MDHC.

mission of New South Wales'.[51] Goold, however, decided to remain in Australia to continue his work in the parish of Campbelltown. Overall, Goold spent ten years in NSW, and during his missionary work, he witnessed the example of Polding's cultural patronage, his religious aesthetics, and the development of Gothic Revival architectural taste.

After his appointment to the episcopacy, Goold became a close friend of the Bishop of Hobart Town, Robert William Willson, who further fostered his interest in Gothic Revival architecture. Indeed, by the time Goold left for his first trip back to Europe, in 1851, he shared Willson's belief that 'we can produce a more real Catholic feeling, either in buildings, church furniture and so on, in the good old style of our forefathers'.[52] Despite his personal appreciation for Italian Baroque churches, throughout his episcopacy, Goold would commission only Gothic Revival churches and procure ecclesiastical furniture, almost always Gothic as well, from renowned workshops in Europe. Gothic Revival had become increasingly fashionable in England and the colonies in the 1800s, with Romantic literature and art contributing to its popularity. Furthermore, Gothic forms had a powerful associative appeal for both English and Irish colonists.[53] Goold was well aware of the importance of these factors. Moreover, the style was imbued with claims about the authenticity and truthfulness of Christian religion thanks to the writings of AWN Pugin.[54] According to him, revival Gothic had to

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[51] *Ibid.*

[52] Willson to Goold, 13 March 1851, Willson files, Copies and Transcripts, MDHC. Original held at the Archdiocese of Hobart Museum and Archives.

[53] On the deployment of Gothic revival style in the English colonies see Bremner, 2013 and 2016.

[54] On Pugin's influence on architecture and design outside of England see De Maeyer and Verpoest, 2000; and Brittain-Catlin et al., 2016.

be based on total fidelity to mediaeval architecture. According to Pugin's purist theorisation of Gothic, structure, function, construction and material are connected with the concept of truthfulness. Truth is a moral virtue that connects religiousness and architecture; thus, materials have to be revealed in the structure; and decoration cannot conceal construction but needs to be an essential part of it. The building and all its components have to be illustrative of their purpose. Meaning and purpose are complementary in Pugin's texts, and Gothic becomes the vehicle of religious symbolism. Meanings are embedded in every form and fabric of the building, while internally, the unified vision of the architect allows decoration and fittings to amplify the symbolism of the structure. Goold owned several of Pugin's texts, most probably acquired during his first visit to Europe in 1852, and in following years he consistently commissioned churches that were scholarly interpretations of mediaeval examples. In Australia, thanks to Polding and Willson's patronage of Pugin, the Roman Catholic church endeavoured to create a Gothic paradise.[55] In Melbourne, Goold followed in their footsteps, but over the years he achieved stronger financial support for the Melbourne diocese compared to his episcopal friends.

After he became bishop, Goold started to work to provide the Catholics of Victoria with resident clerics, churches and schools for the education of children. From 1836, the Roman Catholics, as did other faiths, benefitted from

[55] Andrews, 1994 and 2001; Bremner, 2016; and Cunich, 2019.

the state aid to religion.[56] The contribution was threefold: a site was granted upon an application when a £300 deposit for the erection of a church was made; the Treasury financed the building on a 'one pound for one pound' basis, meaning that the funds collected by the congregation were matched by the funds provided by the Government up to a maximum of £1,000; and a yearly salary ranging from £100 to £200 was granted to the priest depending on the size of the congregation under his care.[57]

Soon, Goold manifested his intention to establish a firm control of the diocese. He refused to comply with the colonial authorities' advice to renounce the use of the title 'Bishop of Melbourne' after the Anglican Bishop, Charles Perry, complained to the district superintendent La Trobe.[58] He also ignored the regulation requiring him to submit all clerical appointments and all correspondence with the government through Archbishop Polding, and strongly opposed the appointment of the Catholic representative at the newly established Denominational School Board as he was not consulted.[59] Goold was 36 years old when he arrived in his bishopric. His determination and controlling attitude enabled him to centralise power and to enhance episcopal authority.

The settlement of Melbourne developed quickly from its foundation until Goold's arrival in 1848, but it was only after the early 1850s discoveries of gold

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[56] The Church Building Act was passed in July 1836 to help establish religion in the colonies. An overview of the relationship between church at State in Victoria is given in Lewis, 1991, 5-8. See also Gregory, 1973.

[57] Freeland, 1963, 30.

[58] Martin, 1986.

[59] *Ibid.*

that Melbourne grew into a large city.[60] Between 1839 and 1848 the population increased from 5,822 to 51,390.[61] In March 1851, the district counted ca. 77,000 persons, with 18,000 Catholics among them, and during the first half of the year less than 3,000 people arrived to Port Phillip.[62] From July onwards, there were ca. 11,000 arrivals by sea, and as the news of the discovery of gold travelled the world, from 1852 to 1854 an average of 90,000 arrived per year, taking the population to more than 312,000 by the end of 1854.[63] One sixth of the men who ended up at the diggings were Irish.[64]

In fact, thanks to assisted and bounty immigration, since the 1830s, a large number of Catholics had arrived from Ireland to Australia, and the number increased after the gold discoveries and the Great Famine.[65] In 1841, the Catholics were about 21% of the total population, a proportion that increased to 27.6% in 1846. A large section of these settlers had left small farms in the southern rural areas as the agriculture of Ireland was reconstructed, while the other substantial group of migrants encompassed young women needed both for balancing the number of males in the colonies and for working as domestic

[60] Victoria was formally separated by New South Wales the 1st July 1851, in the following two months gold was found at Anderson's Creek, Clunes, Buninyong and Ballarat. On the history of Melbourne see Lewis, 1995, especially Chapters 1 and 2. On the gold discoveries see Serle, 1963.

[61] Bourke, 1988.

[62] See Serle, 1963, Appendix 1, 2 and 3, 382-387, and Bourke, 1988.

[63] Counting the people that departed, the population increased of ca. 60,000 per year in the years 1852-1854. The population continued to grow steadily in the successive four years, with an average of 54,000 arrivals each year and 23,000 departures.

[64] In 1854, nine tenths of the diggers were from the British Isles. Others came from China, the United States, Germany and other areas of Europe. Serle, 1963, 75-76.

[65] Bounty migrants were free migrants who received a bounty from the Government to pay their passage towards Australia. On assisted migration, its critics and its consequences, see Richards, 2015.

servants.[66] Many of the newly arrived initially settled in either Melbourne, Geelong, or in the small port towns on the southwest coast, such as Portland and Belfast (nowadays Port Fairy), before moving to the rural areas such as Bacchus Marsh, Kilmore and Hamilton.[67]

Throughout the 1850s, professionals such as doctors, lawyers and clerics also moved to Victoria, even if the majority of settlers were still unskilled workers.[68] The practical needs of the Australian colonies, with their dearth of agricultural labourers and domestic servants, required large numbers of women and populations from rural districts able to settle inland. These people were easier to be found in Ireland than in other parts of the British Isles. In addition to this, Irish settlers used the nomination system of migration to their advantage, investing their savings to help relatives to migrate.[69] Thus, Australia gradually became more Irish and Catholic than other parts of the Empire.

The large influx of population triggered by the gold rush had serious social and economic consequences. Lieutanant-Governor Charles La Trobe described the situation at the closing of 1852: 'Cottages are deserted, houses to let, business is at a stand-still, and even schools are closed. In some suburbs not a man is left. […] It is scarcely necessary for me to observe that all public works are at a

[66] Throughout the 1850s the proportion of adult males to females in the colony was about three to one. Assisted migrants came in the proportion of two women per one man. Women included orphans from Irish workhouses. An overview on Irish migration to Australia is provided in O'Farrell, 1968. On orphans' migration see Robins, 1968.

[67] Bourke, 1988, 26.

[68] Richards, 2015.

[69] *Ibid.*

perfect standstill [...] Under these circumstances I cannot do otherwise than look with some anxiety to the future'.[70]

In 1852, Melbourne was one of the most expensive cities in the world, and while much of the profit came from gold digging, wages were increased in the city to meet the living costs.[71] The town population increased more than twofold in three years.[72] In the first half of 1853, construction industry experienced a boom, with more than 1,000 buildings erected, construction materials were in high demand as well as skilled masons and carpenters. As many disillusioned diggers returned to Melbourne after a few months on the gold fields, they entered the labour market providing labour force for the erection of buildings and infrastructures such as the railway lines. As Victoria's economy flourished, a number of British architects were encouraged to migrate. They contributed to the imposing and refined public buildings, such as the Public Library, the University of Melbourne, the Parliament House and the Treasury Building, all worthy of a major city.[73] (Fig. 11) Among them, was William Wilkinson Wardell.

[70] The Lieutenant-governor's despatches, 10 October and 19 December 1852, published in *the Argus*, 29 April 1853, 4.

[71] See Serle, 1963, Chapter 5.

[72] In 1851 it was about 29,000 while the census of 1854 reported ca. 76,500 inhabitants. *Ibid.*

[73] The State Library of Victoria was designed by Joseph Reed in 1854, one year after his arrival from Cornwall. On the same year, the London-born architect Francis M. White was commissioned the 'Old Quadrangle' buildings at the University of Melbourne. Parliament House was designed by the firm of John G. Knight and Peter Kerr, who had settled in Melbourne in 1852 from London and Aberdeen, Scotland, respectively. John J. Clark had arrived on the same year with his family from Liverpool, and he designed the Treasury building in 1857, when he was only 17 years old.

1.3 A Gothic Architect

Wardell was born in Poplar, London, on September 27, 1823. (Fig. 12) His education was directed towards a career in engineering, but he had a passion for the sea, and in 1835, he interrupted his studies for seafaring.[74] In 1838, he began his apprenticeship at the office of Mr Morris, a Surveyor to the Commissioners of London Sewers and a Civil Engineer in private practice, and later transferred to the office of W. F. East, an architect practicing in London.[75] Aged 20, Wardell became an Associate at the Institute of British Architects. He completed his training as an architect between 1838 and 1843, years when AWN Pugin's theories of Gothic Revival were spreading all around England. Pugin changed the nature of the whole Gothic Revival movement.[76] Thanks to the speculative frenzy known as Railway Mania, Wardell worked as railway engineer surveyor between 1843 and 1846. In those years, the extensive travels required by railway surveys took him to explore Britain, and he faithfully recorded sketches and details of Gothic buildings including Durham and York cathedrals, Cambridge and Oxford universities.[77]

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[74] It is unclear how long he was at sea, but De Jong notices that once he probably sailed around Cape Horn. *Journal of the Royal Institute of the British Architects*, 96-97; De Jong, 1988, 17-8; Welsh Papers, Wes 28/1, RIBA.

[75] At the time, civil engineering and architecture were considered synonyms and separate professions at the same time. On one hand they were both practical sciences, but architecture was also considered a fine art. Clegg, 1849, 470.

[76] Clark, 1974.

[77] These were documented in *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, Wardell's first surviving sketchbook. Three of his sketchbooks survive: the first dates from the early.1840s, the second partially accounts for Wardell's trip in continental Europe in the 1850s and the third was also commenced sometimes in the 1850s. On the sketchbooks, see De Jong, 1988, Chapter 4.

Kenneth Clark in his seminal work on the Gothic Revival recognises that after the Gothic survived through the Classical renaissance, it was given more attention with the rise of the Romantic literary movement and its idealised notion of a Middle Age characterised by chivalry and poetry.[78] As an architectural movement, the Gothic Revival developed within the larger context of nineteenth-century medievalism.[79] This combined with the growing importance of the antiquarian movement, which from its accurate study of mediaeval antiquities led to a clear classification of the styles, and to the appearance of pattern books containing plates showing Gothic architecture.[80] In particular, at the opening of the 19th century, John Britton's series *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* (1807-1826) and *Cathedral Antiquities* (1814-1837), became extremely successful.[81] In the 1820s, Britton published Augustus Pugin's *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* and his *Examples of Gothic Architecture*, which included texts by Edward J. Willson.[82] They were different from previous publications, which showed the 'sublime and picturesque effect of Gothic', as Pugin's plates provided measured drawings and accurate details that could be copied and re-elaborated by architects interested in gaining a practical understanding of correct Gothic forms.[83]

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[78] Clark, 1974.

[79] See Chandler, 1971 and Alexander, 2007.

[80] In 1817 Rickman defined the phases of mediaeval styles as Norman (ca. 1066-1189), Early English (ca. 1189-1307), Decorated (ca. 1307-1540) and Perpendicular (ca.1377-1540). Rickman, 1881.

[81] On Britton see Pevsner, 1972, Chapter 4; Crook, 1968; and Kain, 1990.

[82] Augustus Charles Pugin (1762-1832) was a draughtsman and a writer on mediaeval architecture. One copy of the 1831 edition of *Examples of Gothic architecture* signed by John Fitzpatrick survives in Goold's library. See Hill, 2008.

[83] Clark, 1974, 80.

Augustus Pugin's son, AWN Pugin, fortified Gothic with strict and comprehensive principles, so that architects after him came 'to look at Gothic not as a style, but as a religion'.[84] In 1835, Pugin converted to Catholicism, and one year later he published *Contrasts,* the book that showed 'how intimately the fall of architectural art [...] is connected with the rise of established religion' and urged a complete revival of the mediaeval Church and its arts.[85] Pugin quickly became the champion of a Catholic Gothic Revival. His publications deeply influenced the practice of several Catholic architects, among them, Wardell, who trained as an architect when his theories were inflaming the debate on archaeologically correct Gothic.[86]

The year 1846 was momentous for Wardell: he decided to establish himself as a professional architect and, influenced by the Tractarians and Pugin's thundering publications, he converted to Catholicism.[87] In the same year, he was commissioned to draw up plans for the Chapel of St Edward, Isle of Dogs, London.[88] In 1847, Wardell married Lucy Ann Butler, who would bear him eleven children. Together they moved into a house known as 'the Green Hill' in Hampstead, where they made the acquaintance of Clarkson Stanfield, their

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[84] Clark, 1974, 122.

[85] Catholic emancipation commenced with the abrogation of penal laws against Roman Catholics in 1766, while the most significant measure was the 1829 Roman Catholic Relief Act. Pugin, 1836, 15; and Hill, 2008, Chapter 14.

[86] After *Contrasts*, Pugin published: *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841); two articles in the *Dublin review* titled 'On the Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England' (1841-1842); *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (1843). On the relation between Wardell and Pugin see De Jong, 1988, Chapter 3.

[87] De Jong, 1988, 32. It must be noticed that the purpose of the tractarians was not to catholicise the church of England but to raise awareness of its catholic nature. See Herring, 2012 and 2016.

[88] Wardell, *St Edwards Chapel and School, Isle of Dogs, Poplar,* PXD 382, ff. 27-29b, ML, SLNSW; Welsh Papers, Wes/28/1, entry E.14, RIBA.

neighbour.[89] They became close friends, so that when Wardell left for Australia the painter presented him with two watercolours of their houses, a pencil portrait and a rare print of a ship at anchor.[90] The Hampstead years were important as the painter was surrounded by many friends. Among others, Wardell become acquainted with the painters David Roberts, Daniel Maclise, J. R. Herbert, the biographer John Foster, the writer Charles Dickens, and Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman. Surviving family papers document that Wardell and his family were often guests at Stanfield's house, where there were dinners and family plays for which Stanfield often painted the backgrounds.[91] Certainly Wardell's association with the artistic and literary circles meeting at the Hampstead fostered his cultural education as well as his creativity.[92]

Wardell was an able and enterprising young man, he was curious about the world and ambitious: in less than 12 years he worked on at least 30 commissions for the Roman Catholic church, he became Fellow of the Institute of British architects at the age of 27, and an associate of the Institute of Civil Engineers in 1848. As travelling was considered a crucial part of education, in 1851 Wardell visited Italy, and a few years later, in 1855 he travelled to France, Germany and the Netherlands.[93] During his journeys he had the opportunity to study Italian architecture and continental Gothic, and these experiences exerted

[89] Clarkson Frederick Stanfield was a prominent English painter. A complete biographical account is found in Van der Merwe, 1978 and 1979. On the relationship between Wardell and Stanfield, see De Jong, 1988, 32-5.

[90] These items are now preserved at the MDHC.

[91] Wardell family papers, MLMSS 3278, (in particular folder 1 and 2), ML, SLNSW.

[92] Part of Wardell's early correspondence is preserved at the Mitchell Library: MLMSS 3278 1-2, ML, SLNSW.

[93] De Jong, 1988, 35-36.

a long lasting influence, resulting in the inclusion of elements typical of Roman basilicas in his proposal for the German Chapel, London (1852), and the inclusion of French style chevet chapels in the design for Primrose Hill, London (1857), and St Patrick's, Melbourne (1858).[94] In his practice, Wardell immediately demonstrated his ability in re-elaborating Gothic forms: he sketched old examples and studied Gothic for years, but he never copied buildings in the antiquarian fashion.[95] Instead, he used details and variations from mediaeval models as a form of tribute, he was able to master the balance between form, appearance and materials, also paying attention to patrons' requirements and their means.[96]

1.4 Wardell's architectural practice in England

The Catholic church patronage of Wardell varied significantly, for he was commissioned by poor urban communities as well as wealthy private patrons such as William Bernard, 12th Baron Petre, who commissioned a mortuary chapel for his family in 1854. His designs took into careful consideration the specific circumstances, expressing them in different planning, articulation and

[94] *Ibid.*, Wardell, *German church, London*, 1852, PXD 381, ff. 85, 87-88, and *Proposed church, St George's Square, Primrose Hill,* 1857, PXD 317 ff. 36-37, ML, SLNSW; *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*, 1858, MDHC. On Wardell's use of the Italian style see De Jong, 1988, 262-277.

[95] The journal of the Cambridge Camden society, the *Ecclesiologist*, in his first volume dedicated an article on the subject of reproducing Mediaeval churches 'elsewhere in precisely the same manner' as 'it is no sign of weakness to be content to copy acknowledged perfection'. *The Ecclesiologist*, 1842, 133-5.

[96] De Jong recognized one instance in which Wardell reproduced a curvilinear window tracery. The window he copied was in the Church of St Mary Magdalen at Ashby (ca. 1350), and the tracery was reproduced in the chapel of the Most Holy Sacrament at Greenwich church. This tracery recurred in Wardell's works, as variations were produced at Clapham, at the Chantry Chapel, at Abingdon and at St John's College, Sydney. De Jong, 1988, 162-3.

degrees of ornamentation. Wardell mostly re-elaborated a simple plan for smaller churches including nave, side porch, chancel and sacristy. Larger buildings included also aisles, clerestory, chapels and bell-tower, while when the site admitted it, Wardell showed his preference for a cruciform design. Most of the surviving architectural drawings show that he also provided designs for the internal fittings of the church, including rood screens or altar rails, high altars and smaller ones for the chapels, sedilia, piscina, pulpit and baptismal font as these were considered essential for the completeness of the building. On the outside, Wardell's churches are massive and built of natural stone. This was usually quarried locally, even if an axe-faced finished Kentish rag stone was used for several buildings realised in London.[97] Internally they were characterised by lightness and openness, a characteristic inspired more by French examples than English ones. In this respect, he was different from Pugin, who wrote: 'The internal vastness of Amiens, Beauvais, Chartres, and others of the French churches [...] nothing can be conceived more majestic. [...] Captivated by the beauties of foreign pointed architecture, I was on the verge of departing from the severity of our English style, and engrafting portions of foreign detail and arrangement. This I feel convinced would have been a failure'.[98]

Nevertheless, Wardell followed closely Pugin's rules of design: '1st, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety; 2nd, that all ornament should consist of enrichment

[97] This was due to the lack of proper building stone in southern England.

[98] Pugin, 1841, 66-67.

of the essential construction of the building'.[99] In every stance, from the smaller to the largest church, decorative elaboration was an enrichment of the architectural elements. Moreover, ornament was present at different stages of architectural elaboration to illustrate the hierarchy of space and location within the same structure.

From his first church commission, the chapel school dedicated to St Edwards, Wardell displayed an interest in exploring Gothic forms remaining faithful to the vocabulary of mediaeval English Gothic. The building consisted of nave, chancel and sacristy designed in the Early English style with lancets in the nave and larger windows with flowing decorated tracery for the west and east end. It had the double function of serving as a school during the weekdays and as a church on the weekend. Thus, Wardell had to combine the two purposes in an original design, as the chapel-school building type did not exist in the Middle Ages. The architect was able to respond both to the practical needs of the school and to the necessities and the solemnity required for the performance of divine service. On the exterior, he clearly distinguished the nave and chancel with a bellcote above the chancel arch and a lower roof-line in the chancel.[100] He chose an asymmetric form and gave more space at the left side of the nave for positioning the school teacher's room and the restrooms, while, he placed a small sacristy at the side of the chancel.

[99] *Ibid*., 1.

[100] Wardell, *St Edwards Chapel and School, Isle of Dogs, Poplar,* 1846, PXD 382, ff. 27-29b, ML, SLNSW; De Jong, 1988, 95-98.

The commissions that followed continued to display Wardell's experiments with both asymmetry and a clear division of spaces that, from the external arrangement, indicates the internal disposition and the function of the spaces. Wardell attained to Pugin's statement that 'the external and internal appearance of an edifice should be illustrative of, and in accordance with, the purpose for which it is destined'.[101] Further, Wardell always demarked the chancel by means of steps, altar rails, rood beams or full rood screens.

The designs of St Birinus', Oxfordshire; Our Lady Star of the Sea, Greenwich; St John the Baptist's, Hackney, St Mary's, Clapham, all conceived between 1846 and 1849 display Wardell's predilection for the English Decorated style.[102] (Fig. 13) This, as Thomas Rickman explained, derived from the 'simple yet beautiful Early English style':[103]

> from the alteration of its windows by throwing them into large ones divided by mullions, introducing tracery in the heads of windows, and the general use of flowered ornaments, together with an important alteration in the piers, became the Decorated English style, which may be considered as the perfection of the English mode. This

[101] Pugin, 1841, 42.

[102] Wardell, *St Birinus Church Dorchester Oxfordshire*, 1847, PXD 379 ff. 104-110; *Church of Our Ladye Star of the Sea, Crooms Hill Greenwich*, 1847, PXD 317, ff. 41-50; *Church of St John the Baptist, Triangle, Hackney*, 1847, PXD 380 ff. 1-13; *St Mary's church, Park road, Clapham*, 1849, PXD 379, ff. 16-35, ML, SLNSW.

[103] Rickman, 1881, 4.

was very difficult to execute, from its requiring flowing lines where straight ones were more easily combined.[104]

The Decorated was also the style preferred by the theorists of the Cambridge Camden Society.[105] The Cambridge Camden Society (Ecclesiological society from 1845), founded in 1839, adopted Pugin's ideas on church architecture and applied it to Anglican churches. Their newsletter, titled *The Ecclesiologist*, began publication in October 1841 and was closed in 1868, when they claimed that 'we have the satisfaction of retiring from the field victors'.[106] Actually, in their first publication, a pamphlet titled *A few words to Church builders* (1841), they recommended the use of Early English style for small structures, while they asserted it was appropriate to use the Decorated or the Perpendicular for larger ones.[107] By 1844, however, they had changed their minds and recommended only the Decorated.[108] This possessed a 'marvellous variety and flexibility … its own exquisite grace renders it as perfect when unenriched as when more highly finished'.[109] The Cambridge Camden society exerted its influence on church building in England for several decades.[110] It is uncertain if Wardell was influenced by the dogmas of the Ecclesiologists. Certainly, he developed a

[104] *Ibid.* The Decorated Gothic is distinguished by its elaborate window tracery and divided into two phases, the Geometric and the Curvilinear. The first was characterised by the use of simple forms while the second used reticulated and flowing tracery.

[105] See White, 1962.

[106] *The Ecclesiologist*, 1868, 1.

[107] Clark, 1974, 170.

[108] Perpendicular employed 'meretricious enrichments and made ornaments of its own sake… Tudor architects forgot their high vocation of setting forth truth by beauty, and symbolised worldly pomp instead of the Catholick Faith', Neale et al., 1844, 6.

[109] *Ibid.*

[110] In White's words, the extent of their success 'can be found today in almost every parish church of the Anglican communion'. White, 1962, 85-91 and 224.

predilection for the Decorated style, which he used for almost all of his commissions. In particular, flowing Decorated Gothic tracery allowed him to experiment with ornamentation and to relieve the solidity of his buildings.

Two of the parish churches designed in 1847, St Birinus' and Our Lady Star of the Sea, both designed in the Decorated idiom, exemplify plan types, which Wardell re-elaborated throughout his career. St Birinus', like St Edmund's, is a small two-compartment church with a bell-cote above the chancel arch.[111] Despite this, every window is distinguished by its own Decorated tracery.[112] From outside, the little church is built with limestone rubble quarried locally with ashlar dressing, and it shows canopied figures of St Birinus and the Virgin with Child enclosed in a richly detailed nodding ogees on the west wall and above the south portal respectively. In the interior, the church was enriched with a traceried chancel screen including carved figures and a richly carved floral motif.[113]

Despite being a young architect, Wardell showed his personality and his confidence in his work when he promptly answered to the criticism directed towards his little church.[114] The strongest sentences were directed against the 'the most unsightly chimney attached to the sacristy… ugly and lumpy abortion'.[115] Wardell, who was keen to design buildings that were both beautiful

[111] Wardell, *St Birinus Church Dorchester Oxfordshire*, 1847, PXD 379, ff. 104-110, ML, SLNSW.

[112] For more details see De Jong, 1988, 98-105

[113] Further details on the church are provided in De Jong, 2019.

[114] A correspondent who signed himself J. R. commented in the pages of *The Tablet*, the Catholic newspaper launched in 1840. *The Tablet*, 21 October 1848, quoted in Evans, 2010, 52-3.

[115] Evans, 2010, 52-3.

and practical, wrote that it was preferable to have a chimney than to asphyxiate the worshippers and damage the gilding.[116] Moreover, his design was defended in two other letters, which argued that 'St Birinus' 'is already a perfect model and a Gem of Christian art' and, when finished, 'nothing of the kind in England will surpass it in beauty'.[117]

The Church of Our Lady Star of the Sea, Greenwich, is considerably larger than the previously discussed buildings, and it encompasses a nave with aisles, clerestory and chancel with side chapels.[118] (Fig. 14) The façade is dominated by the central bell-tower. Its virtue of prominence will be repeated in most of the architect's large designs, such as Commercial Road, London (1852) and Manchester (1850) while, in other occasions, such as Clapham (1849) and Brook Green, Hammersmith (1851), the tower will be placed at the side of the nave. Wardell's designs for the interiors included the high altar, sedilia, piscina, altar rails and tracery, pulpit and font. Pugin provided the design for the internal decoration of the chancel and the Lady chapel.[119] The two architects competed against each other on a few commissions, but also worked together on at least two occasions, one being the church at Greenwich and the second Holy Trinity Church at Brook Green, for which Pugin provided the designs for church plates.[120]

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[116] *Ibid*. The prominent chimneys above the sacristy remained a peculiar aspect of Wardell's Australian churches.

[117] *Ibid*.

[118] Wardell, *Church of Our Ladye Star of the Sea, Crooms Hill, Greenwich*, 1847, PXD 317, ff. 41-50, ML, SLNSW.

[119] This chapel was originally dedicated to St Joseph.

[120] Pugin's association with Wardell has been discussed De Jong, 1988, Chapter 3.

The architect's preference for the Decorated style is evident also from later London commissions including Our Lady and St Joseph's, Poplar (1850); the Church of the Most Holy Trinity, Brook Green (1851); and Ss Mary and Michael's, Commercial Road (1852).[121] All of these show his ability in grouping masses, articulating space, and his sensibility for fine and original ornamentation carefully balancing the solidity of the building. The architect concentrated on the articulation of volumes and the architectural expression of the forms leaving provisions for decoration and ornamentation when it was impossible to realise.

In his practice, Wardell was often confronted by the scarce availability of funds and he had to develop his designs accordingly.[122] In 1847, for the Church of St John the Baptist, Hackney, Wardell prepared a design for a church with nave and aisles, chancel and a bell-cote with spire at the west end. The plan was different from previous compositions, and it envisaged a smaller north aisle with lean-to roof, and a south aisle the size of the nave with its own gabled roof. The latter was to be built at a later stage when funds became available. Despite financial constraints, the church included flowing Decorated windows at the east and west end, a mixture of curvilinear and geometric tracery for the aisle and nave's windows, an 'excellent rood screen and elaborately carved stone

[121] Wardell, *Church of Our Blessed Ladye and St Joseph, Poplar, Middlesex*, 1850, PXD 382, ff. 30-57; *Church of Our Ladye and S Michael, Commercial Road, East London*, 1852, PXD 381, ff. 95-128; *Church and Alms Houses Brook Green, Hammersmith,* 1851, PXD 380, ff. 14-60A, ML, SLNSW.

[122] In two occasions, the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Manchester, and St Alexis', Kentish Town, the projects did not progress much after the laying of the foundation stone for financial constraints.

altar', such as in the tracery or in the rood screen, thus enhancing the overall architectural composition. [123]

De Jong indicates that Wardell's use of ornamentation was 'subtle'. [124] In two occasions Wardell was able to elegantly distribute decoration and ornamentation without worrying about financial constraints: the Church of St Mary's, Clapham (1849), and the Chantry Chapel, commissioned by Lord Petre in 1854.[125] For the Chantry Chapel, Wardell proposed two different designs, both rejected by his patron.[126] The first had imposing buttresses and a tall structure that gave an impression of grandeur to the comparatively small chapel. The second was more similar to St Birinus', but it did not meet with the favour of Lord Petre. Wardell prepared a third set of drawings including a prominent octagonal bell tower, large windows with rich curvilinear tracery and a crypt to be used for the entombment of the Petre's family members. The whole included substantial structural ornamentation as 'no thought or expense has been spared in its erection'.[127] (Fig. 15)

St Mary's was a substantially bigger building: the original plan encompassed a six bay nave with aisles and clerestory, with three couples of windows evenly spaced, a tower at the north west with a porch below, a chancel with sacristy at

[123] *Catholic Handbook,* 1857, quoted in Welsh papers, Wes/28/2, RIBA.

[124] De Jong, 1988, 105-9.

[125] Wardell, *St Mary's Church*, *Clapham*, 1849, PXD 379, ff. 16-35, ML, SLNSW.

[126] The designs are discussed in De Jong, 1988, 139-44, and De Jong, 2019.

[127] *Catholic Handbook,* 1857.

its north side and a chapel dedicated to St Alphonsus on the south side.[128] On the solidly built Kentish ragstone façade, attention is caught by the gentle curvilinear tracing of five lights window placed above an intricately carved portal. This, intended to be the main entrance used by the congregation and on ceremonial occasions, was deeply carved with intricate lines, thus showing its prominence in comparison to the entrance at the north side.[129] Inside, ornament is profuse: in the nodding ogee arches surmounting the sedilia, in the treatment of the two-bayed tierceron-vaulted chancel and its six-light east window, and in the porch at the foot of the tower.[130] Here, the lierne vaulted stone ceiling includes a keystone carved boss representing the Virgin and corbels in the symbolic form of the Evangelists, which exemplifies Wardell's ability to enhance architectural elements with ornament.

In most of his large designs, like the churches of Our Lady Star of the Sea, Greenwich; Our Lady and St Michael, Commercial Road and St Alexis', Kentish town, Wardell was able to balance the public space of the nave with the smaller volumes of the chapels. The designs used in Kentish Town and Commercial Road both encompass a triple gable elevation, while in the Greenwich church, the aisle roofs are lean-to and expose the clerestory windows. In all three cases,

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[128] The church has been added to in several occasion. John F. Bentley designed the chapel of Our Lady in 1885 and the north transept in 1894. In 1926 Bernard Cox was responsible for the new chapel dedicated to St Alphonsus and the new south aisle. Wardell, *St Mary's church, Park road, Clapham*, 1849, PXD 379, ff. 16-35, ML, SLNSW. Welsh papers Wes/28/1, f. 9, RIBA.

[129] Nowadays, the western entrance of Clapham church is no longer used as it faces a busy road. The use of decoration for highlighting the importance of one architectural element over another was used consistently by Wardell. In fact, also for the church at Hammersmith had a deeply carved west portal with columns made of marble and Caen stone.

[130] This was planned to be a secondary entrance, and its function was clearly marked by the minor level of ornamentation of the portal.

despite the loftiness of the nave, the small chapels opening at the side of the chancel create an intimate place for personal prayer.

At Our Lady and St Michael, the largest of Wardell's English designs, a tall spire was planned to contrast the extreme length of the continuous roof over nave and chancel. (Fig. 16) The inclusion of different spaces, architecturally distinguished from the exterior allowed the architect to achieve a balance between vertical and horizontal elements, enhancing asymmetry and diagonal lines and creating smaller areas, both dependent and independent from the overall composition.[131] The continuous line of the ceiling in the sanctuary, the modest high altar and the absence of a rood screen creates a sensation of space enhanced by the eleven continuous bays for nave, aisles, chapels and chancel. The windows all present their peculiar curvilinear tracery, creating a balanced contrast between structure and ornamentation. Moreover, the abundant illumination of the nave is complemented with the light entering from the tall five bays west window and the seven bays east window, giving a sense of weightlessness to the whole building.[132] This arrangement was particularly suitable for accommodating the needs of the very large congregation for which the church was built. Wardell's design clearly emphasises the lofty openness of the architectural volumes, however, he included three chapels, two at the left side of the chancel, and another at its right side, to allow for private moments of devotion.

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[131] Wardell, *Church of Our Ladye and S Michael, Commercial Road, East London*, 1852, PXD 381, ff. 95-128, ML, SLNSW.

[132] Unfortunately, the spire, planned to be 240 feet tall, was never built. In the 20th century, the church was considered harshly: Pevsner considered it 'long, high but cheap', while Young and Young wrote 'Gothic, commodious and ugly'. *Catholic Handbook 1857*, quoted in Welsh papers, Wes/28/2, RIBA; Pevsner, 1952, 418, and Young and Young, *Old London Churches*, 1956, 295.

Also the designs for Mount St Mary's, Leeds, and St Alexis', Kentish Town, were intended for maximum accommodation.[133] In Leeds, the project, commenced in 1853 to a design by J. A. Hansom, was abandoned when a lightning strike caused serious damage.[134] Wardell was commissioned to prepare a larger design in 1854 , where he included a particularly high six-bay nave with aisles, transepts and twin west towers, five chapels off one aisle, and five confessionals off the second. The chancel, three steps higher than the rest of the structure, was divided into five bays each measuring half of the nave bays, had a double aisle, and a lower roof. The interior spatial arrangement is reflected in the multifaceted roofing system: each chapel, confessional and the four aisles had its own gabled roof above a traceried window at the east end. Significantly, as the church did not include a clerestory, Wardell used three levels of fenestration in the nave to assure proper illumination, adding at the east end a three-bay curvilinear window for each aisle, a large seven-bay window above the high altar in addition to the eight-bay window and the four-bay aisles' windows on the western façade. The church was opened in 1857 when only the nave and aisles were completed, while works for the completion of the structure were commissioned to AWN Pugin's son, Edward, in the 1860s.[135]

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[133] Both projects were not completed as Wardell envisaged. Mount St Mary's plan was changed in course of erection and reduced in size. St Alexis' was to accommodate 1,000 worshippers, but the project of the church was abandoned soon after the laying of the foundation stone in October 1849. *The Builder*, 6 October 1849, 478. Wardell, *St Alexis' church, Kentish town*, [1849], PXD 316, ff. 90-99, ML, SLNSW.

[134] De Jong, 1988, 123.

[135] The church was re-opened at the completion of the chancel in 1866. It served the congregation for over a century when, in 1989, the costs of maintenance and repairs led to the closure of the building.

A cruciform design with a lantern tower was adopted for the Church of Our Blessed Lady and St Joseph, Poplar.[136] (Fig. 17) Commenced in 1851, the church was built 'almost entirely by the pence of the poorest of the poor', a congregation amounting to 7,000 mostly composed by labourers at the docks.[137] For the structure, Wardell re-elaborated the plan made at Kentish Town. He decided to use lean-to steep aisle roofs instead of a triple gable partition, but maintained an elaborate east end, developed externally by the high-pitched roof delineating the internal division of spaces in chapels, chancel and sacristy.

A similar, complex east end was included for the Church of the Most Holy Trinity at Brook Green, Hammersmith, designed in 1851.[138] The church encompassed nave with aisles and clerestory, a south-west tower with baptistry in its lower part, two chapels at the north east end, sacristies and an organ chamber south of the chancel.[139] Despite the similarities in the exterior elevation to St Mary's, Clapham, in the interior of the Holy Trinity, Wardell limited decoration to the window's tracery, and in the open structure – the chancel was separated only by the altar rail - attention is caught by the arch-braced timber roof, which includes projecting brackets which support angels playing musical instruments. The aisles' roofs received their structural decoration, each spandrel of each truss having its unique rich carving. The commission encompassed the

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[136] Wardell, *Church of Our Blessed Ladye and St Joseph, Poplar, Middlesex*, 1850, PXD 382, ff. 30-57;

[137] The church was opened in September 1856 and destroyed during World War II. *Illustrated London News*, 4 October 1856, 346.

[138] Wardell, *Church and Alms Houses Brook Green, Hammersmith,* 1851, PXD 380, ff. 14-60A, ML, SLNSW.

[139] The organ chamber was repurposed as the chapel of Ss Joseph and Paul in 1857, and the organ placed in a newly erected west gallery.

design of alms-houses adjacent to the church, and foundation stone of both structures was laid in 1851. The church was opened on July 26, 1853, despite being incomplete, while the alms-houses were completed only several years later.[140]

The commission at Hammersmith, which encompassed presbytery and alms houses, was not the only in which Wardell had to envisage a complex of buildings: including a presbytery, a school or a monastery.[141] In 1853, the architect prepared the plans for the Church of Our Blessed Lady and St Charles Borromeo as well as a rectory at Wisebech, Cambridgeshire; three years later, in 1856, he designed both the church and rectory of Ss Mary and Edmund, Abingdon, and a complex of buildings at Galashiels, including the Church of Our Lady and St Andrews.

At Wisebech, lack of funds dictated the use of brick instead of natural stone for both the church and the rectory, which were also positioned uncommonly close, probably to save the expense of a longer cloister. The two-compartment church included a four-bay nave with clerestory, the north aisle with its porch, and a two-bay chancel.[142] Both the east and west end windows included curvilinear Decorated tracery, while for the nave and clerestory Wardell devised simpler

[140] A full account is given in Road, 2018. The bell-tower with its spire was modified and completed by Joseph A. Hansom in 1871. The block of alms-houses was completed only in 1859.

[141] A description of the collegiate group Wardell designed at Brook Green, in addition to other commissions including a complex of buildings plus a church is given in De Jong, 1988, 126-139.

[142] The foundation stone was laid in November 1853, and the church was opened, despite being incomplete, in September 1854.The south aisle was completed in June 1856. Additions including the lengthening of the nave, a front tower, organ and choir gallery were completed in 1962 to the designs of architects O'Neill and Fordham. Welsh papers, Wes/28/1 f. 14, RIBA.

windows, in Geometric Gothic. The chancel arch was delimited by a rood beam with crucifix that is still *in situ*.[143]

Wardell proposed a very similar plan for other structures where available funds were a serious concern, such as at Abingdon (1856) and Peterborough (1857).[144] At Abingdon, the plan of Ss Mary and Edmund of Canterbury included a rectory and a small school plus grounds for a cemetery. At the east end, the chancel encompassed a five-bay curvilinear traceried window. However, in the west elevation, Wardell designed two tall two lights windows in Geometric Gothic, surmounted by a bell-cote. The church was completed only in 1865 to the design by the firm of Hadfield & Goldie. Matthew E. Hadfield and George Goldie were two Catholic architects, who followed Pugin's Gothic Revival teachings.[145] They designed several Roman Catholic churches in England and Ireland, including the Cathedral of the Annunciation and St Nathy, Ballaghaderreen. Wardell sold them his practice when he moved to Melbourne, and they completed some of the commissions he could not supervise.[146] Their plan for Abingdon church

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[143] English Geometric Gothic appeared towards the end of the first half of the 13th century. It was developed during the first phase of the Decorated, as the French invention of bar tracery allowed for larger windows divided by mullions and tracery. The earliest tracery encompassed patterns formed by simple forms, such as circles, and later evolved in more complex forms, the curvilinear.

[144] Wardell's complex at Peterborough was realised only in part. The buildings erected in brick with Bath stone dressing encompassed a presbytery, with library, kitchen and bedrooms, and a schoolroom, used as a temporary chapel. The church was not realised until 1896 to the design of Leonard Stockes. Welsh papers, Wes/28/1 f. 16, RIBA.

[145] O'Donnell, 2004; and Dictionary of Scottish Architects, 2006.

[146] There is no surviving documentation telling about the relationship Wardell had with the firm. However, correspondence testifies that Wardell and Goldie remained in contact, as Goldie helped with at least one commission Wardell placed with the workshop of Farmer & Brindley in London for the high altar of St Patrick's church, Kilmore. Letter from Bernard Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 21 February 1873, St Patrick's Cathedral original files/1, MDHC.

maintained the geometric tracery of the west windows, but they changed their proportions.[147]

A similar west front, with twin windows in Geometric decoration was presented for Our Lady and St Andrews, Galashiels (1856). Also on this occasion, Wardell prepared plans for a complex of buildings on the banks of the Gala river. Of these, only the church was realised in stages between 1856 and 1876. Wardell's design encompassed a spacious nave with devotional chapels accessible to arched entrances giving the impression of arcades. In the exterior, the building express boldness, solidity and strength thanks to the large buttresses placed between the chapels of the nave and the use of mottled multi-coloured stones.[148] Similarly, at Our Lady and St Michael, Commercial Road, the space of the nave is uninterrupted, and the ceiling is continuous also over the chancel, divided only by three steps. While the chapels are lit by triplets of trefoils, the nave is lit by large clerestory windows all presenting a different geometric tracery.[149]

De Jong suggests that Wardell's use of the Geometric style instead of flowing decorated tracery was due to several reasons: his interest in French Gothic, the practical and financial requirements indicated by his patrons, and his tendency towards the simplification of architectural expression.[150] The Geometric style used simpler forms, thus requiring a lower degree of ability, but maintained a superior level of ornamentation if compared to Early English style. Wardell's

[147] Welsh papers, Wes/28/1 f. 21, RIBA.

[148] The exterior expression, especially the imposing buttresses will be re-elaborated by Wardell for the design of the nave of St Patrick's Cathedral.

[149] The church was built in stages and the west façade was not completed to Wardell's designs.

[150] De Jong, 1988, 133-135.

English oeuvre shows how he progressively evolved towards a simplification of forms, despite always conforming his designs to the requirements dictated by patrons' circumstances, such as in the case of the Chantry chapel. For example, in 1854, for St Richard's church Chichester, Wardell proposed a simple Early English design as the resources of the congregation were limited, the site was small and bound by roads, and the surroundings included Georgian houses characterised by severe straight lines.[151] (Fig. 18)

It is worth mentioning one of Wardell's designs which was never realised, the church at Primrose Hill he envisioned in 1857. For its realisation, the architect proposed two cruciform designs: the first encompassed an apse at the end of the nave and two secondary apses corresponding to the side aisles, while the second, which had an apse, ambulatory and five chevet chapels was marked as 'better in every way but more costly'.[152] (Fig. 19) This clearly shows the influence that French Gothic exerted on his architectural practice, a feature evident in the planning, one year later, of St Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne.

Why Wardell determined to relocate to Victoria is a matter for speculation. His health deteriorated and when he was -probably wrongly- diagnosed with tuberculosis, he decided to change climate. He chose to settle in Australia, but it is unclear whether he had made up his mind about remaining in Melbourne

[151] Wardell, *St Richard's Church, Chichester, Sussex,* PXD 316, ff. 152-153, ML, SLNSW. The church was never commenced.

[152] Wardell, *Proposed church, St George's Square, Primrose Hill,* 1856, PXD 317 ff. 36-37, ML, SL NSW. Another sketch for the church at Primrose Hill included an apse with ambulatory and two radiating chapels only. Wardell, miscellaneous [Ground plan of the proposed church at Primrose Hill], PXD 382, f. 118, ML, SL NSW.

after disembarking.[153] He started preparing his departure in the early months of 1858. Most likely, his choice was determined by a series of factors. He had probably met the Archbishop of Sydney, John Bede Polding, Robert Willson, and William Ullathorne at the opening of Pugin's Church of St Giles, Cheadle, in 1846. Thus, it is possible to conjecture that Wardell was aware of the dearth of experienced ecclesiastical architects in the Australian dioceses. In addition to that, in the 1850s the gold rush had attracted large numbers of settlers to Victoria. Melbourne was developing into a large city where Irish Catholics constituted an increasing proportion of the immigrant population.

Polding, Ullathorne and Willson had been key figures in the development of Goold's artistic taste and they fostered his interest for the Gothic Revival throughout the 1840s and 1850s. If Wardell consulted them, they probably would have mentioned that the bishop of Melbourne was at the initial stages of building his cathedral.[154] A further connection that probably drew Wardell to consider Victoria is found in the person of John Young. Young, a builder and contractor, had worked as a draughtsman for Sir Joseph Paxton on the Crystal Palace (1851). The drawings at the Mitchell Library testify that Wardell knew John Young, who in the years 1853-1854 was the contractor of two of his buildings at Chislehurst: the Church of St Mary's and the adjacent Rectory

[153] Most of the testimonials mention a relocation to Australia, without mentioning Melbourne specifically, and the bishop of Northampton discusses the possibility of procuring the patronage of Archbishop Polding or Bishop Willson. Wareing to Wardell, 5 May 1858, MLMSS 3278/1-2, ff. 55-57, ML, SLNSW; *Testimonials to W. W. Wardell, Architect and Civil engineer*, 1858, MDHC.

[154] Three years earlier, Goold had commissioned the English architects Joseph and Charles Hansom to provide the design of St Patrick's cathedral, but works were proceeding slowly. See Chapter 4.

house.[155] Young and his family, including his brother James relocated to Victoria in 1855. In 1857, John Young was engaged as contractor for the Roman Catholic Church of St Patrick's at Port Fairy, which was to be built to one of the designs Goold had acquired in England. It is quite possible that Wardell contacted him while considering relocating to Australia. One year later, when Wardell was in charge of St Patrick's Cathedral, Young was the successful contractor for the new building, a role which was carried on by his brother, James Young, until the building's completion. Young and Wardell remained close for all their lives: the architect sponsored Young's workshop of mediaeval art and metalwork in Melbourne, and engaged him for contracts at the cathedrals of Hobart and Sydney.

Preparing his departure, Wardell asked several clients to draft references to introduce him to the colony. Among them, was Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster; the Bishop of Southwark, Thomas Grant, the Bishop of Northampton, William Wareing; the Bishop of Liverpool, Alexander Goss; and Lord Petre of Thorndon Hall.[156] In the testimonials, Wardell was described as a man of taste and talent with an unimpeachable character exemplifying honour and integrity. He was praised for his accurate estimates and for discharging his duties conscientiously while diligently superintending the works in progress.[157]

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[155] Young signed a written declaration on Wardell's drawings testifying he was entering a contract for the buildings. Wardell, *Proposed church Chislehurst, Kent*, 1853, PXD 316, ff. 47-54; and *Rectory house to Our Lady's church, Chislehurst, Kent*, 1854, PXD 379, ff. 43-44, ML, SLNSW. On Young see Roberts, 1972.

[156] *Testimonials to W. W. Wardell, Architect and Civil engineer*, 1858, MDHC.

[157] The letters of recommendation were all produced in June. Wardell collected the testimonials in a pamphlet printed by Waterlow and Sons, and he forwarded several copies to prospective clients and the clergy in Victoria. *Testimonials to W. W. Wardell, Architect and Civil engineer*, 1858, MDHC; Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 September 1858, MDHC.

Cardinal Wiseman did not only write Wardell a testimonial highlighting his work for the 'most beautiful' church at Clapham, 'the vast and simple yet handsome' building at Commercial Road and the 'elegant' one at Poplar, he also wrote him a letter of introduction he sent to Goold.[158] He described Wardell as 'one of the most respected Church architects, whose name is probably not unknown to you [...] Mr Wardell has supplied the designs of many Catholic churches [...] he has displayed diligence and talent in the revival of our traditional church architecture'.[159] Wardell also asked Ullathorne and Willson to introduce him to Australian catholic circles. The Bishop of Birmingham attached to his answer 'letters for the bishops of Australia, which I hope may be of service'.[160] He added a few encouraging words for Wardell, saying that in Australia he will find a 'good field for his abilities and genius. To those who know your architectural works in England you need no introduction as a professional man, to those who know your character, you need no recommendation'.[161] From Hobart, Willson answered:

> I lost no time in writing to my clerical friends in Melbourne and to Mr O'Shannassy, begging of them to do all they could to forward the interest of one who so kindly deserved their kind offices and who would, I was sure, prove so valuable an acquisition to their Colony. [...] Of course, some time will be required before you find your proper position, but that that day will come, I have not the least doubt. And

[158] *Testimonials to W. W. Wardell, Architect and Civil engineer*, 1858, MDHC.
[159] Wiseman to Goold, 28 June 1858, MDHC.
[160] Ullathorne to Wardell, 13 June 1858, MLMSS 3278 1-2, ML, SLNSW.
[161] *Ibid.*

> some time will have to pass over before you feel at home in this hemisphere - but Divine Providence will arrange, no doubt, all for the best, and give you his blessed aid in a change so important.[162]

1.5 The Catholic church in Victoria

The large share of the Irish Catholic population who arrived in Victoria in the early 1850s influenced the growth and development of the Catholic church, allowing Bishop Goold to erect an unprecedented number of churches in the diocese.[163] Despite the limited resources available in the first years of his episcopate, the bishop had already started to erect three major ecclesiastical structures in addition to completing those already present. After 1854, a large program of church building was commenced in all settlements inhabited by Catholics. The bishop travelled extensively to make sure that even the smallest community could have access to spiritual exercises, and, if necessary, he advised the local priest and laity on how to go about constructing ecclesiastical buildings. The bishop considered episcopal visitations an essential duty of his position.[164] Travelling in Victoria was often quite demanding, because of the distances, the conditions of the roads and the weather. In his diary, Goold only rarely added details apart from indicating his destination and the time he spent

[162] Willson to Wardell, 12 October 1858, MLMSS 3278 1-2, ML, SL NSW.

[163] Between 1839 and 1868 the Irish constituted more than two fifths of the assisted immigrants relocating to Victoria. Richards, 2015. On the Irish influence on the Australian church see Reid and Kelson, 2010, Chapter 5; and O'Farrell, 2000.

[164] Goold et al., 2009, 6 July 1851, 26.

to reach it, however, during one of his tours of Gippsland in April 1853, he recorded his experience:

> being a day of great labour and toil I started on the journey soon after 6. The first ten miles which brought us to the foot of the ranges we travelled at a quick pace, reaching the ascent about 9. The remainder of the way over the ranges was one of severe toil for horses and riders. We crossed deep gullies through which we had to walk leading our horses, the horses sinking sometimes to the saddle girths in slough. The rivers, being without bridges in some places, were passed with difficulty. The last river we had to cross was flushed and the bridge partly carried away. We repaired the bridge so that the horses and ourselves could - after wading through the water knee deep - pass to the other side. The house where we stopped for the night accommodated us but poorly. I went to bed immediately to avoid catching cold, my clothes being wet and not having others to change them with. A cup of tea and a little bread constituted our dinner after a long and tiresome journey.[165]

Interestingly, he was on the occasion travelling with the Colonial Botanist Ferdinand Von Mueller, who also recalled the experience years later in his correspondence: 'we travelled together through the then untrod wilderness of Gippsland; in a ride from 6 in the morning to 10 at night almost without break and without coming to any settlement, we arrived at a river which we had to

[165] Goold et al., 22 April 1853, 36.

walk through, swollen with winter rain in deep darkness to reach the next house situated far on the other side. The Archbishop himself with the greatest danger to life had to go through the flowing water almost up to the shoulders!'[166]

Thanks to his extensive travels, and a minute control of diocesan finances, Goold exerted a tight control over local parish priests. Goold was involved in several aspects of church-building: selecting locations and purchasing land, choosing durable building materials and suitable designs, engaging competent contractors, applying for government grants and, finally, allocating funds. The bishop worked closely with his vicar, John Fitzpatrick, who was responsible for the practical aspects of administering the diocese.[167] (Fig. 20) Their correspondence testifies to the centralised power exerted from the Bishop's Palace, and to the two men's close supervision of the construction, finances and furnishings of every church of the diocese. His autocratic management of the diocese's funds earned Goold significant criticism from some of the clergy, especially Patrick Dunne.[168]

Dunne was a young Irish priest who volunteered for the Australian mission in 1850, but he hardly ever tolerated episcopal authority. He was not consulted when the plans were prepared for a new church in the mission he was

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[166] Mueller to Haynald, 22 November 1882, quoted in Darragh, 2003, 5. I am grateful to Dr Ruth Pullin who brought this letter to my attention.

[167] John Fitzpatrick (1810-1890) was recruited in Ireland by Ullathorne and arrived in Sydney soon after Goold. He followed Goold to the diocese of Melbourne after its creation. An accident prevented him from travelling with the newly elected bishop from Sydney, and he arrived by sea in February 1849.

[168] The tensions in the diocese of Melbourne during the 1850s and early 1860s are the subject of Pawsey, 1982. Dunne scandal is presented also in Hale, 1976, Chapter 4. Patrick Dunne (1818-1900) arrived in Victoria in 1850 and was banished from the diocese six years later. He later worked with bishop Quinn in Brisbane and with bishop Lanigan in Goulburn, where he became vicar general in 1880.

administering, Pentridge, and a few years later, he did not involve the bishop while making preparations for extensions to St Mary of the Angels Church at Geelong.[169] Together with a lay committee Dunne approved of the plans and collected funds, but after the laying of the foundation stone, Goold ordered the works to stop and decided upon a new plan ten times more expensive.[170] In 1856, Dunne was sent to Belfast, where he set to continue the collection of funds for the erection of a stone church. The money, however, was sent to Fitzpatrick's care in Melbourne, and part of it was used to repay the debt incurred by the previous incumbent in the building of the presbytery. Also, the site for the new church had been changed, and the delay in the approval of the new location meant that Belfast was not to receive any Government funding during the year. Frustrated by the situation, Dunne demanded that the bishop submit all the accounts for the Belfast laity to review. He and the laity confronted the bishop, and also sent a letter with their complaints to the *Propaganda* in Rome.[171]

The scandal spread from Belfast to Melbourne and throughout 1857 newspapers inflamed the debate adding to the discussion the appropriateness of state aid to religion and demanding lay control over expenditures.[172] Further discontent was caused in August 1858 when works on St Patrick's Church, Eastern Hill, stopped. A few months later, Wardell's grand plan was adopted, meaning the

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[169] Dunne published his 'Reminescences' of the Church in Victoria in: *Advocate*, 12, 19 and 26 May 1894, 6, 9 and 9; 2, 9, June 1894, 8; and 23 and 30 June 1894, 9.

[170] See Chapter 3, section 4.

[171] *The Memorial of the Roman Catholics of Belfast in the diocese of Melbourne, Colony of Victoria, Australia, to His Holiness Pope Pius the 9th*, S. R. C., F. O., Vol. V, II, ff. 1350-3, PFHA.

[172] The object of criticism was the debt of 2,600 that the newly arrived Sisters of Mercy had to pay off for the building that the bishop had purchased in Nicholson street. See Kovesi, 2019, Pawsey, 1982, and Hale, 1976.

demolition of large sections of the previous building, which, once more, inflamed the debate in newspapers. Dunne, expelled by Goold, eventually returned to Europe, and went to Ireland to approach Archbishop Paul Cullen before reaching Rome to complain about the unjust treatment he had received in Melbourne.

Cullen had spent several years covering prestigious positions in Rome before his appointment to the archbishopric of Armagh and Dublin.[173] He had created a powerful Hiberno-Roman network, placing Irish clergy with shared ideological and theological ideals in key positions all around the English colonies.[174] His friendship with the Cardinal Prefect of the *Propaganda,* Alessandro Barnabò, and his influence over the dicastery, meant that he created an Irish Episcopal empire made by bishops with strong authority in their diocese, a shared vision of Church organisation which required a minimum involvement of the laity.[175] Given the role of the Catholic church in the social structure of colonial society, Cullenite bishops influenced not only devotional practices, but the moral views of the faithful and, thus, politics.[176]

Goold was aware of the power of Cullen, but he was also fortunate to have his uncle in Rome. In fact, as Dunne reached the papal city to open a case on

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[173] Paul Cullen (1803-1878) studied at St Patrick's college, Carlow, and at the Pontifical Urban College in Rome before being ordained in 1829. He was appointed Rector of the Pontifical Irish College in Rome in 1831 and was also rector of the College of Propaganda. He was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh and Dublin in 1850 and 1852 respectively to became the first Irish Cardinal in 1866. During his life was one of the foremost political figures of Ireland and he dominated Irish ecclesiastical and religious life. See Keogh and McDonnell, 2011.

[174] See Barr, 2008. Cullen's relation with Goold is presented in Barr, 2019.

[175] Barr, 2008.

[176] *Ibid.*

Goold's administration in Melbourne, Bishop Hynes was there to resign his position. He informed his nephew that Dunne had arrived 'strongly recommended by Cullen' and Goold immediately started the preparations for his second *ad limina* visit.[177] His Italian education and his fluency in the Italian language were useful as he prepared his defence.[178] In Rome, Goold presented his Report on the state of the diocese and responded to the accusations made against his financial behaviour.[179] A few weeks later, he was 'triumphantly vindicated'.[180] He wrote a first letter to the Cardinal Prefect of the *Propaganda* thanking him for his very kind words and his condemnation of the few Catholics determined to meddle with church administration, and a second one wishing that Irish bishops would not interfere in matters that do not concern them when uninformed.[181] Nevertheless, Goold sought a compromise with Cullen. Firstly, he conformed to Cullen's recommendation for the newly erected see of Brisbane, managing to make Polding nominate James Quinn for the episcopate.[182] Secondly, he sought Cullen's advice regarding the denominational

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[177] Hynes and Condon, 2002, entries dated December 1857 to March 1858, 440-8; Barr, 2019.

[178] In a letter to Fitzpatrick, Goold specified that he should make sure that no correspondence written in Italian by 'wicked priests' reached the *Propaganda*. Also, Hynes was aware that his inability to effectively communicate in Italian was a disadvantage: 'I never regretted more my want of a fluent Italian tongue'. Significantly, all the correspondence regarding the case sent by Goold to the *Propaganda* is either in Italian or Latin, while Dunne communicated in English. Goold to Fitzpatrick, 29 December 1858, and Hynes to Goold, 13 [January?] 1858, MDHC; The correspondence relating to the scandal can be found at S.R.C., F.O., vol. 6, I, ff. 11-57, PFHA.

[179] Goold, *Relazione Sommaria dello Stato delle cose Religiose nella Diocesi di Melbourne,* S.R.C., F.O., vol. 6, I, ff. 304-51, PFHA.

[180] Hynes and Condon, 18 November 1858, 472.

[181] Goold to *Propaganda Fide*, 4 and 20 January 1859, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 6, I, ff. 399 and 420-1, PFHA.

[182] Quinn was one of Cullen's protégées and thanks to a ploy, Goold convinced Polding to add his name to his recommendations for Brisbane. Apparently, Goold had had never met Quinn, but brought him the news of his appointment. Barr, 2019.

system of education.[183] As a matter of fact, Goold was a strong opponent of the introduction of a comprehensive system of education, while Cullen was a vocal critic of the national school system in Ireland.[184] Consulting the cardinal about a strategy against secular education was a way for Goold to show him they had similar priorities.[185]

After the Dunne case, Cullen understood that Goold, with his political skills, his networks in Rome and his good reputation at the *Propaganda* would not be easily discredited and replaced.[186] However, Goold struggled to keep his distance and avoid any further enmity. In 1862, as the diocese was once more troubled by a financial scandal, Goold promptly informed the *Propaganda*, Cullen and other Irish bishops, about the happenings to prevent any interference.[187] In a comment sent to Archbishop Polding, Goold expressed his worries: 'Perhaps the Irish Archbps and Bps will try their benevolent experiments upon this Revd swindler – they may see in his case another grievance to be redressed, another just complaint against the Bps of

[183] Goold to Cullen, 11 December 1858, Australia and New Zealand, Dublin Diocesan Archives, quoted in Barr, 2019; Goold et al., 2009, 11 December 1858, 95.

[184] On Goold's fight in favour of the Denominational School system see Martin, 1986.

[185] Barr, 2019.

[186] *Ibid.*

[187] Fr John Barry, rector of St Patrick's College between 1859 and 1861 deceived Goold about the accounts of the College accumulating a debt of ca. £6,000. Moreover, Barry apparently violated his celibacy. Goold considered the whole scandal the worst befallen on the diocese, confiding to his former vicar, Geoghegan that he was 'sick to the heart of Episcopal care'. Goold to Geoghegan, 13 January 1862, quoted in Hale, 1976, 142-3. See also Pawsey, 1982, Chapter 4; and Goold's et al., 2009, 25 February 1861, 131; 24 to 31 December, 151-2, 14-15 May 1862, 166, 2, 4, and 5 August 1862, 177-8.

Australia'.[188] His strategy was successful and the scandal had no repercussions outside the city of Melbourne.

To maintain his independence Goold fought to maintain his diocese intact. From the example in NSW, he knew it was virtually impossible to prevent the appointment of Cullenite bishops with the erection of new dioceses.[189] Forced by the steady growth of Victoria, in 1869 Goold proposed the erection of the new see of Ballarat, while the Irish-Australian bishops suggested three, four and six new dioceses in Victoria, making Melbourne an archdiocese.[190] Goold agreed to have two new dioceses, including Sandhurst and Ballarat. Fortunately for him, the decision was postponed, and the diocese was divided only in 1874.

Goold arrived in Rome for his last *ad limina* visit in November 1873, when the health of the Cardinal Prefect, Barnabò, was failing. Barnabò had a close relationship with Cullen, and in previous years it had been impossible to counter their decisions.[191] Barr indicates that since the early months of 1873 *Propaganda* authorities were explicitly warning Cullen not to interfere with the appointment of new bishops.[192] Barnabò died on February 24, and four days

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[188] Goold to Polding, 16 January 1862, quoted in Hale, 1976, 143.

[189] In 1869 NSW had five dioceses while Victoria, more extensive and crowded, had still only one.

[190] The Cullenite bishops in Australia included: James Quinn (1819-1881), Cullen's protégé, who had been appointed in 1859 to Brisbane; his brother, Matthew Quinn (1821-1885) who had completed his studies in Rome before being consecrated bishop of Bathurst by archbishop Cullen together with his cousin, James Murray (1828-1909). Murray too had received his education in Rome, and he had served as Cullen private's secretary for 11 years before being consecrated bishop of Maitland in 1865. William Lanigan (1820-1900) studied at St Patrick's college, Maynooth, and was appointed to the see of Goulburn by bishops James Murray, James and Matthew Quinn while Archbishop Polding was in Europe. James Timothy O'Mahony (1825-1892) was another cousin of James and Matthew Quinn, who had been educated at the Irish College in Rome and appointed bishop of Armidale in 1869.

[191] Barr, 2019.

[192] *Ibid.*

later Goold received a list of ten Cardinals he had to visit to settle the division of his diocese.[193] The erection of the new dioceses was settled at the consistory held on the 16th March, and the see of Melbourne formally elevated archdiocese on the 31st. (Fig. 21) Despite Cullen's authority being weaker than in previous years, Goold was able to have his confrère Martin Crane elected bishop of Sandhurst, while the diocese of Ballarat was given to the care of the Dublin priest Michael O'Connor, who was among the names suggested by Goold, but also highly regarded by Cullen.[194]

Goold struggled until the end of his episcopacy to maintain his authority in Victoria. (Fig. 22) He successfully opposed the modifications of the borders of the two Victorian dioceses and when he had to carve a new diocese, Sale, out of Sandhurst's territory, he had one of his loyal men appointed as its first bishop.[195] His combative spirit accompanied him until his last months, when he resolutely fought the idea of being assigned a coadjutor selected by others.[196] When he died in 1886, he was succeeded by Thomas Carr, who had been educated at Maynooth and was deeply influenced by Cardinal Cullen.[197]

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[193] Goold et al., 2009, February and March 1874, 437-8.

[194] Martin Crane (1818-1901) was educated among the Irish Augustinians at Grantstown and Perugia. Michael O'Connor (1829-1883) studied at Maynooth College. He was one of Cullen's protégées and he worked in the parish of Rathfarnham for twenty years before his consecration as bishop of Ballarat.

[195] James Francis Corbett (1834-1912) was born in Ireland and educated in Belgium and France. He was assigned the parish of St Kilda after his arrival in Victoria in 1863 and acted as Goold's private secretary. Goold to *Propaganda*, September 1876, S.R.C., F.O., vol 11, I, ff. 106-12; and 23 March 1885 and 15 April 1886, S.R.C., F.O., vol 15, f. 92 and 821 respectively, PFHA.

[196] Goold to Leo XIII, [undated], S.R.C., F.O., vol 16, I, f. 86, PFHA.

[197] Thomas Joseph Carr (1839-1917) became professor and later vice president at St Patrick's college, Maynooth. He was appointed bishop of Galway in 1883 and archbishop of Melbourne at Goold's death, arriving in Australia in June 1887. Significantly, as news reached Sydney of Carr's appointment, Moran, another Cullenite appointed archbishop in 1884, said 'All the Australian Bishops will now be thoroughly united!'. Quoted in Molony, 1979.

Goold's education in Italy played a significant role in the development of his refined taste for the arts. The grandeur of Roman churches inspired his ambition for St Patrick's Cathedral. Moreover, during the five *ad limina* visits to Italy, the bishop noted the display of art in the churches he visited, and he was inspired in his acquisitions. His painting collection was already highly regarded during his lifetime, as he loaned several artworks to the *Art Treasures exhibition* in 1869. Goold's 'rich treasures' were considered 'of the highest class of art', and the correspondent to *The Argus* noted that 'Bishop Goold must be congratulated on being the possessor of such a large number of really valuable works, and thanked for the liberality with which he has taken advantage of this opportunity to share with the public the gratification and improvement that they afford'.[198] Influenced by both his networks in Australia and in Europe, the bishop's patronage was a significant contribution to colonial Melbourne and the architecture that survives today.

[198] *Argus*, 5 April 1869, 5.

Chapter 2: Gothic taste in the colony of New South Wales

Goold sailed from England on the *Upton Castle* that left Plymouth on the 16th October 1837. After four months, he was welcomed in Australia by the view of Botany Bay, an uninterrupted sequence of cliffs and water that 'seems to have been formed by an extraordinary sentiment of the land that cleft the colossal rocks so that it seems that you are entering through a grand door'.[1] Among the passengers that disembarked in Sydney Cove on the 24th February 1838 there were George Gipps, the newly appointed Governor of New South Wales, and three other Irish clergymen recruited by William Ullathorne in Europe, including John Brady, who would become the first bishop of Perth, and two students directed to St Mary's seminary.[2]

Goold spent ten years as a missionary priest under Archbishop Polding. This period of apprenticeship cannot be underestimated when analysing his patronage. In fact, after his formal education in Ireland and Italy, it was in New South Wales that he learned of the duties and responsibilities of missionary work. This experience was highly formative in several regards: Goold managed to cope with the peculiarities of the Australian colonial context, with its distances and harsh climate; he learned to manage the finances of his parish and to implement the erection of schools and churches.

In New South Wales, Goold was involved for the first time in his life with church building. He realised designs showing the evolution of style in the colony, from

[1] Polding, *Relazione della missione di Australia fino al 1846*, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 3, ff. 3-25, PFHA.
[2] *Sydney Herald*, 12 February 1838, 2

an illiterate Gothick to an archaeologically correct Gothic Revival. A few months after his arrival in 1838, Goold was already at work completing one of the churches designed by John Joseph Therry in Campbelltown. Therry was a pioneering figure of the Australian mission, but he had no architectural training and designed wide buildings, pierced by many pointed windows and surmounted by low-pitched gabled roofs. More refined, but still crude, were the churches commenced after the arrival of Archbishop Polding. These were characterised by a design excessively tall and narrow with a few lancet windows respecting the same proportions. In Appin, Goold was involved in the erection of one of Therry's designs that was substantially modified according to the archbishop's taste. Finally, throughout the 1840s, Goold witnessed the diffusion of archaeologically informed designs thanks to the arrival in the colony of several architectural drawings procured by Polding in England. As testified by the words of his vicar general, Gregory, the archbishop believed firmly in the importance of beauty and dignity:

> as regards the style of buildings also we may without boasting congratulate ourselves. The archbishop has expended considerable pain and anxiety on this point. Not only because churches built with propriety and good taste [...] are eventually the cheapest, but because in a community unhappily but too much engrossed it is of no inconsiderable importance, in its due place, to present even to men's

> senses the forms and suggestions of other beauties and more lasting interests.[3]

In the colony, the taste for architecture evolved rapidly as new ideas came from England, and Goold learned from Polding's example how to provide for an immense diocese with limited resources at the fringes of Empire, understanding also the complexity and multifaceted nature of the task.

2.1 The Catholic church in New South Wales

At the opening of 1838, the Australian mission counted only six priests, and while Ullathorne continued to recruit volunteers in Europe, Polding in Sydney provided the new recruits with a few weeks of basic training in St Mary's Cathedral before appointing them to their parishes.[4] (Fig. 23) In spite of the impoverished condition of the diocese, particularly if compared with the grandeur of the Catholic church in Italy, where Goold had spent the last six years of his life, he would have been certainly impressed by the cathedral of Sydney, one of the most stunning edifices in the entire country. Not much has been written about Goold's time in New South Wales.[5] From April 1838 to August 1848 he resided in Campbelltown, where his parishioners described him

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[3] *Ragguaglio della missione nella Nuova Olanda*, M286-287, SAA, quoted in Birt, 1970, 172.

[4] The Australian mission counted Polding and Ullathorne in addition to J.J. Therry, C.V. Dowling, T.C. Sumner, H.G. Gregory and J.B. Spencer. Further reinforcement sailed from England on the 23rd March 1838 and included eight priests convinced by Ullathorne to volunteer for the mission. Among them was Francis Murphy, who will be appointed first bishop of Adelaide in 1843, and John Fitzpatrick, who will be Goold's right hand in Melbourne.

[5] Cunich, 2019.

as ‘a kind and warm-hearted friend, a zealous pastor and a truly Christian minister’.[6] Among his main achievements there were the completion of the Church of St John the Evangelist and the opening of the first school erected by private enterprise, St Patrick’s, whose foundation stone was laid by Archbishop Polding on 17th March 1840.[7] Campbelltown was the second oldest parish in Australia. It enclosed Illawarra and Argyle county reaching beyond Yass in the south. Since 1835 it had a resident priest, John Joseph Therry, who, after Goold’s arrival, was dispatched to Van Diemen’s Land.[8] Therry, arrived in May 1820 together with Fr Conolly, had devoted all his life to attending to the pastoral necessities of the Australian population. After residing in Sydney for several years, he had been appointed to Campbelltown after the arrival of Polding.

One of Therry’s greatest endeavours was the erection of a place of worship for the Catholics of the colony, St Mary’s. (Fig. 24) The drawings of a simple perpendicular Gothic chapel were initially prepared by the convict architect Francis Greenway.[9] However, Therry had ambitious plans, and he significantly altered the design, eventually forcing Greenway’s resignation.[10] In her

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[6] *Port Phillip Gazette and Settler’s Journal*, 2 October 1848, 4.

[7] Bach, 1984.

[8] John Joseph Therry (1790-1864) was born in Cork and educated at St Patrick’s College, Carlow. A biographical account is given in Eddy, 1967; O’Brien, 1922, and Moran, 1890, Chapter 4.

[9] Francis Greenway (1877-1837) had a private practice as an architect in Bristol before being sentenced to transportation to Australia. He arrived in the Colony in 1814, but he was allowed to practice and in 1815 he was given a ticket-of-leave. He was appointed civil architect in 1816. On Greenway see Herman, 1964; Broadbent & Hughes, 1997 and McGregor, 2014.

[10] Kerr argues that the surviving plans of St Mary’s were indeed prepared by Therry, but some details, such as the octagonal buttresses and the proportion of the windows may have been adapted from the Greenway’s elevations. See Kerr, 1977, 53-6.

comprehensive study of ecclesiastical architecture in New South Wales, Kerr recognised two architectural peculiarities of Therry's buildings in St Mary's: it had a Latin cross plan and seventy large, pointed windows in two rows.[11] The foundation stone was laid on the 29th October 1821 on the site assigned by the Government at the edge of Sydney's Hyde Park.[12] For more than a decade, construction works proceeded slowly because of financial difficulties and grievances between Therry and the Government. Only after the arrival of the newly appointed vicar general, Ullathorne, in February 1833, did the chapel proceed towards a speedy completion notwithstanding the debts accumulated over time.[13] In September, the church was opened with the celebration of the first mass, and by the end of 1834, Ullathorne could assert that 'the great church was completed and we began to have the services and devotions in a more becoming manner'.[14] With the arrival of Polding in September 1835, St Mary's was elevated to the status of cathedral. It was an impressive building at the time. The compact cruciform chapel encompassed 51 pointed arch windows on two levels.[15] The gabled roof structure was of red cedar, and so were the pillars supporting it and dividing the aisles both in the nave and in the transepts. The

[11] See Kerr, 1997, Chapter 2, and Ullathorne, 1891, 111.

[12] Harden, 1971.

[13] A detailed explanation of Therry's financing of St Mary's and his problems of insolvency is given in Waldersee, 1971.

[14] The mass was celebrated on the 13th of September by Therry. The exterior of the building was almost finished, but the interior was not completed. The cathedral was formally dedicated on the 29th June 1836, after the completion of most of the interiors. The internal roof was not finished until 1837. The bell tower was commenced only in 1842. Additions and enlargements continued throughout the 1850s and early 1860s until the whole structure was completely destroyed by a fire 1865. Ullathorne, 1891, 78. See also Kerr & Broadbent, 1980, 56-8, and Waldersee, 1971, 35.

[15] The original number of seventy windows was reduced during construction.

dark red timber would certainly have made quite an impression on the white background of St Mary's plastered walls.

Therry's architectural activities were not confined to St Mary's. As pioneer priest in Australia, his interest encompassed the erection of every church he could reach. In regard to Therry's architectural practice, it is worth noticing that he had French ancestry, but spent all his life in Cork before relocating to Australia. Kerr argues that this combination of influences is revealing when analysing his architecture. His inclination for Latin-cross plans, pointed windows and apses derives from French architecture. However, his inability to combine them appropriately derives from his Irish background, where churches were, for the most, crude structures, and his lack of architectural training.[16] The mixture of French and Irish elements observable in Therry's Gothick churches will characterise several other buildings erected by Catholic congregations.

In 1824, he had begun an ample stuccoed-brick church in Campbelltown. The design encompassed a rectangular, single storey regency Gothick chapel wide enough to accommodate a congregation of 450, but Therry himself altered the plan in course of erection.[17] His passion for 'opes' was well exemplified by his decision to raise the walls of the chapel to allow a second row of windows, thus enabling the fitting of 80 windows, arranged in two rows of twenty on each side,

[16] Kerr, 1977, 65-8.

[17] The term Gothick is used to refer to a form of Commissioner's gothic that denotes a use of Gothic elements in a superficial, picturesque manner, without a clear understanding of the ecclesiological principles of mediaeval Gothic. Kerr and Broadbent, 1980, 58-9. *Australasian Catholic directory, 1941*, 2005, 23.

in a church that was 80 feet long.[18] This architectural peculiarity, distinguishable in several of his designs, would be amply criticised by both his superiors and public opinion in the following years. Ullathorne, for example, remembering his time in Australia, wrote in his autobiography that Therry used to 'put as many windows as the walls would allow of, without any consideration for the intense glare of heated light. […] At Campbelltown his church looked like a cage'.[19]

2.2 Church building in the Campbelltown mission

The church was still under construction when Therry left in 1838. Goold took over to complete the building according to the original plan. In addition to this, he had to reorganise the finances of the parish. Thanks to his practical approach, he succeeded in both tasks. Therry had left the parish taking with him the baptismal registers and the documents regarding an indebted farm bequeathed to St John's Church, causing 'great disappointment'.[20] Goold managed the situation, and Polding later recognised 'he had worked with great success, distinguishing himself for the good order introduced by him where there formerly reigned complete disorganisation'.[21] For the interiors of St John's, Goold omitted the plaster Gothick furnishings envisaged by Therry and

[18] The number of windows was reduced to 37 by 1835. Ullathorne wrote of Therry: 'His taste in architecture was for what he called 'opes'; if a plan was brought to him, his first question was: 'How many more opes would it admit of?''. Ullathorne, 1891, 111.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Polding to Therry, 11 January 1845, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 2, 22.

[21] *Memorandum to Propaganda Fide,* 25 February 1847, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 2, ff. 165-70, PFHA.

added a second floor in order to use the building also as a school given the steady growth of the town population.[22] A reporter described the church: '[it has] a plain, factory-like appearance. I was unable to look at the interior, which is, I understand, very handsomely fitted up. The building itself is large and apparently well built, but has a square look about it that does not give much idea of a church and does not resemble the style usually adopted by the Roman Catholics, who generally contrive to give a distinctive character even to the most humble building they may occupy'.[23] (Fig. 25) St John's was completed in 1841, and the structure was used for divine service until 1886, when it was converted into a convent and school by the Good Samaritan Sisters.[24] The building was returned to its original form under the guidance of the Heritage Conservation Fund and it is listed today as the oldest masonry Catholic church still extant in Australia.[25] In the same years, in Campbelltown, Goold also opened St Patrick's school and erected a presbytery, a simple two storey brick structure that served as residence both for him and the missionaries serving the Appin mission.

Under the guidance of Archbishop Polding Goold learned about the pastoral duties of a missionary priest in the wilderness of colonial Australia. A few months after being appointed to Campbelltown, Goold travelled to the southernmost part of the district that, on the occasion, was made the independent parish of Yass and Goulburn. Accompanied by Polding and the two

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[22] Kerr & Broadbent, 1980, 58-9.

[23] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 May 1844, 2.

[24] Bach, 1984, 38-9.

[25] A new church was opened on Cordeaux Street in 1886. *Ibid.*; and Heritage office database NSW, 'St. John's Roman Catholic church and Cemetery (former)', File Number EF10/20019, S90/5724, HC 32576, 1999.

newly arrived missionaries, Frs Brennan and Fitzpatrick, Goold reached the settlement of Yass, some 140 miles south west of Campbelltown.[26] This was the first pastoral tour Polding had completed in the area and on the 28th August 1838 he laid the foundation stone of the Church of St Augustine's.[27] The building was a stuccoed brick structure with a window every nine feet designed by Therry.[28] After his departure for Van Diemen's Land, the superintendence of the church was left to John O'Sullivan, Therry's friend and agent, who did not allow Polding to interfere with the plans.[29]

While Fitzpatrick and Brennan were left in charge of the parish of Yass and Goulburn, Polding proceeded to the Murrumbidgee region and Goold left towards Queanbeyan. Polding wrote the first account of Goold's time in the colony: 'I hear of the woeful wanderings of other unhappy wights. Mr Goold has been out two or three nights. He left Yass about two weeks since at eleven AM, and after journeying all day supposed he was at least 40 miles away, when lo! At 10 o'clock PM he found himself in the township again!'.[30] The difficulties of adapting to the long distances covered on scant bush tracks were common to all of Polding's missionaries. He conveyed their struggles to invite donations from Europe. In a long letter to the *Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi*, the French

[26] The arrival of several missionaries during 1838 allowed Polding to create new parishes. Campbelltown mission continued to extend for more than fifty miles to the south. Harden, 1971, 11. On the missionaries who arrived in the 1830s see O'Brien et al., 1975.

[27] Polding to Heptonstall, undated [September 1838], quoted in Birt, 1970, 321.

[28] The first list of donors to the church is dated January 1837. Harden, 1971, 11.

[29] The original church was significantly altered in the late 1850s under the direction of Fr McAlroy, who acted as architect. See Kerr, 1977, Chapter 2, note 35; and Kerr & Broadbent, 1980, 60-1.

[30] Polding to Heptonstall, 4 October 1838, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 1, 117-9. See also Birt, 1970, 322, and O'Brien et al., 1975, 19.

institution committed to collect money for missionaries, Polding often wrote of the hardships faced by his clergymen:

> Mr Fitzpatrick is very unfortunate (an excellent ecclesiastic of untiring zeal in bringing souls to God). He lost his saddle bags and everything necessary for saying mass except his chalice, and now he has also lost his horse. He has been in the bush lost several nights. Three or four vestments are also lost, but I am not surprised, for travelling on horseback fifty miles each day for days together, it is next to impossible to carry them on horseback. [...] I hope Mr Magrath (a young priest sent to assist Mr Lovat) will bring a mattress with him; no such thing is to be had here, and then he must be contented to place it on the ground.[31]

Notwithstanding the difficulties of adapting to the colonial context, the years in Campbelltown were certainly educative for Goold. The *Catholic Directory* of 1841 indicates that he had to provide for five settlements in addition to Campbelltown, and he travelled about 2,000 miles every year, visiting every 'station' monthly.[32] After Campbelltown, the most important centres Goold had under his care were Camden, Appin and Berrima. In 1836, Fr Sumner had been appointed to the mission in Appin, but since there was no presbytery there, he

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[31] Polding to *Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi*, 20 July 1840, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 1, 164-8. Fitzpatrick and Brennan remained one year and a half in the parish. In the closing months of 1839, Ullathorne's decision to take charge of St Mary's seminary started a chain of diocesan changes: Brennan was transferred to Parramatta to take Ullathorne's place, Lovat left the direction of the seminary to attend to the Yass and Goulburn mission, and Fitzpatrick relocated to the mission of Liverpool and Penrith, considered much more suitable for his poor horseman's skills.

[32] *Australasian Catholic Directory*, *1841*, 2005, 23-4.

resided in Campbelltown.[33] At Appin Therry had prepared the design for a church and collected for its realisation. The plan was very similar to St Augustine's and the foundation stone was laid by Polding in December 1837. The building, dedicated by Therry to the Immaculate Conception, encompassed a fifty-five feet long rectangular structure with west tower, five pointed arch windows on each side and two more on the east end and west tower. Debts prevented the timely completion of the building. Soon after Therry's relocation, Polding changed the dedication to St Bede and revised the plans: he eliminated a few windows, added a porch to the main structure, and, possibly inspired by the plan for the roof in St Patrick's Church Hill, he added an ogee-curved cedar roof in the interior.[34] (Fig. 26)

It is not clear what role Goold played in the building of St Bede's. However, in a letter to Therry dated July 1838, Polding wrote 'Mr Goold is very busily engaged [...] I shall be with him in a few days, when I hope to find the building of the Church at Appin resumed'.[35] This suggests that Goold was involved in supervising the construction to Polding's revised plans. The Church dedicated to St Bede was completed without incurring debts under Goold and Sumner's supervision in 1841. However, as Polding was travelling to Rome to advocate for the establishment of the Australian hierarchy, the formal consecration would take place only after his return, on the 8th October 1843. Together with St John

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[33] John Bede Sumner had arrived in NSW with Polding in 1835. He was still a student at Downside when he decided to volunteer for missionary work in Australia. The presbytery in Appin was built only in 1845. Polding to Therry, 12 July 1838, Polding et al., vol. 1, 1994-7, 106-7.

[34] The interior roof of St Patrick's was replaced in 1914, while at St Bede's it is still *in situ*. See Kerr, 1977, 156-7; Holmes, 1997, 6-8; and Kerr and Broadbent, 1980, 60.

[35] Polding to Therry, 12 July 1838, Polding et al., vol. 1, 1994-7, 106-7.

the Evangelist in Campbelltown, St Bede's was at the beginning of Goold's experience in church building. Differently from St John's Georgian appearance, St Bede's was an example of Carpenter Gothick taste. Indeed, both Polding and Ullathorne had a more sophisticated understanding of architecture compared to Therry, as their taste had been deeply influenced by their experiences in England.

Before his pastoral mission to Australia, Ullathorne had firsthand experience of Gothic architecture when he was a student at the Benedictine monastery, Downside Abbey, where Polding was the headmaster.[36] Between 1820 and 1823 Downside monastery underwent several improvements to provide a more appropriate monastic accommodation.[37] The plans were prepared by the Bath architect Henry E. Goodridge in the Early English Gothick style. Polding was directly involved in raising the money for the buildings that included a chapel, cells for the monks and school rooms. Ullathorne witnessed the opening of the most ambitious monastic complex of the time.[38] When in 1833 Ullathorne prepared a church design for the Catholics of East Maitland, he reproduced the proportions of the Early English buildings of Downside in his own drawings. The structure, a simple stone chapel in Carpenter Gothic style, showed his understanding of Gothic proportions, especially in the pitching of the roof and the slenderness of the lancet windows. Ullathorne's competent plan, however, was reviewed by Therry, who, without consulting him, added a second window

[36] Ullathorne entered the monastery in 1823, was ordained in 1831, and left for Sydney in September 1832.

[37] A complete history of the erection of the buildings at Downside is provided in Hudleston, 1914; and Bellenger, 2011.

[38] Polding's time as a Prefect of Downside are described in O'Donogue, 1982, Chapter 1.

for every two, spoiling, in Ullathorne's own words 'what would have been a well-proportioned nave in the old lancet style'. [39]

After his appointment to Sydney, Polding asked Goodridge for plans to take with him to Australia. He aimed at reproducing the proportions of Downside chapel, unconventionally tall and narrow, in several of the churches erected in New South Wales between the 1830s and the 1840s.[40] The new approach to Gothic architecture is best exemplified by the Church of St Patrick's, erected on Church Hill, Sydney, between 1840 and 1844. The English Commissioner's Gothic design was most probably procured by Fr Francis Murphy. Murphy, who had Irish origins, volunteered for the mission in England and in 1827 was assigned to the Church of St Patrick's in Liverpool, where he resided for ten years before meeting Ullathorne and relocating to Australia. In Liverpool, Murphy was involved in the construction of St Anthony's Church to the plans of architect John Broadbent, a pupil of Thomas Rickman.[41] The design of St Anthony's was adapted to the site on Church Hill, Sydney, but the lancet windows in the liturgical west front, exposed to the southerly winds, were too large to be filled with glass safely. Polding decided to subdivide the windows with tracery bars, and the controversy aroused by this breaking of the stylistic

[39] Ullathorne, 1891, 112. See also Kerr, 1977, 59-60; and Kerr and Broadbent, 1980, 60.

[40] Polding's intention to reproduce the proportion of Downside buildings in Australia has been firstly recognised by Kerr, 1977, 137-78. She explains the narrowness of St Patrick's, Church Hill, with Polding's association with Downside. Rural churches that show this feature most evidently are St John's, Richmond, Tasmania; St Michael's, Bugonia; St Joseph's, Macdonald River; Holy Cross, Kincumber; St Gregory, Kurrajong and the first St Mary of the Angels, Geelong.

[41] See Kerr, 1977, Chapter 4.

homogeneity showed the commitment to Gothic archaeological principles of Protestant and Catholics alike.[42]

2.3 Archbishop Polding's taste for Gothic Revival architecture

Polding's taste for architecture evolved after the two years he spent in Europe between 1841 and 1843.[43] A few weeks after his arrival in England, on the 21st June 1841, he attended the consecration of St Chad's Cathedral in Birmingham. St Chad's was the first Catholic cathedral built in England since the Reformation, and the design had been commissioned to AWN Pugin. The building, with its 'glorious internal effect, purple with stained glass and rich with gilding with everything, even vestments in character' certainly made an impression on Polding: he described it as 'magnificent' in a letter to the Papal authorities.[44]

One of the main objectives of Polding's first European trip was to establish a Catholic hierarchy in Australia. The plan he had elaborated with his vicar, Ullathorne, succeeded, and Polding was appointed Bishop of Sydney on the 5th April 1842.[45] Some days later, on the 22nd April, with the creation of the dioceses

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[42] *The Commercial Journal and General Advertiser*, 28 May and 4 June 1845, 2; and *The Morning Chronicle*, 31 May and 11 June 1845, 2 and 1 respectively.

[43] Polding left Sydney accompanied by Ullathorne and Gregory on the 16th November 1840 and arrived in Europe in early May 1841. He returned to Sydney on the 9th March 1843. *The Australasian Chronicle,* 17 November 1840 and 31 August 1841, 3 and 2 respectively.

[44] Pugin to E. J. Willson, 1839, quoted in Stanton, 1971, 59. Polding to *Propaganda Fide*, 2 November 1842, S. R. C., F.O., vol. 2, I, f. 406, PFHA.

[45] A history of the establishment of the Australian Hierarchy is given in Birt, 1970, vol. 2, Chapter 1.

of Adelaide and Hobart, Sydney was made an archdiocese and Polding appointed archbishop. Polding initially indicated Ullathorne for the episcopal seat in Hobart Town, but the Benedictine objected because of the presence of Therry as vicar general. Ullathorne strongly recommended the appointment of Robert William Willson for the bishopric, and after coming to an agreement with Polding regarding Therry's financial and administrative powers, Willson reluctantly accepted.[46] Polding suggested the name of Ullathorne once more for the see of Adelaide, but he was resolved 'to decline the episcopate in any shape' and travelled to Rome to refuse the appointment.[47] His place was then taken by Francis Murphy, whose consecration was celebrated in St Mary's Cathedral on the 8th September 1844.[48] Before sailing towards Sydney, Polding had a further occasion to visit Birmingham's cathedral as on the 27th October 1842 he consecrated Robert W. Willson Bishop of Hobart in St Chad's. A few years later, Polding would recreate the same grand medieval atmosphere in the colony, celebrating Goold's consecration with *episcopalia* and vestments 'of the Puginic cut', in the newly improved monastic complex of St Mary's.[49]

Polding's appreciation of Pugin's architecture was further enhanced by the association of the architect with the English Benedictines. In fact, in 1839, Pugin had prepared drawings for enlarging the monastery of Downside. Pugin's plans recreated the first archaeologically correct setting for Benedictine monastic life

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[46] For a description of Willson's reluctance to take the mitre see Southerwood, 1989, 24-30. Ullathorne's unwillingness to be appointed bishop and his reasons are presented in his autobiographies: Ullathorne, 1891, 208-10 and Ullathorne and Madigan, 1995, 257-9.

[47] Ullathorne, 1891, 208.

[48] The ceremony was delayed waiting for the arrival of the bishop of Hobart who was to act as a co-consecrator.

[49] Moore to Morrall, 18 February 1848, quoted in Andrews, 2002, 161.

in England since the Reformation. Possibly due to prohibitive costs, the scheme did not eventuate. However, only three years later, in 1842, Pugin presented new drawings for an enlarged monastery. He imagined a complex that was some three times more extensive than the previous one, and enormously more elaborate in its Early English style.[50] Also if this plan did not proceed, it had a strong impact on the Benedictine community. Given the fact that in Rome, Polding obtained from the Holy See an official decree establishing St Mary's as a monastic Cathedral with a Benedictine monastery annexed, it is reasonable to believe that once he returned to England, he was shown Pugin's vision for Downside monastery.

Pugin's contacts with the Benedictine community for the erection of monastic buildings, in addition to the magnificence of St Chad's, certainly fostered Polding's commission to the architect of several archaeologically correct ecclesiastical buildings for the Australian mission. To date, the designs ascribed to Pugin realised in the colony of New South Wales encompass the extensions of St Mary's Cathedral -including the bell tower, a school, two town churches and a small rural church.[51] A few years later, in a letter to the Tablet, Pugin proudly wrote: 'more than one Bishop has departed across the ocean to the antipodes, carrying the seeds of Christian design to grow and flourish in the New World, and soon the solemn chancels and cross-crowned spires will arise, the last

[50] Hudleston, 1914, 146-50.

[51] See Kerr, 1977, Chapter 6, and Andrews, 2001, Chapter 3.

object which the mariner will behold on the shores of the Pacific till their venerable originals greet his glad view on England's shores.'[52]

As mentioned by Pugin, there was more than one bishop exporting his Gothic Revival designs to Australia. The newly consecrated bishop of Hobart was the other champion of the cause for reviving mediaeval Catholic life. Willson's family was close to the Pugins, and Robert Willson was one of the few of AWN Pugin's Catholic acquaintances before his conversion in 1835.[53] Willson's uncle, Edward James Willson, was an architect, an antiquary and an architectural historian who specialised in mediaeval architecture.[54] He collaborated with Augustus Pugin and AWN Pugin writing the texts accompanying *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* and *Examples of Gothic Architecture*. Moreover, Robert Willson approached theological studies influenced of Bishop John Milner, another prominent antiquarian interested in Gothic architecture.[55]

When, in 1840, it was decided to build a new church in Willson's parish, Nottingham, Pugin was engaged for the designs.[56] The drawings of St Barnabas' were ambitiously revised before the beginning of the works. The Earl of Shrewsbury, one of the key benefactors to the project, in a letter to Willson's superior, Bishop Walsh, complained that the plan to which he had decided to

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[52] A.W.N. Pugin, 'Catholic Church Architecture', *Tablet*, 2 September 1848, 563, quoted in Andrews, 2001, 69.

[53] See Andrews, 2002, 38-40.

[54] Edward J. Willson's role in the development of archaeological correctness in the Gothic revival is described in Pevsner, 1972, 23–7. See also Colvin, 2008, 1128-9; and Andrews, 2002, 43.

[55] Andrews, 2002, 38-40. See also Husenbeth, 1862; and Ward, 1909.

[56] Further details on the commission of St Barnabas' and the features of the plans are provided in Stanton, 1971, Chapter 4.

contribute was relatively modest compared to the one that was commenced: 'I was delighted to find that y[ou]r Lordship was able to begin with Nottingham. But the magnitude of the present plan quite terrifies me'.[57] The cruciform building was not completely finished by 1843. However, before his departure for Van Diemen's Land, Willson insisted on ascending the scaffolds to bless the cross at the top of the spire.[58] Willson sailed from England on the 4th February 1844, carrying with him 'whatever might be useful, or rather requisite for the service of A[lmighty] G[od]'.[59] In fact, Pugin prepared designs for all the needs of Willson's new diocese, including vestments, metalwork and furnishings for both a cathedral and smaller rural churches, floor slabs and simple headstones. Some of these items were realised in Birmingham in Hardman and Powell's workshops, including 40 sets of vestments, crosses, chalices and ciboriums:

> In order to introduce the proper church style in this distant land, I [Willson] also procured a font rightly deconstructed and fitted which will serve as a model for all other churches, also stone picinas [*sic*], stone crosses, models of churches constructed on proper scales all by the great restorer of Church architecture and church furniture Mr Pugin, together with a variety of things which I hope will tend & promote God's glory and your salvation.[60]

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[57] Earl of Shrewsbury to Walsh, 16 November 1841, BAA B606, quoted in Andrews, 2002, 46, (emphasis in the original).

[58] Southerwood, 1989, 39. St Barnabas' was opened on the 27th August 1844 by Bishop Wiseman.

[59] In particular, see items B.8 to B.12 and C.1 to C.28 in Andrews, 2002.

[60] Draft of a speech by Bishop Willson titled 'the state of church temporalities' given to a meeting of the clergy and others in Hobart on the 23 October 1844. Willson papers, CA.6/Wil.12, AHMA quoted in Andrews, 2002, 56.

In Australia, Willson and Goold would develop a sincere friendship, and both Polding and Willson's appreciation for the Gothic Revival would influence Goold.

Polding left London on the *Templar* on the 3rd November 1842 and arrived in Sydney Harbour on 9th March 1843. Pugin had not yet completed his commission, and only in December he noted in his diary 'Mr Heptonstall had drwgs for Sydney'.[61] The delay was of little consequence as upon his return, Polding found that the finances of the archdiocese were in a 'frightful state'.[62] The newly appointed bishop of Adelaide, Murphy, who had taken the place of Ullathorne as vicar general in 1840, had contracted several debts to pay for church building. Difficulties in the erection of St Patrick's, Church Hill, had been already highlighted by Polding in his report to the *Propaganda Fide*, nevertheless, he hoped to see the church in an advanced state of completion.[63] Polding could hardly contain his desperation in his letters to his cousin: 'Oh Hepton, Hepton, were you ever in debt? If you ever were I pity you. Here I am now over head and ears, aye, to the top of my crown [...] owing to the Churches having been carried on during my absence a little too fast.'[64] The debts on St

[61] Pugin's pocket notebook, 10 December 1842, 86 MM61, National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, quoted in Andrews, 2002. Thomas Heptonstall was a cousin of Polding, and acted as agent of the Australian bishops in England. Downside Abbey Records 1819-1869, Downside Abbey Archives.

[62] Polding to Heptonstall, 9 June 1843, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 1, 223-4.

[63] Polding, *Relazione della missione della Nuova Olanda ossia dell'Australia,* March 1842, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 2, I, f. 80, PFHA.

[64] Polding to Heptonstall, December 1843, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 1, 230-1.

Mary's amounted to £5,000 while St Patrick's, St Joseph's and the Church of the Holy Cross totalled £2,400 at the least in debt.[65]

Financial constraints slowed the realisation of the archbishop's architectural projects, and priority was given to the erection of the Benedictine monastery over the extension of St Mary's Cathedral to Pugin's grand design. A drawing of the intended plan for the newly established monastery was published in the *Sydney Benedictine Journal* in May 1843. This displayed a two-storey complex, encompassing two cloisters, to be built in stone on the site adjoining the cathedral, that was represented including Pugin's extensions.[66] The rendering of the monastery was hand-drawn by Fr Honoratus Garroni, a Benedictine monk from Subiaco who had arrived in Sydney with Polding in March. However, it is very unlikely that he was the architect who had envisaged the grand plan. Polding considered Garroni a useless man.[67] Preparing the drawing for the *Benedictine Journal* was one of the assignments Polding gave to Garroni to occupy him for some time, as he could not find a suitable role for him in Sydney.[68] Lack of material evidence makes it impossible to ascertain who was the architect of St Mary's monastery, but it is possible that after seeing the plans

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[65] Polding to *Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi*, 16 December 1843, Polding et al., 1994-17, vol. 1, 229-30, and Polding to Heptonstall, 29 January 1844, *ibid*., vol. 2, 4-5.

[66] Pugin's drawings had not yet arrived in Sydney when the plan was published. In fact, the towers of the cathedral represented do not resemble Pugin's design. At the beginning of May, Polding wrote that he was still waiting for the belltower's plan. *Sydney Benedictine Journal*, I, 19 May 1843, SAA, quoted in Cunich, 2019. Polding to Therry, 4 May 1843, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 1, 222-3.

[67] Polding wrote to his cousin: 'were we rid of Garroni we should be happy beyond expression' and the monk left on November 1843: 'the same vessel which conveys this to you will take from our shores D. Garroni whom it would have been well for us never to have known. […] I feel a pleasure it rids us of a great plague […] He has been, I may say, useless […]'. Polding to Heptonstall, 23 October and 16 November 1843. Polding et al., 1994-7, vol.1, 227-8.

[68] See Kean, 1989, note 28.

for Downside, Polding decided to commission Pugin for his own monastic complex.[69] Following this line of thought, the plans were drawn by Garroni under Polding's guidance to publicise the design to the Sydney residents and enhance the community's interest and their generosity before the arrival of the architectural drawings from England.[70] In fact, in the following months Polding began a campaign to solicit donations that would allow him to implement his building program for the monastery and the cathedral.[71]

As soon as funds became available, the archbishop prioritised the erection of the tower that was to house the bells he had acquired in England. (Fig. 27) After the 55 feet tall structure was completed to Pugin's design, at the beginning of 1844, Polding's attention turned on the monastery buildings. In March, he wrote: 'The plans for our monastery are in progress. The great front is more than 300 feet in length, including the Church. […] We hope to have the walls, including the prolongation of Church and Tower base five feet high this year'.[72] By December, the cloister connecting the church to the apartments was complete, being one of the three arms of the quadrangle that, encompassing the cathedral, was to enclose the monastic spaces.[73]

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[69] The architectural drawings have been lost and most of the buildings destroyed in the fire of 1865.

[70] Kerr raised the doubts regarding the authorship of St Mary's monastic complex already in her Ph.D. dissertation. The seminary building was not positioned according to Garroni's published plan and only the cloister walk was erected according to his drawing. Kerr, 1977, Chapter 6, 229-31

[71] See Cunich, 2019.

[72] Polding to Heptonstall, St Joseph's Day 1844, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 1, 227-8

[73] Polding to Barber, 6 December 1844, *ibid.*, vol. 2, 20-1.

Further building works between 1844 and 1845 encompassed the Chapter Hall, initially devised as a Seminary school, the conventual chapel of St Felician, and the redevelopment of St Joseph's house. St Felician was beautifully finished with stained glass windows and seats of the finest cedar by November 1845.[74] By the same time the vestry and the library were complete, while the cloisters were almost finished. Works on the monastery continued, and the cloister, a large dormitory and two corridors with several priest rooms were completed before Goold's consecration. The cloister arm, more than 180 feet in total length, 15 feet tall and 15 feet wide, enclosed the monastic space, incorporating the choir, the sacristy and the chapter room. Completely built of stone, its dimensions and finish tell of the scale of Polding's aspirations. Nonetheless, the cathedral's extensions, including the chancel and the façade, specifically devised by Pugin to rectify the building's ratio of width and height to Gothic proportions, had to wait for several years, and the foundation stone was laid only in August 1851.[75] (Fig. 28)

On the 18th March 1844, the archbishop blessed and opened the Church of St Patrick's with a grand and solemn celebration.[76] Despite the difficult financial situation, in July 1845 the archbishop laid the foundation stone of the Church of St Benedict's at Abercrombie Place. This was built to one of the two designs Pugin had prepared for a town church. It was described as a 'very beautiful little

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[74] Fowles, 1848, 71-4.

[75] The ceremony was celebrated by Polding on the 25th August 1851. The collection on the day amounted to £525. *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, 30 August 1851, 4; and *Freeman's Journal*, 28 August 1851, 8. A detailed description of Pugin's design for St Mary's Cathedral is provided in Kerr, 1977, Chapter 4; and Andrews, 2001, Chapter 3.

[76] The church had still a debt of £2,000. *The Morning Chronicle*, 20 March 1844, 2.

church early English (and pretty correct)' by Polding's coadjutor, Charles Davis.[77] The building proceeded quickly, as generous contributions by the parishioners amounted to an estimate of £800 per year. Noting it and foreseeing the rapid increase of the population in the southern districts of Sydney, a journalist of the *Morning Chronicle* lamented that the church was not commenced on a larger scale and suggested to 'our neighbours of the Surry Hills' to commence building a church for themselves forthwith.[78] Curiously, the only written testimony of Polding's active influence on Goold's architectural patronage is related to the Surry Hills church. In fact, few weeks before Goold's consecration, while the elected bishop was preparing a Government grant application for building a second church for the people of Melbourne, Polding wrote to him that he was planning to realise one of Charles Hansom's designs in Surry Hills, praising the architect's draughtsmanship, the appropriateness of the design and its cost-effectiveness.[79]

Polding's engagement of Hansom was influenced by the architect's friendship with Ullathorne.[80] Convinced that Hansom could design churches as well as Pugin for a lower price, Ullathorne introduced him to the English Benedictine congregation and to Polding. In the early months of 1846 the archbishop received a perspective of Hansom's Our Blessed Lady and St Alphonsus,

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[77] The second town church design provided by Pugin was used for St Patrick's Church in Parramatta Davis to Sweeney, 28 February 1850, quoted in Andrews, 2001, 73. Davis' taste for Gothic is exemplified by his purchases from the workshop of Hardman & Co. in Birmingham. St Benedict's was completed in 1852. See Andrews, 1994, 72-73. A detailed description of St Benedict's design in given in Kerr, 1977, Chapter 6; and Andrews, 2001.

[78] *The Morning Chronicle*, 27 May 1846, 2.

[79] The Church of the Sacred Heart, built to Hansom's designs, was realised between 1850 and 1852. Polding to Goold, 22 June 1848, Polding files, Transcripts and Copies, MDHC.

[80] See Andrews, 1989 and 1994.

Blackmore Park, the church that Hansom had designed integrating Ullathorne's advice.[81] Moreover, during Polding's second *ad limina* visit, between 1846 and 1848, Ullathorne organised for him to preach at the opening of Hansom's Church of St Anne, Edge Hill. The archbishop was certainly impressed, and he returned to Australia with the designs for two town churches. The smaller is the one referred to in the letter sent to Goold, while the second one was used for Ss Michael and John, now the Cathedral church of Bathurst.[82]

From 1846, Hansom replaced Pugin as the architect of the Australian mission, although most of Pugin's designs were still to be used. The archbishop did not limit the erection of archaeologically correct churches to Sydney's borders. In fact, the second of Pugin's town church designs was used in Brisbane for St Stephen's Old Cathedral, while the design for a small rural church was used for the smaller rural churches of Balmain, Berrima and Queanbeyan.[83] That the same design was used to realise three buildings is not surprising, as plans were expensive and difficult to obtain. Moreover, the local architect, or builder, adapted the scheme to the peculiarities of the site, and over time, additions and alterations, both internal and external, diversified the churches.[84] Of the three, St Scholastica, Berrima, changed its name but was never modified internally, and it 'stands as a near-perfect exemplar of Pugin's concept for the revival of a

[81] The lithography was dispatched in December 1845. Andrews, 1994.

[82] Polding would later on comment on the affordability of Hansom's design 'we have here [Bathurst] a most beautiful ch[urch]. From Hansom's designs. It has cost [*sic*] a world of money and is deep in debt'. Polding to Heptonstall, 22 January 1865, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 3, 177.

[83] St Stephen's Church was commenced in 1847 and completed in 1850. See Kerr, 1977, Chapter 6.

[84] When the application for the Government grant was made, Gregory, Polding's vicar, informed the authorities that the plan for Berrima church was 'nearly the same as those for Balmain'. Gregory to the Colonial Secretary, 22 January 1849, quoted in Kerr, 1977, 243-4.

small medieval country church' with its scholarly Early English style and its comprehensive set of liturgical furnishings.[85] (Fig. 29)

Berrima was one of the main centres of Campbelltown's mission. Goold had been collecting for the erection of a place of worship in the village from 1840, when two huts were converted into a temporary chapel.[86] In 1843, John Kavenagh was appointed parish priest of Berrima, however, he lived with Goold in Campbelltown for two years, as there was no presbytery in the village. Throughout the 1840s, several priests were stationed at Berrima, but Goold was the one who served in the area consistently until his appointment to the episcopacy in 1848. It is reasonable to believe he was among the main figures involved in planning the construction of St Scholastica's.[87] The erection of the building was decided upon already by October 1845, and two years later, the collection amounted to £300.[88] In July 1847, the *Sydney Chronicle* announced that tenders for the erection of the churches of Berrima and Queanbeyan were to be called shortly.[89]

The same article reported that Dean McEnroe was to be consecrated bishop of Melbourne, and Goold was about to leave the colony to proceed first to Cork and

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[85] The church was initially dedicated to St Benedict's twin sister, St Scholastica, but the dedication was changed to St Francis Xavier in 1891. Andrews, 2001, 73-4. *Southern Highland News*, 14 September 2015.

[86] See O'Brien et al., 1975, 133-4. *Australasian Chronicle*, 20 August 1840, 2.

[87] After Kavenagh, in 1845 John Grant took charge of the collections for the church. William McGinty took over Berrima in 1847 and he was probably in charge of supervising the construction works until his relocation in 1852. See O'Brien et al., 1975, 134. The reconstruction of the events provided in O'Brien is partially incorrect: Polding did not lay the foundation stone of the church in Berrima in mid 1847 as he was in Europe from February 1846 to February 1848.

[88] *Morning Chronicle*, 15 October 1845, 3; *Sydney Chronicle*, 2 June 1847, 3. The Anglicans had commenced the building of Holy Trinity church to Edmund Blacket's plans in April 1847.

[89] *Sydney Chronicle*, 3 July 1847, 3.

then to Georgetown 'to join his uncle the bishop of Demerara'.[90] As a matter of fact, Hynes had advised his nephew to leave NSW as early as 1844, but Goold decided to remain.[91] When the foundation stone of the church at Berrima was laid by Polding in 1849, Goold was already installed as first bishop of Melbourne.[92] Nevertheless, before leaving the archdiocese he had had the consolation of celebrating the commencement of works at Balmain.[93] The foundation of the Church of St Augustine of Hippo, the first rural church commenced to Pugin's design, was solemnly celebrated on the 4th September 1848 by Archbishop Polding accompanied by the bishops of Adelaide and Melbourne, and it was the last ceremony Goold attended in Sydney before reaching his diocese.[94]

Goold's years in New South Wales were certainly formative: in Campbelltown he learned to be an efficient missionary priest, praised for his establishment of the Catholic community and for the realisation of three permanent buildings, even if these were not particularly distinguished architecturally. Polding mentioned Goold's achievements in his reports to the *Propaganda Fide*. In 1841 he highlighted the completion of the Church of St John's, the presence in the

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[90] *Ibid.*

[91] Hynes to Goold, 16 March 1844, Hynes correspondence, MDHC.

[92] Polding laid the foundation stone the 7th February 1849. *Sydney Chronicle*, 3 July 1847, 3; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 February 1849.

[93] *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser*, 10 February 1849, 3.

[94] Several newspapers record Goold's presence at the laying of the foundation stone. However, Goold wrote in his diary that he left Sydney on the 3rd September. This is possibly a mistake. In fact, Goold started to keep his diary only in the early months of 1850, and he may have remembered his departure incorrectly. Goold et al., 2009, [undated], 8.; *Sydney Chronicle*, 9 September 1848, 2; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1848, 2.

district of three catholic schools and the erection of the church at Appin.[95] In 1846 he complimented both the community of Campbelltown: 'great is the number of Catholics and they are renowned for their reputation of piety' and Goold's labours, describing his missionary zeal: 'In this district there is a 1,500 feet deep valley that can be descended only by a narrow and very dangerous path. The valley is named Bunojarang [sic] and its inhabitants, until recently very miserable, are now eulogised for their virtue and piety. In this dark valley we have a church dedicated to St Paulinus and the conversion of the people has to be legitimately ascribed to the efforts of the missionary'.[96]

2.4 Goold's elevation to the episcopacy

Less than nine years after Goold's arrival in Sydney, Polding made his recommendation to the *Propaganda Fide* for the establishment of the diocese of Melbourne in the southern region known as Australia Felix.[97] He suggested four names for the episcopal seat, including James Goold. The other candidates included John McEnroe, Henry Gregory and Richard Burchall, however, only two names, Goold and Burchall, were intended for serious consideration.[98] In his *memorandum* to the Papal authorities Polding suggested that aged 53,

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[95] Polding, *Relazione della missione della Nuova Olanda ossia dell'Australia,* March 1842, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 2, I, f. 80, PFHA.

[96] Polding, *Relazione della missione di Australia fino al 1846,* undated [January 1847], S.R.C., F.O., vol. 3, ff. 3-25, PFHA.

[97] Polding, *Memorandum to Propaganda Fide,* 25 February 1847, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 2, ff. 165-70, PFHA.

[98] See Vodola, 2019.

McEnroe may not have the energies required to manage a vast diocese.[99] Regarding Gregory's elevation to the episcopacy Polding wrote that his impetuous temperament was not suited to the role.[100] Richard Placidus Burchall was the prior of the English Benedictines at Douai, France. Polding admitted he had no training for Australian conditions, however, he favoured his appointment as he had talent for training missionaries and would be suited to form a Benedictine seminary.[101] Polding praised Goold's work in the archdiocese, where he had distinguished himself for 'the good order introduced, where previously there was only irregularity, and for the erection of schools'. The archbishop went on describing him as 'zealous and prudent, loved and esteemed by all Catholics and Protestants. [...] Gifted with wisdom and a deep sense of honour, with good sense and sharply distinguished honesty'.[102] Nonetheless, Polding clearly favoured Burchall for the seat of Melbourne. In his letter, he added 'on taking a general overview of his gifts and his qualifications, I cannot bring myself to think that he [Goold] is fitted for such an important office. The considerable active life he has led would render such a state disagreeable to him perhaps, but in every other respect I believe he would be an excellent Bishop'.[103] Thus, Polding suggested the appointment of Goold as coadjutor to bishop Pompallier in New Zealand, hoping to build up his

[99] Polding, *Memorandum to Propaganda Fide,* 25 February 1847, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 2, ff. 165-70, PFHA.

[100] *Ibid.*

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] *Ibid.*

Benedictine dream for Australia with the appointment of Burchall.[104] The diocese of Melbourne was formally established on the 25th June 1847, but news reached Rome that Burchall was reluctant to accept his appointment to Australia, and Polding's second candidate was designated bishop.[105]

When Polding received the Apostolic Letters in London, he informed the Cardinal Prefect of the *Propaganda*, Monsignor Giacomo Fransoni, that Goold had suffered a bad accident.[106] He had been thrown out of a carriage as a wheel stuck a tree trunk, and landing on his head he had suffered a fractured skull. Polding added that the 'injury will not be fatal, it will at least have the effect of diminishing the advantage I expected from his labours' and asked permission not to send forth the Apostolic letter as Goold 'may have been rendered incapable of discharging the duties of the Episcopate'.[107] When Polding returned to Sydney in March 1848, he wrote to Fransoni again to dismiss 'the rumour about the weak health of Dr James Goold, bishop-elect of Melbourne [...] He is enjoying the very best of health. He has consented to be raised to the Episcopal dignity. His consecration will take place after Easter'.[108] As a matter of fact, Goold hesitated before accepting his appointment. He recalled: 'I was nominated for the bishopric of Melbourne without my knowledge. When I was told of it, I declined the position, believing myself unfitted for it. When the papal

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[104] Polding wrote a second recommendation to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda Fide on the 16th April 1847, after learning that the Anglican Church intended to establish four new bishoprics in Australia. Polding suggested the creation of the diocese of Maitland, recommending Burchall as its bishop and Goold for Melbourne. O'Donoghue, 1982; Vodola, 2019.

[105] Barnabò to Pius IX, 5 September 1847, U1315/13-16, SAA, quoted in Vodola 2019.

[106] Polding to Fransoni, 1 September 1847, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 2, 93.

[107] *Ibid.*

[108] Polding to Fransoni, 8 March 1848, *ibid.*, 102-3.

bull appointing me was shown to me, I again refused the office, but certain pressure was brought to bear upon me which induced me to submit to the will of the Holy See'.[109]

As Goold accepted the episcopacy, he appointed the resident clergyman in Melbourne, Patrick Bonaventure Geoghegan, vicar general of the diocese.[110] The consecration, delayed waiting for the arrival of an assistant bishop, was celebrated on the 6th August 1848 in St Mary's Cathedral.[111] The monastic complex was crowded as the annual retreat for the diocesan clergy had taken place in the previous days and the recently completed buildings allowed for more than 40 occupants.[112] Polding orchestrated the most elaborate ceremony, described as 'very imposing, there being upwards to twenty priests, besides a large number of monks, acolytes, and cross-bearers, in the varied costumes belonging to their different orders. [...] The church was excessively crowded'.[113]

Today, only one impression survives of how St Mary's appeared internally. (Fig. 30) Prepared by John Skinner Prout in 1843, five years before Goold's consecration, this drawing depicts a nave that opens in a transept on the right, with the faithful assisting to mass dwarfed in proportion to the great structure.[114] The high altar, decorated with scenes and saints divided in niches

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[109] Extract from a speech held by Goold in 1874, quoted in Ebsworth, 1973, 2.

[110] Polding to Fitzroy, 17 March 1848, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 2, 103.

[111] Polding to *Propaganda Fide*, 18 August 1848, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 4, f. 110, PFHA. Polding to Goold, 22 June 1848, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 2, 107.

[112] Kean, 1989.

[113] The *Melbourne Argus*, 18 august 1848, 2

[114] John Skinner Prout, *The Cathedral Church of St Mary, Sydney New South Wales [view of the interior]*, 1843, V1/chu/stma/2, SLNSW.

on its front and sides, was adorned by high candlesticks and a reliquary. The altar and the tabernacle, donated by Therry in 1839, were 'elegant specimens of the florid Gothic' even if 'the superaddition of tinsel has not at all improved them'.[115] Above the high altar there were three life size paintings, encompassing two saints and a central crucifixion, while other paintings were hung on the walls of the sanctuary which was surmounted by a tall screen-like Decorated Gothic structure. Most probably, in 1848 the interior was impressively decorated with more of the paintings purchased by the archbishop. Moreover, a Bevington organ had been installed in St Mary's since 1839.[116] This was 'a great ornament to the Church' as it was highly decorated with a front designed by Pugin that contained seven stone saints, each 3 feet high, that were carved locally by Fr Gourbeillon, a seminarian at St Mary's.[117] The church must have been the most stunning interior in Sydney in 1839 when it was completed but Polding's improvements and interior decoration continued for almost a decade before Goold's consecration.[118]

2.5 Polding's cultural patronage

Goold learned much from Polding's cultural patronage in Sydney. From Campbelltown he witnessed the evolution of architectural taste in the colony,

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[115] Polding to Therry, Polding et al., vol. 1, 1994-7, 142-3. *New South Wales Magazine*, July 1843, quoted in Kerr and Broadbent, 1980, 80-5.

[116] Kerr, 1977, Chapter 4.

[117] *New South Wales Magazine*, July 1843, quoted in Kerr and Broadbent, 1980, 80-5.

[118] Kerr, 1977, Chapter 4.

that retraced the development of the Gothic Revival movement in England in the first half of the 19th century. From Polding's example, Goold also learned of the importance of close financial supervision. The archbishop struggled for years to realise his grand projects for St Mary's and to repay the debts on St Patrick's and he often complained in his letters. Goold was certainly aware of his troubles, as he had to deal with the reorganisation of the finances of Campbelltown parish after Therry had left. As a matter of fact, Therry was often at the centre of financial disputes, and Polding complained harshly of his behaviour: 'your principle of running into debt for the purpose of getting out of it, I cannot admire' and warned Bishop Willson in Van Diemen's Land 'an Irishman – in confidence be it said – is never comfortable out of debt'.[119]

Polding's patronage encompassed not only ecclesiastical architecture, but also artworks and books collections. Despite financial difficulties and the distance from the European cultural milieu, Polding spared no expenses in providing the diocese with everything he believed necessary for his ambitious project in Sydney. To this end, the acquisition of several items was entrusted to Heptonstall, with whom the archbishop was in constant contact, while Polding himself completed several purchases during his *ad limina* visits to Europe. The very first occasion presented in 1836, when Polding sent Ullathorne on a recruitment mission, and his vicar travelled to Italy to report to the papal authorities on the state of the Australian mission. Ullathorne was amazed by the Italian cities' cultural heritage: 'I got possession of a style and a harmony of

[119] Polding to Therry, 11 January 1845; and Polding to Willson, 8 June 1844; Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 2, 8-9 and 22.

many arts which those who have never crossed the Alps can have no real conception'.[120] Once in Rome, Ullathorne was introduced to the Pope, met and recruited Goold, and he acted as Polding's agent acquiring a 'quantity of old pictures at a cheap cost and, of course, of no great artistic merit, to cover the walls of our Australian churches. […] In a country where there were then no paintings I knew that they would be valuable'.[121]

In addition to these undistinguished artworks, Ullathorne did procure also a valuable painting, the present of Cardinal Castracani, the *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* supposed to be by Guido Reni.[122] In the following years, Polding continued to enlarge his collection. He wrote to Heptonstall 'In my last [letter] I enclosed two bills, […] I fear you judge me extravagant […] I have purchased many things – a great many pictures, and I have some books to purchase. Money does run out fast.'[123] Again, in 1844, Polding commissioned Heptonstall 'should you go to Paris or Germany be sure to purchase for me prints, but let them be large and good. Also, I want for St Mary's a set of the Stations – painted. […] Perhaps John Jenkins could send them from Rome. They should be large and well done. Any price not beyond £20 or 25 I would willingly give'.[124] Moreover, he asked 'a power of pictures, prints, crosses and medals'.[125] Unfortunately little is known about these artworks Polding collected over the

[120] Ullathorne and Madigan, 1995, 149-150.

[121] *Ibid.*

[122] Ullathorne will present the painting to the Sisters of Charity in Parramatta. Ullathorne, 1891, 127.

[123] Polding to Heptonstall, 7 May 1842, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 1, 204-5.

[124] Polding to Heptonstall, 1 August 1844, *ibid.*, vol. 2, 13-4.

[125] *Ibid.*

years, as nothing of the valuables in the Cathedral was saved after the fire that destroyed St Mary's in 1865.[126]

As mentioned, Polding was much concerned also in procuring books for his archdiocese. A distinguishing feature of Polding's cultural role in colonial Australia is the Benedictine library he gathered over the years. Its seeds were planted by William Ullathorne already in the early 1830s, when he was assigned to the vicariate. In his autobiography, Ullathorne wrote:

> The President-General [...] gave me up to the jurisdiction of Bishop Morris for the Australian Mission. [...] My first work was to form a library, for I knew that the books I should require could not be found in Australia. I therefore spent months in the old book shops and among their catalogues, and gathered together about a thousand volumes of Theology, Fathers, Canon law, and sacred literature, in every language of which I knew something.[127]

Ullathorne returned to England permanently in the closing months of 1840, and he 'left a considerable library in Sydney; this, I thought, ought not to be removed from a country where books of that valuable kind were scarce. I therefore proposed to the Archbishop of Sydney to leave them there on condition of receiving 150 to buy a set for the Fathers.'[128] Polding continued to acquire books during his travels and requesting specific titles, missals and

[126] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 5 July 1865, MDHC.
[127] Ullathorne, 1891, 54.
[128] Ullathorne, 1891, 226-7.

catechisms to confreres in England and to the *Propaganda Fide* in Rome.[129] Containing a vast collection of theological, liturgical and canon law texts, but also classics, mathematics, history, and travel books, the Sydney Benedictine library was an impressive collection of books, probably the best in the colony before the establishment of Sydney University in 1850.[130] Polding was certainly proud of his collection and Goold visited it on the occasion of his consecration. In fact, before leaving towards Melbourne, Goold mistakenly took a copy of Michael Bauldry's *Manuale Sacrarum Cæremoniarum* (1703) with him instead of Louis Abelly's *De Episcopali Solicitudinis* (1837).[131] Polding sent Fr Sumner to exchange books, as Goold was still in Campbelltown, where he had stopped to say his goodbyes.

The *Port Phillip Gazette and Settler's Journal* provided a detailed account of the farewell the people of Campbelltown addressed to Goold, a scene described as 'most impressive and soul stirring'.[132] The parishioners presented the bishop with a carriage, two 'splendid horses' and a purse containing 100 sovereigns.[133] Goold replied he was moved by the fact that the contributors to the address and testimonial 'kneel not at the same altar, nor worship their God according to the same form as I do. This, my friends, has made a deep and lasting impression on my mind, as it convinces me that my motives have been truly understood, [...]

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[129] Polding sent a list of 132 titles needed for the seminary library to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda Fide. Polding to Cardinal Fransoni, undated [c.1842], quoted in Cunich, 2019.

[130] The library was absorbed into the seminary library of St Patrick's College in Manly. Now it forms part of the Veech Library at the Catholic Institute of Sydney, Strathfield. See Cunich, 2019; Carleton, 1892 and 1993.

[131] Polding to Goold, 8 September 1848, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 2, 113.

[132] *Port Phillip Gazette and Settler's Journal*, 2 October 1848, 4.

[133] Ibid.; *Advocate*, 12 May 1894, 9.

and that here at least men can be found [...] who are ready and willing to concede to others that which they claim for themselves, the right to worship their Maker according to the dictates of their consciences. My friends, unless we possess and exercise this spirit of Christian charity, religion is but an empty sound'.[134] Two years later, in one of the rare notations on his emotional life, Goold wrote in his diary 'I was accompanied by the Catholics of that Mission [Campbelltown] a distance of 10 miles, when I took an affectionate farewell of them. A long period of missionary service amongst that good people had attached me to them, and created a mutual affection not easily expressed'.[135]

[134] *Port Phillip Gazette and Settler's Journal*, 2 October 1848, 4.

[135] Goold et al., 2009, [undated], 9.

Chapter 3: Church building in the Diocese of Melbourne, 1848-1858

In the first ten years of his episcopacy, Bishop Goold's architectural patronage was characterized by the realisation of designs acquired in England, and the engagement of superintending architects who showed an increasing understanding of the developments of the Gothic Revival movement. Before the gold rush, the population was small and money scarce for the support and commencement of grand architectural projects. Permanent churches were considered only for the largest settlements, and almost all Catholics residing outside Melbourne and Geelong had only temporary wooden structures available. Only from 1854 onwards did the new wealth of the colony and the large number of Catholic emigrants, especially Irish, demand and afford the realization of suitable stone buildings.

The bishop's patronage was influenced by his networks in Australia and Europe. His refined taste for the arts had been developed during his years in Italy, while in New South Wales he learned about missionary work and had had his first experiences in church building. Correspondence and diaries testify to Goold's commitment towards providing his flock with appropriate church buildings in rural settlements as well as in towns. Every year he travelled extensively in his diocese to ascertain that even the smallest community could have access to spiritual exercises. He counselled the local priest and laity on how to implement the erection of ecclesiastical buildings. Goold, with the help of his vicar, exerted a tight control in the diocese, being very much involved in every aspect of church building: the selection of locations and the application for the land; the choice of durable building materials and of suitable designs; the engagement of

competent contractors, the application for government's grants and the final allocation of funds.

The first architect engaged by the Roman Catholics was Samuel Jackson, who supervised the erection of St Francis', Melbourne (1841-1845), St Mary of the Angels, Geelong (1846-47), and St Patrick's on Eastern Hill (1851-1854). Jackson was born in London in 1807 and relocated to Van Diemen's land in 1829.[1] Despite having little formal training in the field, in Launceston he established a busy architectural practice.[2] His style, describable as colonial Georgian, was influenced by the first notions of the Gothic Revival when he left Tasmania for Port Phillip in 1836. In Melbourne, Jackson produced a large number of buildings, having established contacts in the ecclesiastical circles of several denominations. His practice went bankrupt in 1854.

In other ways, the prosperity of the colony arising from the goldfields made the fortune of several skilled architects who decided to relocate to Victoria. Among the first to arrive were Richard Dowden and David Ross.[3] They had received formal training in England and Ireland when Pugin's ideas were influencing the theory and practice of architecture. They established a firm in Melbourne in 1853, and most of their commissions for the Catholic church encompassed chapel-schools: small, one room buildings that served different purposes during the week and the weekends, such as Old St Joseph's in Warrnambool. Among their most important works, there are the churches of St Mary of the Angels,

[1] Jackson, 1967.

[2] Among the buildings attributed to him there is 'Hythe', near Longford, the Wesleyan chapel, and 'Albion House'. *Ibid.*

[3] Moore, 1984, 38-42.

Geelong (designed in 1854), and St Patrick's, Ballarat, the latter being one of the plans provided by the English architects Joseph and Charles Hansom that Dowden and Ross had to scale down (commenced in 1858).

The foremost architects employed by Goold before the arrival of William Wardell were James George and Joseph Schneider, two of the founding members of the Victorian Institute of Architects.[4] From 1855 to the second half of 1858, George and Schneider received the largest share of Roman Catholic commissions, and they acted as diocesan architects supervising most of the buildings erected at the time.[5] While several of the designs they realised such as the bishop's palace, the orphanage of St Vincent of Paul and St Patrick's College, were in the Classical style, all the churches they supervised were Gothic Revival. In this instance, they worked realising plans and specifications for the designs that the bishop had procured in England, with the exception of the Ladye chapel in St Francis' (commenced in 1855), and the scheme of St John's, Heidelberg (which did not proceed but for the digging of the foundations).

Among their most important projects was St Patrick's Cathedral, Eastern Hill, for which they were responsible from March 1856 until September 1858, when Fitzpatrick, Goold's vicar, realised that some of the funds were being misappropriated. All relations between the Catholic church and the architects suddenly stopped, and the newly arrived Wardell took over almost all ecclesiastical commissions in Victoria. Fundamental to Wardell was the help of

[4] Moore, 1984, 42-7.

[5] No written agreement survives, but their role was indeed similar to the position of J. B. Denny, who was engaged in 1860 as diocesan surveyor.

John B. Denny, who relocated to Australia at the architect's invitation in 1860. In fact, after his appointment to the Public Works Department in 1859, Wardell maintained the right of private practice but was unable to superintend his buildings. Denny was entrusted with the responsibility and acted as the bishop's general surveyor until his death. The first decade of Goold's architectural patronage testifies to the growth of the bishop's aspirations for the diocese of Melbourne. Several of the churches built in those early years recapture the forms and arrangements Pugin deemed essential for the creation of a Gothic parish church.

3.1 The Roman Catholic church in the Port Phillip District (1839-1848)

At the moment of its creation, the diocese of Melbourne encompassed the whole territory of Victoria, then known as Australia Felix. (Fig. 31) The name came from Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, who was struck by the richness of the soil and the beauty of the scenery upon his arrival in 1836.[6] In December 1836, Port Phillip counted 210 settlers, six of whom were women and fifteen were Catholics.[7] The settlement progressed rapidly and, in 1839, Archbishop Polding established the mission of Port Phillip, assigning it a resident priest, Patrick Bonaventure Geoghegan.

Geoghegan, born in Dublin in 1805, had been educated among the Irish Franciscan order, and was assigned to St Francis' Church in Dublin where, in

[6] Moran, 1890, 710-1.

[7] *Bent's News and Tasmanian Three-Penny Registrer,* 31 December 1836, 3.

1837, he met Ullathorne.[8] He arrived in Melbourne on the 15th May 1839 and, on the 24th, he published an address inviting donations for the erection of a 'plain commodious building for our public worship' insisting that 'little from each will do much'.[9] By the end of August, Geoghegan had dedicated to St Francis of Assisi a temporary wooden chapel, measuring 60 by 20 feet.[10] This had been built at the corner between Elizabeth and Lonsdale Streets for the sum of £150, an extremely reasonable cost considering that the materials were to be sold or reused after the erection of a permanent structure.[11] For the purpose, Geoghegan had £18 in hand of the £300 required for the application to the Government grant and the annual salary for the clergyman.[12] A presbytery was erected adjoining the temporary chapel, and, two years later, on the 4th October 1841, Geoghegan laid the foundation stone of the Church of St Francis.[13] The selected site was rather low, but it allowed inexpensive foundations as the terrain was of solid clay.[14] Samuel Jackson was the local architect who had worked alongside Geoghegan for months to plan and re-plan the first Catholic church of the district.[15]

Jackson had established an architectural practice in Melbourne in 1839, his first commission being the erection of the temporary chapel for the Roman

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[8] Thorpe, 1967. In 1859, Geoghegan was appointed bishop of Adelaide, and five years later, upon his own request, he was translated to the See of Goulburn. A detailed bibliographical account is provided in Moran, 1890. See also Byrne, 1896.

[9] Quoted in Moran, 1890, 713.

[10] Geoghegan to Therry, 21 August 1839, quoted in Moran, 1890, 714.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.* See also Freeland, 1963, 118-21.

[13] *Australasian Chronicle*, 14 October 1841, 2-3.

[14] Blessed Sacrament Fathers, 1941, 17.

[15] *Ibid.*

Catholics. This was quickly followed by several other commissions, such as the Wesleyan Chapel on Queen's Street (1840); the Scots Church (1841); and St Francis' Church. Most of Jackson's colonial buildings were simple, and they displayed a taste for Georgian proportions with Carpenter Gothic additions: they had a square plan, a tripartite façade, and tall, depressed pointed windows. The plan for St Francis', however, was cruciform, and the stuccoed brick structure was in 'the pointed style of Gothic architecture', with large lancet windows and ornamented buttresses surmounted by foliated finials.[16]

The first part of the contract encompassed the erection of the nave only, and it was quickly completed, the church being opened for mass by the end of May 1842. In October 1844, Archbishop Polding visited the district for the first time. High Mass was sung for the first time in St Francis', and the visit of the archbishop gave a new impulse for the completion of the church, as works had been stopped for financial constraints. The second contract, encompassing transepts and sanctuary was completed one year later and the blessing was celebrated in October 1845.[17] (Fig. 32) The roofing of the transepts was still progressing in September 1846, when Geoghegan left for Britain and Joseph Therry arrived from Van Diemen's Land to act as *locum tenens*.[18] Kerr argues that Therry's influence on St Francis' may been more significant than recognised, as the cruciform plan, the windows, and the stucco 'look very familiar'.[19] Significantly, while Geoghegan was working on the plans of the

[16] *Port Philip Patriot and Morning Advertiser,* 1 October 1845, 3.
[17] VHD, 'St Francis' Catholic Church', ID 772, 1999.
[18] Finn et al., 1976, 141.
[19] Kerr, 1977, 62-3.

church with Jackson he regularly sent news on the progress to Therry in Van Diemen's Land, and it was Geoghegan's intention to have Therry preside at the blessing of the foundation stone.[20] Furthermore, Kerr points out that the description of the design provided by Jackson to the *Port Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser* shows how he understood very little of the Gothic features of St Francis', thus supporting the theory that Therry influenced the plans.[21]

During his pastoral visitation in 1844, Polding travelled to Geelong, then the only settlement rivalling Melbourne for commercial importance in the district. He administered confirmation in the small church-school constructed of palings, and, most probably, he encouraged the congregation to erect a permanent structure. The plans for St Mary of the Angels were among the church designs that the archbishop had procured in England in 1835 from the architect Henry Goodridge.[22] In fact, the church was almost identical to St John's, Richmond, Tasmania, and St Bernard's Hartley, New South Wales.[23] The foundation stone was laid on the 19th August 1846 and Samuel Jackson was given charge of the building. The plan, described as 'chastely Gothic' encompassed a simple square freestone structure, tall and narrow, pierced by lancet windows and surmounted by a high-pitched gabled roof.[24] Once again, construction works commenced from the least expensive part of the structure,

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[20] The idea did not eventuate as Therry found it impossible to travel to Melbourne in time, and Geoghegan was eager to start the building. Blessed Sacrament Fathers, 1941, 17-8.

[21] *Port Philip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser,* 1 October 1845, 3.

[22] Kerr, 1977, 159. A full account is given in Wynd, 1979.

[23] Richmond church was the first erected to Goodridge's plans in the antipodes, as the architectural drawings were left by Polding on his way to Sydney in 1835. Kerr, 1977, 159-61.

[24] *Cornwall Chronicle,* 12 September 1846, 700-1.

the nave, that was to be roofed and open for divine service as early as possible, while the rest was 'to be completed according to the convenience of funds'.[25] The church site, selected by Geoghegan, was considered particularly excellent 'surpassing even the well-chosen sites of the other adjacent ecclesiastical structures, commanding a most ample view of the beautiful bay of Corio'.[26] The archbishop continued his tour of the district going towards Portland bay, and he described his wearisome journey 'we rode 200 miles [...] thro bogs and marshes, miles and miles, amidst snow and sleet and rain and wind such as I never before experienced'.[27] Maybe, it was this experience that convinced him that Port Phillip's ideal bishop was to be a young man and an experienced horseman who could spend several days travelling to conduct visitations. Melbourne needed a true missionary bishop, and this, most probably, led Polding to suggest Goold's name for the position.

The new bishop arrived in Melbourne on the 4th October 1848, the anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone of St Francis' Church. With the erection of the diocese, St Francis' was elevated to the rank of cathedral. At Goold's installation the church in Port Phillip counted three clergymen, two churches, and 'a commodious little chapel at Portland'.[28] In addition to these, there were also two wooden school-chapels in Williamstown and Brighton, buildings used

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[25] The nave, described as an extremely handsome structure, was completed and opened on the 13th October 1847. It costed £1,600, towards which the Government granted £800. *The Port Philip Patriot and Morning Advertiser*, 11 March 1847, 2. *Port Phillip Gazette and Settler's Journal*, 16 October 1847, 2. Ebsworth, 1973, 27.

[26] *Port Phillip Herald*, 21 August 1846, quoted in Ebsworth, 1973, 27.

[27] Polding to Barber, 6 December 1844, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 2, 20-1.

[28] Goold et al., 2009, [undated], 9-10.

as a school during the week and appropriate for divine service on Sundays.[29] Goold recognised they were 'a magnificent proof of the zeal of the clergyman in charge of the mission', Geoghegan.[30] Considering the creation of the new See and the steady growth of the Port Phillip's district, whose population had almost tripled between 1841 and 1846, in 1847 Geoghegan decided Melbourne was to be divided in two parishes, with Swanston street as the boundary line.[31] The lot applied for was described 'East Melbourne - block south east of St. Peter's Church, bounded by Stanley and Gisborne Streets', and today is the seat of St Patrick's Cathedral.[32]

As more than one year and a half elapsed between the appointment of the bishop and his installation in Melbourne, Geoghegan worked with Goold to facilitate his management of the diocese. In Sydney, the bishop-elect had 'the immense advantage of being present at the head-quarters to settle the several applications before the government and the several proposals already designed, or that may suggest themselves, in favour of the greatest, but most destitute mission of all Australasia'.[33] As a matter of fact, before the creation of the separate colony of Victoria in 1851, all applications were to be submitted to the Governor in Sydney after the approval of the archbishop.[34] The application for

[29] Hayes, 2006.

[30] Goold et al., 2009, [undated], 9-10.

[31] In 1841, the census reported a population of 11,738 for the Port Phillip district. Of these 2,441 were Catholics. In 1846, the population had increased to 32,879 and Catholics to 9,075. *Census of Victoria,* quoted in Bourke, 1988; Finn et al., 1976, 143.

[32] Geoghegan to Goold, 14 April 1848, Geoghegan files, Transcript and Copies, MDHC.

[33] Geoghegan to Goold, 20 June 1848, Geoghegan files, Transcripts and Copies, MDHC.

[34] The diocese of Melbourne was subordinated to the archdiocese of Sydney, and all the official correspondence to the Government had to be approved by the archbishop or his vicar.

the land grant in East Melbourne was soon followed by two more: the first was for a site described as 'Williamstown, vacant ground between No. 3 and No. 4, two acres, upon which a R. C. chapel is erected by permission', while the other encompassed lots No. 3-4-5-6 of Block 6 in Warrnambool.[35] Today, on each of these sites rises a Gothic Revival church designed by William Wilkinson Wardell.

At the same time, Geoghegan urged the bishop-elect to recruit priests for the missions that were to be established for the evangelical needs of the rural population of the district.[36] The vicar was particularly concerned by the arrival, earlier in the year, of the Anglican bishop, Dr Perry.[37] Geoghegan judged Perry 'no ordinary man, untiring in exertion, even of the humblest kind amongst his order' and he reported that the success of the Anglican church was mainly due to the lack of Catholic clergymen.[38] Despite Anglicans' proselytism, in June 1848, after begging from door to door for funding, Geoghegan was able to confirm that the documents for the land grant on Eastern Hill were ready and in the hands of Archbishop Polding.[39]

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[35] Geoghegan to Goold, 20 June 1848, Geoghegan files, Transcript and Copies, MDHC.

[36] 'What is to be done for priests? It appears to me that I cannot commend this question to Your Lordship in too earnest a manner, now when you have not yet left the place where priests can be obtained'. Geoghegan to Goold, 30 May 1848, Geoghegan files, Transcript and Copies, MDHC.

[37] Charles Perry (1807-1891) was the first Anglican Bishop of Melbourne. He landed on the 23rd January 1848 accompanied by three clergymen and three lay readers.

[38] Geoghegan to Goold, 30 May 1848, Geoghegan files, Transcript and Copies, MDHC.

[39] Geoghegan to Goold, 12 May and 20 June 1848, Geoghegan files, Transcript and Copies, MDHC.

3.2 A Missionary Bishop

When Goold reached his diocese, he dedicated the first years of his episcopacy to travel extensively to learn about the pastoral needs of the scattered population of the district. As he did so, he selected sites for the application of the Government grant when the settlement was already surveyed, while where the grant was already finalised, he blessed the foundation stone of new churches. In the first three years of his episcopacy, Goold celebrated the commencement of three structures in addition to St Patrick's: St Paul's at Pentridge, St Laurence O'Toole at Bacchus Marsh, and St Monica's at Heidelberg. Of these, only St Patrick's was a substantial church, while St Laurence's and St Monica's were considered chapel schools. None of these buildings survives today, nevertheless, their story testifies to the first attempts at building outside the city boundaries.

A temporary timber chapel had been erected in Pentridge in 1844 after the allocation of a Government land grant on the site adjoining the south wall of the penitentiary. This was particularly suitable as the main duty of the resident priest was to attend the spiritual needs of the prisoners. In 1850, after the appointment of Fr Dunne, it was decided to erect a permanent structure. Samuel Jackson prepared the designs for the new building, and the foundation stone was laid by Goold on the 30th June 1850 'in the presence of a large concourse of people. The amount collected on this interesting occasion was seventy pounds'.[40] After the auspicious start, several troubles slowed the works.

[40] Goold et al., 2009, July 1850, 13.

Dunne's recollections give a ruthless reconstruction of the facts: he was surprised that the plans of the building were ever adopted as they 'were prepared by a man who called himself an architect but did not display much taste or knowledge of his profession'.[41] The architect's lack of supervision left the contractor to do as it pleased him, and he put mortar and spalls to fill up the gaps within the rocks instead of levelling the surface.

The walls were built up to 15 feet when the news of the gold discoveries reached the workers, and the church was left unroofed for about two years.[42] Dunne described Jackson as 'a sorry architect' engaged only because there was no other choice in the city, recalling also that passers-by were astonished by the disproportion between the walls and the roof of the church that Jackson had designed.[43] In 1853, Fr O'Hea was appointed to Pentridge and Dunne removed to Geelong. By then, the church had cracked walls and was 'in a most dangerous state, liable to tumble down on any Sunday and kill half of the congregation'.[44] Jackson was dismissed, David Ross was appointed architect, and new contractors were engaged to complete the work for £6,200.[45] A new high and steep slated roof was constructed to rectify the ratio of height and width of the church, and St Paul's was finally opened and blessed by Bishop Goold on the 12th August 1855.[46]

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[41] *Advocate*, 2 June 1894, 8.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *Advocate,* 2 June 1894, 8; and 13 November 1897, 10.

[44] Freeland, 1963, 130.

[45] *Ibid.*; *Argus*, 22 March and 24 May 1853, 8 and 3 respectively.

[46] The faulty foundations eventually lead to the demolition of the building in 1891. *Age*, 18 August 1855, 5; Freeland, 1963, 10-1.

In October 1850 Goold recorded in his diary visiting Bacchus Marsh, where he laid the foundation stone of a modest brick chapel-school, dedicated to St Laurence O'Toole.[47] The building was to cost £800 and accommodate 150 in its 35 feet long by 15 feet wide structure. It was completed quickly and opened in February 1851, but the gold rush at Clunes a few months later caused the population to move, leaving Bacchus Marsh deserted. [48] Only in 1852 did the settlement regain some importance and, in 1853, the chapel-school was recorded to be the only ecclesiastical building of the district with a resident priest, even if the bishop considered it only temporary.[49]

The application for a site in Heidelberg had been prepared by Geoghegan in December 1848, but this was deemed unsuitable and a new application was made for a site selected by the bishop in August 1849.[50] More than ten years later, Wardell's church erected on the site was described as 'beautifully situated commanding a splendid view of the Plenty and Dandenong Ranges'.[51] A temporary wooden structure surmounted by a cross was erected for £35 on the site and on the 21st April 1851, Goold laid the foundation of a stone-and-brick church located at the corner of Yarra and Cape Streets.[52] Only the footings were in position when news of the gold discoveries reached the workers, who left to

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[47] The bishop records in his diary laying the foundation stone of the 16th October. Goold et al., 2009, October 1850, 10.

[48] Ebsworth, 1973, 197-8.

[49] The chapel was located on the present site of Hopetoun Cemetery, where its ruins are still visible. A substantial church dedicated to St Bernard was commenced in 1872, when architects Caselli and Tappin presented a design for a brick structure derived from Hansom's plan used at Port Fairy. *Argus*, 23 April 1853, quoted in Ebsworth, 1973. Goold et al., 2009, 20 July 1853, 56.

[50] Extracts form the files of the Land's Department, reg. n. 59422, copy held in the Heidelberg Parish files, MDHC.

[51] *Hamilton Spectator and Grange District Advertiser,* 20 April 1861, 3.

[52] Freeland, 1963, 132; and *Lumen Christi Parish Magazine*, 1965.

find their fortune.[53] A weatherboard chapel-school was built instead of the permanent structure. In 1854 a plain brick square structure measuring 52 by 22 feet was opened.[54] Unfortunately, there is no indication if this followed the plan originally envisaged. The building served the community for several years and continued to be used as a school when the bluestone church dedicated to St John was opened in 1861.[55]

Between 1849 and 1851 Goold conducted episcopal visitations in all the settlements in the Port Phillip district. He had been absent from Melbourne for several months, but his diaries account only partially for his travels as he did not write consistently. Goold left only scattered references of the buildings where he sang mass, and only on a few occasions, he recorded in his diary about selecting the site for a Government grant application.[56] After travelling extensively, Goold decided to sail to Europe in order to procure priests for the scattered Catholic population under his care. He informed his episcopal friend, Bishop Willson of Hobart, about going overseas. Willson answered with encouraging words: 'I hope you will return a full length middle-age man - I am sure we can produce more real Catholic feeling, either in buildings, Church furniture etc. etc. in the good old style of our forefathers, than in the modern taste, and fanciful notions, I mean for the same sum of money'.[57] The bishop prepared a comprehensive

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[53] Freeland, 1963, 132.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] The old structure was enclosed in the new school in 1929.

[56] Goold et al., 2009, July to November 1850, 13-20. The site for the land grant in Kyneton was selected in July 1850, later on, on the 12, the 17, 22 and the 24 of November Goold selected sites in the Goulbourne valley (probably at Euroa), Wangaratta and Benalla.

[57] Willson to Goold, 13 March 1851, Willson files, Copies and Transcripts, MDHC (emphasis in the original).

account of the first years of his episcopacy with detailed information on the diocese and, in May 1851, accompanied by Fr John Fitzpatrick, sailed for Rome via South America. It was the first time he was to go back to Europe after relocating to Australia eleven years before.

In order to board a ship crossing the South Pacific Ocean, Goold first travelled to Sydney, where he resided with Archbishop Polding for about ten days. He finally sailed to Valparaiso on the 11th May on the *Garland* of Liverpool, where he had all the time to annotate in his diary the several stops of this voyage 'of greater length than I anticipated'.[58] The route from Sydney to the Chilean coast, up to Panama arriving to Southampton took more than three months and a half.[59] Even if only a partial account of the travel survives, it is quite significant as it shows Goold's keen architectural interests. In fact, on the many landings in South America, the bishop had the occasion to visit several towns. His notes regarding the dioceses he visited are filled with details on the architecture of churches, convents and cathedrals. Moreover, accurate descriptions are sometimes associated with personal considerations, thus providing rare insights into the bishop's architectural taste.

[58] Goold et al., 2009, 11 May 1851, 22.

[59] Before the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, in terms of time, travelling across the Indian ocean was not much more convenient than sailing eastwards towards America and crossing both the Atlantic and the Pacific. It is possible that Goold wished to meet his uncle on his way to Europe. Goold took a similar route again in 1870, when he left Europe towards New York and visited several cities in the United States and Canada before sailing to Melbourne.

3.3 First *ad limina* visit to Europe

After passing the island of Juan Fernandez 'distinguished in the celebrated narrative of R. Crusoe' on the 24th June Goold glimpsed for the first time at the 'bold outlines of the S. American coast'.[60] The lofty Andes made a strong impression on him, as they 'stood out in the mild magnificence of a cloudless sky, riveting in religious admiration and inspiring and exalted conception of the eternity and the infinitude of the Creator'. In Chile, Goold noted that earthquakes were frequent, therefore 'dwelling houses are slightly put together owing to those terrible visitations. The material used are unburnt bricks, which are placed between linings of lath and plaster'.[61] At Inlay the church was described as 'a poor building made of wood - though excellent brick and stone, apparently granite, may be had on the spot', while the church of Calao 'is large but rudely built, it would accommodate from 5 to 600 persons'.[62]

The bishop was more satisfied with the 'large and handsome' churches of Lima.[63] From the end of the 16th century, Lima had been designated as the political economical and ecclesiastical centre of Spanish domination in South America. In the 19th century the Peruvian church was quite rich, and it was claimed that it owned more than one quarter of all the buildings of Lima.[64] The large streets of the city grid left space for the appreciation of the façades of the

[60] Goold et al., 2009, 24 May 1851, 22.
[61] *Ibid.*, 25 June 1851, 22.
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] Carlos Pereyra, 1925, VIII, 25, quoted in Tibesar, 1970

imposing churches built by the colonists.[65] In several instances, baroque decoration had been superimposed on classical structures, while some façades were built to recall the structure of Spanish carved altarpieces (retable-façade).[66] In general, architecture and its ornamentation had been used as a powerful tool for asserting the position of the Catholic church and for the conversion of the indigenous populations. Goold was certainly impressed by the powerful visual effect of these colonial churches, so different from the Australian ones. However, it was the church furnishings that he admired: 'interior ornament speaks much of the delicate and cultivated taste of the Spaniard'.[67] Altars, shrines and church plates were made of gold, silver and gems. Goold described the cathedral as 'a superb building, without the profuse ornaments which decorate the other churches. This church is a solemn and grand pile of Gothic architecture. The ceiling is plain but chaste, the High Altar stands under the great dome; it is exquisitely beautiful'.[68] The cathedral contained sixteen side chapels which originally had baroque altars (now replaced), large paintings and impressive wooden carved choirstalls executed in the early 17th century. Built on a scale comparable to the most important European cathedrals, with its rich interior decorations, to Goold Lima cathedral exemplified the majesty that a colonial bishopric could accomplish.[69]

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[65] Stastny, 2005.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Goold et al., 2009, 25 June 1851, 22.

[68] Goold is mistaken when judging the style Gothic. Because of earthquakes and the several phases of construction between 1535 and 1778, the building is a mixture of architectural styles, including neoclassical, baroque and gothic. *Ibid.*, 20-2.

[69] On Lima, its cathedral and treasures see Ballesteros, 1972 and San Cristóbal, 1996.

Goold disembarked in England on the 20th August 1851, and quickly proceeded to Ireland to recruit volunteers for the Australian mission. He visited his hometown, where he recorded that 'churches have been increased with new ones, in which some taste appears blended with a due attention to architectural style'.[70] Unfortunately, the diary abruptly ceases. From that point Goold's travels on the continent can be partially reconstructed thanks to archival material. Goold arrived in Rome in November 1851, and on the 15th he delivered his report on the diocese to the Cardinal Prefect of the *Propaganda* in Rome.[71] Goold's account opens with a map of Australia Felix, after which he explains that the diocese covers an area equal to Great Britain and counts only 12 settlements of some importance.[72] The population was scarce, numbering only 80,000, but, as the land was rich and fruitful, settlers were constantly inviting their compatriots to join them, and the growth of the district was so surprising that it was not comparable to any other. The bishop indicated that Catholics formed one third of the total population, and religious freedom was granted by the Bourke Church act. Goold remarked he had not had the possibility to take full advantage of the Government aid as the collections were poor and the population too scattered, and he listed the established missions and their resources praising the zeal of his clergy. In the main church of Melbourne, St

[70] *Ibid*., 25.

[71] All of Goold's reports to the *Propaganda* were written in Italian. On two occasions, in 1858 and 1867, he attached the statistics of the diocese and its parishes compiled in English by his priests. Goold, *Situazione della Vittoria o Australia Felice,* 15 November 1851, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 4, ff. 775-782, PFHA.

[72] W. and A.K. Johnson, *Australia Felix or District of Port Phillip*, engraving, 1847, file 1612885, City of Melbourne Art and Heritage Collection. (Fig. 31) This was firstly published in William Westgarth's *Historical and descriptive account of the settlement of Port Phillip, New South Wales,*1848.

Francis', mass was celebrated three times every day, while a small chapel in the Eastern side of the town (St Patrick's) was opened for divine service only on Sundays. Melbourne counted four clergymen, including himself, and four students, and they attended daily to the penitentiary and the two town hospitals. The bishop stated that in Belfast and Pentridge spacious churches were commenced with funds provided partially by the Government, while a small chapel had been completed in Portland.[73] Goold closed his account stating that he had thirty Catholic schools under his close supervision. His report was read to the Council of the *Propaganda* on the 30th January 1852, and a note on the back indicates they had no comments on his labours.[74]

While in Europe, the bishop received reports of the gold rush that was quickly changing the circumstances of his diocese. The gold discoveries in the third quarter of 1851 had a tremendous impact on the new colony, causing grave economic dislocation.[75] In October, Geoghegan, alarmed, wrote to Goold:

> The gold mania has upset everything. The city of Melbourne, Geelong, in fact all the settlements present a most deserted appearance – scarcely a working man to be seen – all to Ballarat, Buninyong. A great deal of distress begins to prevail in consequence among the wifes [*sic*] and the children left behind. Our collections are all paralysed. St Patrick's nearly stopped – work stopped – and St

[73] The church at Belfast (now known as Port Fairy) was planned to commence in 1851 but was probably never started.

[74] Goold, *Situazione della Vittoria o Australia Felice,* 15 November 1851, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 4, f. 782; PFHA.

[75] Port Phillip district was established as the separate colony of Victoria on 1st July 1851.

> Francis' very much down nor are we to expect any improvement till about Christmas.[76]

In those months, most men left their workplace to try their fortune on the goldfields. Trade and construction sites in the city were left at a standstill; it was impossible to find both building materials and reliable workers. Goold's vicar found it impossible to continue the works on St Patrick's Church, and he argued wooden structures were to be considered permanent because of 'the impracticability of stone and brick erection under the present circumstances'.[77] For all 1852 prices soared and fluctuated widely.[78] Melbourne became one of the most expensive cities in the world.[79] The wages of carpenters alone increased threefold, and all employers who wished to maintain their labourers had to significantly increase their salaries, thus contributing to inflation.[80] The population increase was unprecedented: a few months before Goold's departure, the census counted 77,345 individuals in Port Phillip; the figure more than doubled at the end of 1852, with a total of 168,322; and after Goold's return, at the end of 1853, the population amounted to 222,436.[81]

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[76] Geoghegan to Goold, 21 October 1851, MDHC.

[77] Geoghegan to the Denominational School Board, 28 September 1852, quoted in Ebsworth, 1979, 11-2. The subject of the letter is the erection of a wooden school at the corner of Gisborne and Albert streets, Eastern Hill. The school-house was completed for £262, but Geoghegan pointed out that planning, superintendence and manpower were supplied free of charge. Nine months later, the structure was enlarged for the considerable sum of £960.

[78] Serle, 1963, 119-25.

[79] *Ibid.*

[80] *Ibid.*; *Index of Australian wages,* 1850-1855, Australian Bureau of Statistics, quoted in Bourke, 1988.

[81] *Report on the Progress and Statistics of Victoria 1851-1858*, 4-9. Quoted in Bourke, 1988, 31 and Serle, 1963, 382.

In June 1852, Goold wrote to the *Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* in Paris that the new wealth of the diocese had 'rather embarrassed than improved the resources of the Church', the rapid increase of the population demanded an increase of the number of clergymen, while the rise of the prices had made impossible 'the building of churches, schools and providing accommodation for the missionaries'.[82] The stirring news coming from Victoria enticed Goold to return to his diocese as soon as possible.[83] Nevertheless, he had business to complete: he needed to procure missionaries and items that were not available in the colonies. In Italy he completed the Marian pilgrimage to the Basilica della Santa Casa in Loreto and he visited the Augustinian monastery attached to the Basilica of St Nicholas of Tolentino. From there, he proceeded to England, where he stopped in Birmingham. His friendship with Bishop Willson and his exposure to Gothic Revival ecclesiastical vestments and furnishings in Sydney had fostered his interest to visit the workshop of the leading manufacturers in the world, John Hardman & Co.

On 13th October, Hardman billed Goold £338-1-0 for sacrying bells, ostensoria, thuribles and ciboria of different grades of decoration, a commission intended to furnish at least eight churches.[84] A correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal*, reported that the bishop had obtained 'beautiful ornaments and furniture for thirteen churches', but the information sounds rather sensationalist considering that at the time the diocese counted only four churches, two of which were being

[82] Goold to Monsieur Choiselat, 1 June 1852, quoted in Moran, 1890, 743.

[83] The bishop wrote:'Vedrà bene che io posso proseguire colla più premurosa sollecitudine il mio viaggio per la mia diocesi'. Goold to Fransoni, 23 April 1852, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 4, f. 845, PFHA.

[84] Some of the items are described in Andrews, 2002, entries F.40 and F. 41. Hardman & Co. Metal Sales Day Book 1849-1854, 13 October 1852, ff. 459-60, MS 175A/4/4/3, BCCLA.

built.[85] In Birmingham, Goold also commissioned several vestments, for a total exceeding £80, from the firm of Mrs Lucy Powell and Misses L. and W. Brown, whose textiles were embroidered after Pugin's designs.[86] (Fig. 33) The order encompassed a white and gold cope, with embroidered hood, a red brocatelle, an embroidered white benediction veil, a red ottoman humeral veil and other complete sets for low mass, including a white and gold lily brocatelle set and white, red, purple green and black sets. Now also in Melbourne, like earlier on in Sydney and Hobart, every liturgy could be celebrated wearing Gothic Revival vestments. In Europe, Goold also acquired 'the best organ that could be obtained' in London and a peal of eight bells.[87]

3.4 The golden age

In the closing months of 1852, Goold boarded the *Koh-i-noor* accompanied by six missionaries he had recruited.[88] They reached Melbourne on 12th February 1853. Goold was struck by the transformation of the city of Melbourne and noted: 'the vice of drunkenness prevails to a frightful extent amongst the people. We must wrestle with all our zeal and energy against this monster sin. The

[85] *Freeman's Journal*, 3 March 1853, 9. Melbourne had the only complete church, St Francis', while St Patrick's was at the very beginning. In Geelong, St Mary of the Angels Church encompassed only the nave and in Pentridge St Paul's was in course of erection. Most probably, some of the items Goold procured were intended to dignify temporary chapels.

[86] The invoice of £81-10-0 was sent to Melbourne dated 30 September 1853. Some of the items are described in entries F.38 and F.39 in Andrews, 2002. The original invoice is held in Goold Documents, MDHC.

[87] The bells were purchased in Dublin from Murphy's foundry for the sum of £700. Blessed Sacrament Fathers, 1941, 35.

[88] Fr Sheil, a Franciscan, and five Augustinians, Frs Hayes, O'Hea, Moore, Cunningham and Shinnick

unexpected wealth of the people is the cause of this evil'.[89] In March, Bishop Murphy of Adelaide sent a letter to his confrere to warn him that from what he could gather and witness 'religion and morality are the sad losers by this gold mania'.[90]

Devoted to his episcopal mission, Goold had left Europe with renewed strength and great determination to prompt construction and improve the structures of the Church. He presided at a meeting of the Catholic Association a few days after his return and announced that the peal of bells he had procured needed a proper tower to house them, and that no expense was to be spared for its erection.[91] For the purpose, he stated he had engaged an eminent English architect who was to prepare and send forth a working plan for a belltower.[92] Moreover, as the organ he had procured was too large for St Francis's, the church had to be enlarged. In addition to vestments, ecclesiastical furnishings, the peal of bells and the organ, Goold had acquired also one hundred and forty-five paintings. These, together with the organ, arrived in Melbourne in August. The *Freeman's Journal* reported that they were most gorgeous and of colossal proportion, principally of the Italian school, and intended for the decoration of St Francis'.[93] (Fig. 34) A document recently rediscovered at the Archivio di Stato di Roma indicates that Goold acquired 135 Old Masters and ten modern works, all representing sacred images.[94] Even before benefitting from the gold

[89] Goold et al., 2009, March 1853, 31.
[90] Murphy to Goold, 9 March 1853, MDHC.
[91] *Freeman's Journal*, 3 March 1853, 9.
[92] *Supplement to the Geelong Advertised and Intelligencer*, 23 February 1853, 1.
[93] *Freeman's Journal*, 6 August 1853, 2.
[94] On Goold's paintings collection see Anderson, 2019, and Reid, 2019.

discoveries, Goold had an ambitious vision for his diocese, testified by his purchases in Europe. In Melbourne, he addressed his flock saying he was sure the Catholics of the city would not be terrified by the expense and would cooperate 'in raising the church to a magnificent height not only for the purpose of containing their beautiful organ but by its loftiness to show the exalted position of the Catholic church in the colony'.[95]

In his diary, Goold recorded his dissatisfaction at the state of the diocese, especially for what concerned church building. The only exception was the church at Pentridge, where 'to the zeal and the energy of the local pastor is due the praise'.[96] Unsatisfied with Geoghegan's management in his absence, he decided to appoint Fitzpatrick as his second vicar general.[97] Their duties were to be shared, with Fitzpatrick mainly responsible for conducting Government correspondence.[98] Fitzpatrick's appointment was necessary, as Goold intended to conduct missionary journeys throughout the diocese in the following months.

Despite his commitment to episcopal visitations and the difficulties of finding capable men and affording their wages, Goold pushed for resuming construction works and entrusted Fitzpatrick with the management of the diocesan finances. The architect Samuel Jackson was urged to prepare the vouchers for Pentridge and St Patrick's Church for immediate application for the Government grant. At

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[95] *Freeman's Journal*, 3 March 1853, 9.

[96] Goold et al., 2009, March 1853, 31. The church was almost completed, architect Jackson had called tenders for the roofing in January. *Argus*, 22 January 1853 3.

[97] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 13 February 1853, Transcript and Copies, MDHC.

[98] Geoghegan was quite displeased and asked for a transfer to another mission. Goold refused and Geoghegan felt 'disposed to give trouble and annoyance'. In October Geoghegan requested - and was granted- an appointment to Williamstown. Goold et al., 2009, 8 and 28 August 1853, 60 and 64.

the same time the bishop informed Fitzpatrick that he was anxious to see the plans for the convent and begged 'to intimate' to the committee that the tenders for its construction were to be invited after his return, not sooner.[99] The bishop's attention towards construction encompassed several aspects, including the choice of suitable materials. In June 1853, he met a Catholic of 'high inventive faculties' who had an establishment of building material composed of sand from the beach, made 'as durable and hard as stone'.[100] Goold returned to the factory to examine the flooring once more in October, and after testing the material, he decided that this artificial sandstone was to 'answer in our churches remarkably well'.[101]

In November 1853, Goold visited for the first time the goldfields in Ballarat. The resident priest, Downing, had not received the letter announcing his visitation, and Goold ironically wrote of his arrival to his vicar: 'I had the experience of all the comfort and conveniences attending the moving of a tent from one place to another', this was 'the most miserable apology for a dwelling I have been in: there is an absence of room, fresh air, of everything approaching ordinary comfort, but good nature and a warm welcome'.[102] When the bishop said mass in the commodious temporary chapel, a low 90 feet long building covered by canvas, there were not less than 1,200 persons attending. (Fig. 35) He could not explain his impressions of the place 'all I heard and read of these scenes of

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[99] Goold to Fitzpatrick, Minogue files, MDHC. The letter is only partial, and the date is missing. Goold is referring to the expansions of the apartments near St Francis', that were used as a seminary until the opening of St Patrick's College in 1855. *Argus*, 22 March and 24 May 1853, 8 and 3 respectively.

[100] Goold et al., 2009, 24 June 1853, 50.

[101] *Ibid*., 28 October 1853, 68.

[102] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 27 November 1853, Transcript and Copies, MDHC.

human enterprise have not approached the reality. The gold is here in abundance – but to get at it – patience and hard work – with a good share of means are necessary'.[103] The bishop stayed in Ballarat and visited the surrounding goldfields for about one week, in Buninyong he blessed the foundation of a new temporary chapel, but he could not get used to the scene, that for 'the stranger's view is at once unique and picturesque. To describe and do it justice is an effort exceeding the power of language. The features of the gold country admit of great variety. Hills, flats and shallow gullies'.[104]

Despite the bishop's prolonged absences throughout the year, Fitzpatrick in Melbourne oversaw the financing and the erection of the city churches: St Patrick's and St Francis'.[105] As a matter of fact, it was soon understood that erecting a belfry and enlarging St Francis' was impossible due to the poor foundation works.[106] Instead of revolutionising the building, galleries were erected in the transepts, and the organ was fitted to be installed in the church in the early months of 1854. Soon after, Fr MacEvery commenced the erection of a new chapel dedicated to the Ladye at the west side of the nave. The competition for the design was won by George and Schneider, who envisaged a brick structure measuring forty by nineteen feet to be erected for an estimated cost of £3,000. The walls were pierced by eight tall two-light windows with Decorated

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[103] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 27 November 1853, Transcript and Copies, MDHC. See also Goold et al., 2009, 23 November to 20 December 1853, 75-81.

[104] Goold et al., 2009, 26 November 1853, 77.

[105] In April Goold visited Gippsland, in July he went to Geelong, Colac, Mt Moriac and Bacchus Marsh. In August he visited the outskirts of Melbourne, such as Heidelberg, Pentridge, Epping and Brighton; in November he visited Warrnambool, Tower Hill, Belfast, Portland and Ballarat before starting to Melbourne via Castlemaine and Kyneton.

[106] Blessed Sacrament Fathers, 1941, 35-6.

Gothic tracery and a small rose window above the altar. The contractors, Fortune and Glynn, began works on 9th December 1855.One year after, the exterior was completed and the chapel temporarily opened for divine service. The interior decoration, however, was only just commenced, and the windows were still to arrive from England.

Stained glass was ordered on 6th January 1856 from Hardman and Co., with the specification that the glass was to have 'deep rich colours and figures as natural as possible'.[107] In April 1857, three of the nine windows were shipped from Birmingham: the one representing the Immaculate Conception and the one with the Assumption of the Virgin, each executed for £70, and the circular window, which encompassed 25 pieces of tracery depicting the Descent of the Holy Ghost at the Annunciation.[108] Also the floor, consisting of encaustic tiles and marble of different colours, arrived from England, where it had been manufactured by Minton and Co. of Stroke-upon-Trent. Interior decoration was entrusted to Messrs Le Gould and Souter, who had a reputation of being pupils of Pugin.[109] Even if this cannot be confirmed by documentary evidence, they certainly were familiar with his work. In fact, for the decoration of the Ladye Chapel, including gilded monograms and colourful stencil work, Le Gould and Souter were inspired by the examples represented in Pugin's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*.[110] On the 31st May 1858, the chapel was officially

[107] Hardman Glass Order Book, f. 133, MS 175A/4/3/2/1, BCCLA.

[108] The bill, including shipping costs and insurance amounted to £164-1-8. *Ibid*. A description is given in *Age*, 1 June 1858, 5.

[109] *Herald*, 1 June 858, 5, quoted in Moore, 1984, 132-3.

[110] See Moore, 1984, 132-3.

opened by Archbishop Polding, who sang High Mass and was assisted by Goold. (Fig. 36)

Already in 1854, Goold foresaw that the young colony had a bright future. Exemplifying the bishop's ambition for the place that the Catholic church had to occupy in the new society, is the story of St Mary of the Angels in Geelong. The increase in population and the growing importance of the parish demanded the completion of St Mary of the Angels. The parish priest, Dunne, in his *Reminiscences*, remembers that the church was built of poor quality Barrabool freestone, and it had begun to show signs of decay soon after its completion.[111] Following the bishop's eagerness to implement church building, in 1853 the committee of St Mary's resolved to complete the structure according to the original designs approved back in 1846. The contract's estimates amounted to ca. £3,000 and a collection of £400 was made at the blessing of the foundation stone in October.[112] On the occasion, the bishop noted in his diary that the works on the church were necessary as the building was too small and insecure.[113] By February 1854 however, Goold had changed his mind. He ordered the works to stop, incurring a £300 fee for breaking the contract, and invited tenders for a new church design.[114] The architectural firm Dowden and Ross presented the winning plan, that envisaged a grand bluestone Gothic

[111] *Advocate*, 16 June 1894, 8.

[112] *Ibid.*; Goold et al., 2009, 30 October 1853, 68.

[113] Goold et al., 2009, 30 October 1853, 68.

[114] In a reconstruction provided few years later by Dunne, Goold did not approve of the plan of completing the old structure, and he reprimanded the parish priests for commencing the works. *Argus,* 4 March 1854, 3. Wynd, 1979, 21.

church, for an estimated cost of £46,000.[115] The two architects had been influenced by Pugin's ideas of Gothic architecture and envisaged an imposing building in keeping with mediaeval tradition that certainly impressed Goold. (Fig. 37)

The new St Mary's was 200 feet long by 130 feet wide, so big that it was to be built completely over the old one. The foundation stone of the 'magnificent structure, perhaps inferior to no building of the kind south to the equator' was laid by the bishop on the 15th June.[116] Dunne mentioned that the Catholics of Geelong were fairly prosperous when they decided to build on such a grand scale.[117] However, the economic depression of 1854 and the construction of the railway, that deteriorated the value of properties, eventually stopped the subscriptions to the building. The works on the new church proceeded slowly throughout 1855 before ceasing completely in 1856.[118] Then, the towers were built to the level of the first string course and the walls to the springing of the window's arches.[119] Nevertheless, the story of St Mary's suggests that the rapid transformation of the colony allowed Goold to think ambitiously about his

[115] The decision was announced on the 2nd April 1854. *Advocate*, 16 June 1894, 8; Ebsworth, 1973, 36. See also *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 5 April 1854, 4.

[116] *Argus*, 17 June 1854, 5.

[117] *Advocate*, 16 June 1894, 8.

[118] Goold intended to reserve £1,000 of the Government grant for St Mary's in the year 1856, but the funds were probably diverted to St Patrick's in Melbourne. Dean Hayes was moved to the Geelong mission in July 1856 and it took him three years to settle the debts of the mission. Works on the church resumed in 1871 and the nave was completed in 1872. A full account is given in Wynd, 1979.Goold to Fitzpatrick, 27 February 1856, Transcripts and Copies, MDHC. Hayes to Goold, 30 January and 15 May 1859, MDHC.

[119] *Supplement to the Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 25 October 1855, quoted in Moore, 1984.

churches, and the substantial buildings commenced in those years prefigure the commission of St Patrick's Cathedral to William Wardell.

3.5 Goold's commissions to Charles and Joseph Hansom

Goold's diaries for the years 1854 and 1855 are only partial, therefore it is mainly from extracts of correspondence and newspapers that it is possible to reconstruct what happened on Eastern Hill. In the wake of the gold rush, the wealth of Victoria enhanced Goold's determination to erect the best ecclesiastical structures that could be created. For this, he followed the example and the suggestions of the English Benedictines Polding and Ullathorne and engaged the English architect Charles Hansom.

Charles Hansom was born in 1817 into a prominent Roman Catholic family. His father was a builder in York, while his elder brother, Joseph Aloysius, was an architect.[120] In his early career Hansom was sponsored by Ullathorne. Soon after his assignment to the parish of Coventry, Ullathorne realised it was necessary to build a church. On the occasion, he made the acquittance of Charles Hansom, described as:

> a young Catholic architect and Town Surveyor of Coventry; but he was more acquainted with the Greek and Palladian than with the Gothic styles. However, we put our heads together, made a study of

[120] Joseph Aloysius was born in 1803. He trained as an architect at the practice of Matthew Philips for three years starting in 1817 and continued working there until 1825. At the time of Goold's commission to Charles, Joseph was practicing in partnership with his brother. See Welsh Papers, Wes 1/13 and Harris, 2010.

> the Gothic, visited and measured the old Catholic churches in several counties, made a tour through Belgium and on to Cologne, and, finally, fixed on the lancet style of the thirteenth century for the nave, which I proposed should be developed into the Early Decorated for the chancel and later chapels.[121]

In several letters, Ullathorne testified to Hansom's skills and his ability to design churches matching the Puginian ideal. To the Prioress of the Holy Cross Abbey at Stapehill, he wrote: 'My architect, Mr Charles Hansom, […] could furnish you plans in any style of Gothic architecture which would suit the spot, the means, and the spirit of the Order and who could do all that Mr Pugin could'.[122] Moreover, Ullathorne thought that Pugin's designs were too expensive to realise: 'Pugin […] would be most likely to secure adoption considering his reputation, etc. But expenses, 2.5 percent on a church and residence would run up. […] Should Mr Pugin's charge be heavy we must look elsewhere though you need not say that!'[123]

Possibly, Bishop Ullathorne introduced Charles Hansom to Goold during his first visit to Europe in 1852. Certainly, Goold had already decided to engage him by that time, and if he did not have the chance to meet the architect personally,

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[121] Ullathorne, 1891, 226-7.

[122] Ullathorne to Mary Troy, 19 October 1846, quoted in Welsh Papers, Wes/1/12 f. 2, RIBA.

[123] The letter refers to the design of St Francis Xavier Cathedral in Adelaide. The Catholic convert philanthropist William Leigh made a bequest to engage Pugin as the architect of a church and residence for the bishop. Charles Hansom got the commission, but the plan was not realized for lack of funds. Ullathorne to Heptonstall, 16 June 1845, quoted in Andrews, 1994. See also Andrews, 1984, 16-21.

he sent his uncle to act as his agent. This is testified by a letter from Bishop Hynes dated October 1852:

> I have had some difficulty in chasing the cheque as the bank was closed on my arrival here. Mr Hansom very kindly exerted himself to get the needful done. [...] Mr Hansom undertakes to furnish you with plans for three or four churches, a steeple, and episcopal residence for 100 pounds, which I think reasonable. He will also send you out few fonts, statues and altars on his own responsibility, and with the understanding of course that you will do your outmost to dispose of them.[124]

The commission, however, was delayed, and it was only sometime at the end of 1855 that Goold received Hansom's church designs from England. In fact, Goold ordered a payment of £100 to Charles Hansom through the account maintained by Heptonstall, who acted as his English agent, only in mid 1856.[125] Andrews indicates that Goold acquired the designs from Hansom while he was in Europe in 1851-1852, and that the design for St Patrick's was prepared around 1854 by Joseph Aloysius Hansom.[126] However, Heptonstall's ledger proves that the designs were purchased later, when Charles and Joseph were practicing in partnership, even if the two brothers were jointly responsible for only a few

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[124] Hynes to Goold, 28 October 1852, MDHC. This letter indicates that, when Goold mentioned the engagement of a prominent English architect for the erection of St Francis' bell tower, he was referring to Charles Hansom.

[125] The payment was recorded to 'C. Hansom' on the 22 of September 1856 'by order of Bishop G. in his letter June 10/56'. Dr Heptonsall's Ledger Colonial Bishops, f.19, 49A, DAA.

[126] Andrews, 1989 and 2001. In a recent manuscript Andrews provided an analysis of the design of the second St Patrick's Church on Eastern Hill, attributing it to Joseph Hansom. I am thankful to Brian Andrews for sharing with me this unpublished source.

commissions, as the major share of the work was carried out individually.[127] Kerr suggests that the superiority of the designs prepared for Bishop Goold compared to other churches built to Charles Hansom's plans in other parts of Australia may owe something to the involvement of his brother Joseph.[128] The Hansom brothers, working individually or together, sent out to Victoria at least four church designs, in addition to specifications and alterations for St Patrick's Church on Eastern Hill. Unfortunately, the original architectural drawings do not survive. The only drawings which are still extant are some of the elevations of St Patrick's Church, but these are signed by George and Schneider, who most probably copied the originals sent from England. In addition to St Patrick's Church, Andrews recognises that the Hansom brothers designed for Bishop Goold small churches appropriate for rural areas and a larger town church.[129] The larger design was scaled down and partially realised at St Patrick's Church (now Cathedral), in Ballarat. Two smaller structures included a two-compartment church with five-bay nave and two-bay chancel, and a triple aisle church with gabled roofs and eastern chapels; while the smallest of the designs was for a brick structure. Moreover, the drawings included various combinations of styles and turrets, two styles of east and west windows, two styles of façades, two styles of buttresses and so on.[130] Over the next twenty years, these designs would be used to erect more than ten churches. In the second half of the 1850s the triple aisle church design was used at Kilmore and

[127] Welsh Papers, Wes/1/7, ff. 2-3, RIBA.

[128] Kerr, 1977, Chapter 6.

[129] Andrews, 1989.

[130] *Ibid.*

Kyneton, while two compartment churches were realised at Port Fairy, Portland and Mount Moriac. Of the latter group, the churches at Mount Moriac and Port Fairy were almost identical, while in Portland it was decided to erect a western tower with spire.

3.6 Hansom's Gothic Revival churches in Victoria

While Fitzpatrick oversaw the works on Eastern Hill and the collections in the city, the bishop conducted episcopal visitations around the diocese. Between September and December 1855 Goold visited Geelong, Ballarat, Ballan, Bacchus Marsh, Warrnambool, Castlemaine and Bendigo before reaching Kilmore.[131] Most probably, he had with him some of the church designs he had procured from the Hansom brothers.

In Kilmore he left a copy of a plan for a tripartite church with chapels at the eastern end and a circular tower 100 feet tall. The church was to be built of bluestone with freestone dressings and was large enough to seat 1,200. (Fig. 38) In fact, a lot of Irish migrants lived in the area, and the chapel-school built to the plans of Dowden and Ross between 1854 and 1855 was not large enough for the numerous congregation.[132] Money was collected for over a year, and, as was customary for such expensive architectural enterprises, it was decided to commence and complete the construction of the nave before spending money on

[131] Moran's extract of Goold's diary abruptly interrupts while Goold was travelling from Mount Ivor to Kilmore. Goold et al., 2009, 19 December 1855, 90.

[132] The bluestone structure had a cost of ca. £3,300 and remained in use as a school until 1955. Keany Research files, 00/2/10, MDHC.

the more elaborate chancel.[133] The architectural firm of George and Schneider superintended the erection of the building.[134] The first contract for the masonry work was signed in early April 1857 with Alexander Kerr of Melbourne, while the work was later continued by Mr Sutherland. Less than two months later the *Kilmore Free Press* stated that the walls were already distinctly visible above the ground, and the view on the site was soon to be beautiful and impressive.[135] In September, Goold was on another of his missionary tours of the Western districts, and in Kilmore he blessed the corner-stone of the new church.[136] By November, the walls were completely built. The bishop was extremely satisfied, and wrote to Fitzpatrick: 'I wish you could spare a day to see this church and its carvings: they are beautiful'.[137] One year later the nave of the building was roofed but the official opening was performed only after the bishop's return from his second visit to Europe.[138] The church was dedicated to St Patrick and officially opened for services on the 8th July 1860. The broad nave and aisles with their three steepled pitched roofs gave the church a monumental presence, further enhanced by the use of axed bluestone. The chancel was commenced only in 1869 and completed two years later. It is possible that the completion was based on the design that Wardell submitted in 1859 for the church at Kyneton (the east window tracery is identical), which was built to the same Hansom's design. Wardell certainly provided the design for the high altar,

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[133] Keany Research files, 00/2/10, MDHC.

[134] George and Schneider called for tenders in early March. *Argus*, 5 March 1857, 7; *Freeman's Journal*, 14 November 1857, 3.

[135] *Freeman's Journal,* 6 June 1857, 3; and Ebsworth, 1973, 235.

[136] *Freeman's Journal,* 5 September 1857, 3.

[137] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 29 October 1857, MDHC.

[138] *Freeman's Journal,* 14 November 1857, 3. Fitzpatrick to Goold, 28 December 1858, MDHC.

which was commissioned to the London firm of Farmer and Brindley for a total of £1,200.[139]

The new wealth of the colony allowed several parish priests to collect enough to commence new buildings, and during his episcopal visitations between July and September 1857, Goold laid the foundation stone of three more churches, at Portland, Port Fairy and Kyneton. All were built to the designs he had procured in England from the Hansom brothers. At Portland, talks about the erection of a stone structure to replace the chapel had started in January 1856, after the assignment of a Government grant. The firm of George and Schneider prepared the copies of one of Hansom's design, which the local newspaper described as 'a superior class of architecture'.[140] (Fig. 39)

The plan encompassed a two-compartment church with a central tower on the western façade, a five-bay nave, a two-bay chancel and traceried windows. It was an elongated structure, 124 feet long by 30 feet wide, but the imposing 124 feet tall frontal tower maintained the overall balance. Goold visited Portland to bless the corner stone and dedicate the church to All Saints on the 19th July 1857.[141] The site adjoining the previous timber chapel was on a hill commanding the view of the bay. Fr Downing, the resident priest, was very careful in his management of the project: the bluestone was quarried locally and in order to

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[139] The London firm provided also the Lady altar (£.800). Wardell, *St Patrick's Church, Kilmore*, 1871, PXD 378, f. 41, ML, SLNSW.

[140] *The Portland Guardian*, 12 January 1857, quoted in Ebsworth, 1973, 70. Goold to Fitzpatrick, 27 February 1856, Transcripts and Copies, MDHC. An article in *The Geelong Advertiser*, incorrectly reports that the design was from Pugin and the copy of the plan had been prepared by the local architect Nicholson, who supervised the project after George and Schneider's dismissal. *Geelong Advertiser*, 18 April 1859, 2.

[141] *Freeman's Journal*, 15 August 1857, 3.

avoid debts on the building, works proceeded slowly as funds came in. In April 1859 Fitzpatrick described it as 'merely commenced', informing the bishop that only the walls and a portion of the tower were built.[142] The structure, including a section of the tower 42 feet tall was ready for roofing by January 1860, and the contract of £2,900 had been paid in full.[143] George and Schneider had been dismissed in 1858, and Mr Nicholson, a local architect, had taken over before the arrival of Denny in 1860. Denny completed the roof and the internal fittings and the church was solemnly opened on the 6th of April 1862.[144] The *Portland Guardian* admired Denny's 'ability as an architect we must accord our meed of praise, bringing with him to Victoria the prestige of being a successful pupil of the great Gothic master, Pugin'.[145]

Despite the mention of Denny as architect of the building, he actually acted as superintendent for Wardell. Newspapers often reported only the name of the supervising architect, leaving the name of the architect to be forgotten. Although it is true that Denny did practice as an architect in his own right, the buildings he designed, such as the Mortuary Chapel in Melbourne General Cemetery (1868) and the Church of St John at Clifton Hill (1876) were realised several years later. Newspapers' inaccuracy in reporting the name of the architect probably combined with Wardell's unwillingness to excessively publicise his private commissions. As a matter of fact, he had been appointed Inspecting Clerk of Works and Chief Architect at the Public Works Department in March

[142] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 16 April 1859, MDHC.

[143] Ebsworth, 1879, 70.

[144] *Portland Guardian and Normanby General Advertiser,* 10 April 1862, 2.

[145] *Ibid.*

1859, and he was promoted to Inspector-General and Chief Architect in January 1861.[146] In those years, he was harshly criticised for his right to private practice.[147] In fact, newspapers used every opportunity to attack the government for its inefficiency during the financial crisis.[148] Wardell's department was often the object of criticism due to the vast amount of money required for architectural projects. His person was directly attacked in the press as he had established a successful practice, often offering his services at very low charges or at no charge at all.[149] The harsh criticism possibly led Wardell to hide the extent of his work for Bishop Goold. Significantly, in a letter to the editor of the *Australian Builder and Railway Chronicle*, a suggestion was made that the name of Charles Hansom was being used by Wardell 'as a *soubriquet* to disguise the amount of practice he is doing'.[150] The same may have happened in regard to the use of Denny's name as architect for some of Wardell's projects.[151] Wardell was involved in All Saints' Church even if there was no mention of his name in the newspapers. He visited the building site at Portland in October 1859, when he expressed his appreciation for the work done.[152] Furthermore, correspondence testifies of his involvement in the project, as in March 1861, he

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[146] *The Victorian Government Gazette* of Friday 11 March 1859 announced Wardell's appointment as Inspecting Clerk of Works and Chief Architect at the Public Works Department. *Victoria Government Gazette*, 1859, 445. On Wardell's time at the PWD see Trethowan, 1975.

[147] A full account is given in McDonald, 1970.

[148] See Serle, 1963; and McDonald, 1970.

[149] See *Australian Builder and Railway Chronicle*, 2, 9, 16 and 23 February 1861.

[150] *Australian Builder and Railway Chronicle*, 28 March 1861, quoted in McDonald, 1972.

[151] Denny was entrusted with the supervision of almost all of Wardell's buildings. See Chapter 4 section 5.

[152] *Freeman's Journal*, 15 October 1859, 3.

resigned his interests in being paid for the church, thus implying he had provided at least some of the specifications following Hansom's original plan.[153]

A few days after the blessing of the cornerstone at Portland, Goold performed the same ritual in Port Fairy. There, Goold decided to build one of Hansom's designs that was to become very popular, being reused five times – in Keilor, Mount Moriac, Daylesford, Creswick and Stawell. The same design inspired other architects who produced three churches virtually identical to St Patrick's in Port Fairy in later years.[154] The plan, very similar to All Saints', encompassed a two-compartment church with a five-bay nave and a two-bay chancel. (Fig. 40) The belltower, however, octagonal in shape, was located at the south west corner of the façade, which was decorated by a three-light window and a central buttress set between two small windows. In Port Fairy, a permanent church had been planned since 1851, when the local newspaper informed the public that Geoghegan intended to lay the foundation stone soon.[155] Funds for the building had been collected for several months from 1855. The parish priest, Fr Shinnick, had more than £1,000 in hand for the commencement of the works when he was removed to Bacchus Marsh in March 1856.[156] The newly appointed priest, Dunne, was told the building had to be postponed for lack of funds, and a lay

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[153] Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 4 March 1861, St Patrick's construction files, MDHC. The architectural drawings do not survive.

[154] Architect Henry Caselli, who worked on the Creswick and Stawell churches, designed together with his pupil William Tappin, the churches inspired by Hansom's design in Bacchus Marsh and Gordon. Mr Shepardson, a schoolteacher, copied Daylesford church and his plans were used for the erection of the church at Blampied. Further details are provided in Andrews, 1989.

[155] *Belfast Gazette*, 2 May 1851, quoted in Ebsworth, 1873, 81. There is no report that works ever commenced.

[156] The money was used to pay the debts accumulated for the construction of the presbytery.

committee was formed under Dunne's guidance to openly criticise the bishop's management of church finances. This triggered the Dunne scandal, that was to force Goold to visit Rome in 1858. The foundation stone of the church consecrated to St Patrick was laid by the bishop only on the 23rd July 1857, after the removal of Dunne and Shinnick's return.[157]

The tender for the foundations and masonry amounted to £550, and the supervising architect was a local, Nathaniel Billing.[158] The first contract was completed and paid in full in less than one year and the second, amounting to £1,599 was entered immediately after generous collections allowed to have more than £1,350 to be spent on the building in October 1858.[159] John Young, builder, was engaged for erecting the walls, the octagonal tower, and the temporary wall to close the nave.[160] Fitzpatrick, who visited the site in April 1859, reported that the building looked most beautiful: 'I had not before seen any building which gave me greater pleasure'.[161] The walls of the nave were ready for roofing and, despite some hesitation in entering a new contract, Fitzpatrick urged the resident priest to run the risk of incurring debts for the works to be completed before the winter. In fact, the site, located on raising ground just off the harbour, was exposed to powerful ocean winds, and 'if the building were left as

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[157] Soon after, Shinnick was transferred to Geelong and McCarthy took his place in August 1857.

[158] Nathaniel Billing was born at Brightwell, Oxfordshire, and in England he trained under Sir George Gilbert Scott, among other architects. He relocated to Victoria in 1853, settling down in Port Fairy where he worked as a government clerk of works. Further information is provided in Moore, 1984, 90-5.

[159] The sum included a £400 grant from the Government. Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 October 1858, MDHC.

[160] Young was later engaged as contractor of St Patrick's cathedral. Andrews notes that the turret became a characteristic of Charles Hansom's church designs after his trip to the continent – especially in the Low Countries and Germany- with Ullathorne. Andrews, 2001, 66-7.

[161] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 16 April 1859, MDHC.

it is during the winter it would probably be blown down'.[162] The contract for the roofing, amounting to £730 was signed in May.[163]

The church was opened by Bishop Goold on the 17th January 1861. (Fig. 41) On the temporary wall, towering over the high altar there was a 'painting of much value, lately received from Rome', a present of the bishop.[164] The debt incurred for the roofing of the building amounted to £500, and the construction of the sanctuary was postponed until funds become available. Nevertheless, the balanced, elegant design was loudly praised by local reporters, and the structure was considered unequalled by any similar in the western districts of the colony.[165] The plain bluestone building is relieved by the light stone used for the detailing of the windows. The Geometric Gothic tracery is simple but refined and, together with the slender proportions of the octagonal belltower, gives lightness to the overall composition. The excellent craftsmanship of an experienced builder, John Young, and the superintendence of a competent architect like Nathaniel Billing were decisive factors in the successful completion of the work to the highest standards. The prominent location, the high-pitched roof and the graceful belltower soaring heavenwards were certainly a sight to behold at the time. Works on the building did not resume until 1864, when it became evident that strong gales were seriously compromising the temporary wall. The chancel was built according to Hansom's original plan by

[162] *Ibid.*

[163] Ebsworth, 1973, 88-9.

[164] *Herald*, 22 January 1861, 6. The painting is no longer in the church and it has been impossible to locate it.

[165] *Ibid.*; *Freeman's Journal*, 19 January 1861, 4.

Wardell and Denny. The contract was entrusted to Mr Broadbent and completed for £1,175 by the end of 1867.[166]

The Church of Our Lady of the Rosary in Kyneton was built to the same plan used in Kilmore. (Fig. 42) As happened in N.S.W. with Pugin's design for a small rural church, also in Victoria circumstances compelled Goold to use a church design more than once. Architectural drawings were expensive and difficult to obtain, especially as Goold was committed to building churches in a scholarly Gothic Revival style. The site for the Kyneton church had been selected by Goold in July 1850, just three months after the new township had been established with a Government notice on the *Gazette*.[167] The missionary assigned to the district was Horatio Geoghegan, a cousin of Patrick Geoghegan, who, after being recruited in Ireland, dedicated his life to the parish, where he resided from April 1856 until his death almost 40 years later. Money had been collected by the previous priest with the intention of building a house, but Geoghegan decided to ask the bishop to use the funds for a church instead: 'Our church is too small, and indeed I would much rather apply our resources to the erecting of a new church than to the building of a dwelling house'.[168] The bishop granted his wish and one year later Geoghegan had about £3,000 in the building fund to commence work.

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[166] Ebsworth, 1873, 94; and Lewis, 1991, entry 347. Parle to Fitzpatrick, 11 April, 15 June, 25 June and 2 August 1867, MDHC.

[167] Goold sent the application for the Government Land Grant on the 6th July and this was approved a month later. Goold et al., 2009, July 1850, 13. *Argus*, 6 April 1850, 2; and Ramsdale, 2002.

[168] Geoghegan to Goold, 12 June 1856, MDHC. Mass was celebrated in a wooden chapel school.

On the 20th September 1857, Goold visited the settlement to bless the cornerstone and dedicate the church to Our Lady of the Rosary.[169] George and Schneider were the supervising architects, while Andrea Giovanni Stombuco was engaged as builder.[170] As in other instances, works were dictated by the availability of funds. The first contract, amounting to £2,500 encompassed the 75 feet long by 50 feet wide tripartite structure of the nave.[171] Building works started from the western section, but funds ran out before its completion. After one year, in November 1858, tenders for the second part of the structure, the chancel and chapels were offered.[172] George and Schneider had been dismissed, and William Wardell prepared the specifications following Hansom's original plan.[173] (Fig. 43) The erection of the chancel and chapels was already underway in December, and when Fitzpatrick visited the site in April 1859, the exterior of the church was almost completed and Geoghegan was ready to call for tenders for the pillars of the nave.[174] Fitzpatrick sent the good news to the bishop: 'the chancel window is by far the most beautiful of Victoria. The appearance of the church is now very fine'.[175] (Fig. 44) The columns were in place by April 1860,

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[169] *Kyneton Observer*, 18 and 22 September 1857, 2.

[170] An Italian migrant, Andrea G. Stombuco arrived in Victoria after the discovery of gold. After spending some time at the diggings in Bendigo, he dedicated himself to building and architecture, starting with the local Church of St Kilian. Over the years, he collected working drawings of the buildings he worked on as stone mason and sculptor. In 1869, he moved to Goulburn, where he was appointed Catholic diocesan architect. In 1875 he relocated to Brisbane where he acted as diocesan architect for the Catholic Bishop James Quinn, even if he was not formally appointed. Giorgi, 1998. See also Cox, 1981.

[171] *Kyneton Observer*, 25 September 1857, 2; and *Freeman's Journal*, 14 November 1857, 3

[172] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 November 1858, MDHC.

[173] Wardell, *Completion of Kyneton Church*, PXD 316, ff. 75-89, ML, SLNSW. The file contains the architectural plans for the completion of the structure of the church, dated 1859, and the drawings of the benches dated October 1869 and signed by Bernard Wardell.

[174] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 28 December 1858 and 16 April 1859, MDHC.

[175] *Ibid.*

but the roofing was delayed for one year for lack of funds, and the church's interior was not yet completely finished when Goold opened the building in June 1861.[176] By then, the church had reached a cost of 12,000.[177] The work of Stombuco, the contractor, was recognised to be of the highest standards. Significantly, Stombuco collected at least some of the drawings and specifications of the church.[178] Thus, Hansom's tripartite church was re-built in the 1880s as St Patrick's, Fortitude Valley, Brisbane, to the drawings prepared by Stombuco, who, by then, was practicing as an architect.[179] Significantly, St Patrick's was the largest church built under Bishop Quinn's patronage in Brisbane.[180]

The cathedral of Ballarat was derived from the largest and most elaborate design acquired from the Hansom brothers. (Fig. 45) The original drawings encompassed a town church with nave and side aisles, clerestory, transepts and chapels at the east end, and an imposing belltower crowned by a tall spire. For the superintendence of this grand plan, Goold engaged the firm of Dowden and Shaw, as Dowden had already worked on St Mary of the Angels in Geelong.[181] As

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[176] *Kyneton Observer*, 17 April 1860 and 4 June 1861 2.

[177] Ramsdale, 2002, 55.

[178] Andrews, 2001, 68.

[179] Andrews notes that the detailing in the Brisbane church are more crude compared to St Mary's.

[180] The church was able to accommodate a larger congregation than St Stephen's Cathedral, which had been commenced in 1864. Quinn was appointed to the bishopric in 1859 but arrived in Queensland only in 1861. He died in August 1881, before seeing St Patrick's completed. The church was consecrated on 3rd of December 1882 by bishop Robert Dunne. Queensland Heritage Register, entry 600107 and 600107.

[181] Joseph Shaw, an Irish emigrant, created an architectural partnership with Dowden in the years 1856-1857. Dowden had previously worked with David Ross in the years 1854-1855, but the partnership was dissolved when Ross decided to dedicate himself exclusively to his practice in Melbourne.

seen before, the decision was taken to commence works from the west end to the intersection of the transepts for an estimate of £10,000.[182] The building fund started the collection in December 1857, and, at the first meeting £600 was subscribed on the spot.[183] The first contract for the stonework, amounting to £3,000 for raising the walls up to 24 feet, was given to Kerr, who had just completed building at Kilmore.[184] In February, the walls were already visible above the ground and Goold laid the cornerstone on the 7th. The ceremony was very solemn, and a temporary platform, gallery and altar were installed for the celebration. The sum collected on the day was around £350, and a golden chalice was presented to the bishop.[185]

Dowden and Shaw had copied Hansom's design. The building was to be 147 feet long and 60 feet wide, and with transepts measuring 27 by 23 feet, the chapels and the tower placed at the south side, St Patrick's in Ballarat was as large as its homonym on Eastern Hill. The estimate for the whole building amounted to £40,000-50,000. The three-light traceried windows of the nave had different patterns, and the west façade was decorated by a large traceried window and two smaller windows on the aisles. The main doorway had two figures of saints at each side. The whole was to be built of bluestone while the use of Ballarat freestone was limited to the complex mouldings, the ornaments and the windows. Bazaars, weekly collections and mining companies' subscriptions

[182] *Freeman's Journal*, 5 December 1857, 3.

[183] *Ibid*.

[184] Ebsworth, 1973, 245.

[185] The chalice, made of solid gold and weighing almost half a kilo, had an estimated worth of £120. The local newspaper noted with some irritation that the item was made in Bendigo. *Star*, 8 February and 25 March 1858, 2 and 3.

allowed the building committee to proceed rapidly, the only mishap being an act of vandalism that ruined part of the decorative masonry.[186] When tenders were called for a second contract, Stombuco, who had previously worked at Kyneton, was engaged as stonemason, while Mr Broadbent was engaged as contractor.[187]

In 1861 the local newspaper amended its previous description of the plan of the church: the nave had been reduced from 100 to 75 feet, the great window of the façade was downsized, the new one was to had five lights and a richer tracery, while the small trefoil-headed clerestory windows were redesigned to be double mullioned with three lights.[188] The Ballarat freestone used for the ornamental work had been deemed unfit, and this was substituted with blocks coming all the way from Pitt's quarry, Kangaroo Point in Van Diemen's Land, the same stone being used for the cathedral in Melbourne.[189]

The Star reported that the alterations had been designed by the new superintendent architect, Denny, who was also the clerk of works at St Patrick's on Eastern Hill.[190] Scholars have generally accepted that Denny prepared the architectural drawings for the completion St Patrick's in the late 1860s, but correspondence indicates that Wardell had a role in the completion of the nave soon after his arrival in the colony.[191] In March 1861, Wardell wrote to

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[186] *Star*, 7 April 1858; 9 November 1859 and 22 August 1860, 2.

[187] *Star*, 5 February 1862, 2; and 11 August 1871, p4. Broadbent will be engaged also for the completion of the building in 1869-1871, and he will work at Port Fairy and Koroit.

[188] The original design does not survive. *Star*, 1 August 1861, 2.

[189] Ebsworth, 1973, 240.

[190] *Star*, 9 November 1863, 3.

[191] See Andrews, 2013-14; Lewis, 1991, entry 178. As mentioned earlier, Wardell was probably unwilling to publicise his private commissions and newspapers did not differentiate between superintendent of works and architect.

Fitzpatrick to resign his interest in being paid for the works carried on at the church.[192] A written agreement between Wardell, Denny and the bishop stipulated that Wardell and Denny were to share the commission for the churches Wardell designed and Denny superintended.[193] The drawings of the nave of the Ballarat church do not survive, but the letter clearly suggests that Wardell provided the specifications for the completion of the nave, which was made in accordance with Hansom's original design.

At the beginning of 1862, a report in *The Star* complained about the slow progress of the building wishing that the slowness of the works was proportionate to the durability of the building.[194] Stombuco promptly responded with a letter published the following day, asserting he was going as fast as the stability of the structure would permit and that hastening the masonry would do him no credit.[195] He was right, and his delicate stone carvings testify to his ability to work both the hard bluestone and the softer freestone in the decorated detailing, like the saint's niches, the main portal and the elegant window tracery.[196] Only in April 1863 was it decided for a final push to complete the nave, which was finally opened by Bishop Goold on 9th November 1863. A temporary chancel was built to enable the extension of the church without disturbing the use of the building. The nave of St Patrick's had cost £8,000, of

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[192] Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 4 March 1861, St Patrick's construction files, MDHC.

[193] *Memorandum of agreement made this 25th day of August 1860 between the Right Reverend J. A. Goold, D. D. Lord Bishop of Melbourne, of the one part and J. B. Denny of the other part*; St Patrick's Construction Files, MDHC. See chapter 4 section 5.

[194] *Star*, 4 February 1862, 2.

[195] *Ibid*., 5 February 1862, 4.

[196] VHD, 'St Patrick's Cathedral and Hall, Ballarat', Id 1399, 1999.

which £1,700 were a loan. The windows were filled with amber-tinted cathedral glass received from the workshop of John Young in Melbourne and the floor was paved with encaustic tiles in an ornamental pattern.[197] The roof was considered one of the best in the colony for elegance and strength, and its rafters were embellished by tracery that 'gives to the whole roof a finish that at once pleases the eye and satisfies the most fastidious architectural critic'.[198] (Fig. 46) The completion of the transepts and the chancel was delayed for want of funds. It was only in February 1869 that Goold laid the foundation stone of the additions to the church, which included transepts, chancel and two chapels. These were realised to the designs of John B. Denny and completed in 1871.[199] (Fig. 47)

The last two churches commenced to Hansom's designs before the arrival of William Wardell were St Augustine's at Keilor; and St Patrick's church at Mount Moriac. These were built to the same design that was used in Port Fairy.[200] (Fig. 48) For the Keilor church, the drawings were copied by the Melbourne architect J. M. Barry, who called for tenders for the erection of the church at the beginning of October 1858.[201] The initial contract, like at St Patrick's, encompassed only the five-bay nave, but St Augustine's was to have a central doorway on its west façade. Works were commenced by November, but the building proceeded slowly and the structure was left at a standstill in April

[197] John Young had opened a workshop importing items of Hardman's of Birmingham. On Young's workshop see Chapter 4, section 4.

[198] *Star,* 9 November 1863, 3.

[199] Ebsworth, 252-4. Denny started to practice as architect in his own right sometimes in 1868.

[200] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 14 February 1859, MDHC.

[201] *Age*, 4 October 1858, 3.

1859.[202] In March 1860, Barry called for tenders for the completion of the church and works resumed. The nave, closed by a temporary wall, was roofed by the time Goold visited Keilor in December 1862.[203] Works on the interior continued for almost one year, and St Augustine's was opened by the bishop the 15th November 1863, while he was returning to Melbourne from the opening of St Patrick's in Ballarat.[204] Unfortunately, unlike Port Fairy, the chancel designed by Hansom was never realised, and the church interior is nowadays unceremoniously closed by a blind cement panel.

At Mount Moriac, the building was commenced after Goold's departure for Europe. In mid-October Fitzpatrick informed the bishop that Farrelly, had 'commenced his church on Mr Hanson's [*sic*] plans'.[205] (Fig. 49) The parish encompassed almost all the country extending west of Geelong as far as Colac and it was then a well-populated farming area. Significantly, the mission had been established as early as 1852, and by 1857 the resident priest had already erected a presbytery and a small school at the summit of the high hill.[206] More than £350 had already been collected towards the building before Farrelly's arrival but the sum was spent for the erection of a chapel school at Colac completed in 1857.[207] The foundation stone of the church was laid by vicar

[202] There is no record regarding the commencement of works or the laying of the foundation stone. It is possible that no ceremony was organised as Bishop Goold had already left for Europe at the time. Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 November 1858, MDHC; Ebsworth, 1973, 404.

[203] Goold et al., 2009, 2 December 1862, 195.

[204] *Herald*, 17 November 1863, 2.

[205] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 October 1858, MDHC.

[206] Ebsworth, 1973, 283; *Advocate*, 21 May 1887, 18; St Patrick's Church Mount Moriac Files, MDHC.

[207] St Patrick's Church Mount Moriac Files, MDHC.

Fitzpatrick, accompanied by Dean Hayes of Geelong, on 31st October 1858.[208] As at Port Fairy, the plan encompassed an octagonal tower, nave and chancel with lowered ceiling. Two weeks after the laying of the cornerstone, Fitzpatrick assured the bishop that the building was progressing rapidly.[209] Clement Nash, a Geelong stone mason who had already worked at St Mary of the Angels in the 1850s, was engaged for St Patrick's, and construction of the first section of the building, probably encompassing only the nave, was completed in October 1860 for a total of £4,500.[210] Goold celebrated the solemn dedication on the 18th December 1860.[211] On the occasion, he gifted the parish with a sacrying bell he had purchased in Birmingham from Hardman's workshop. (Fig. 50) The second stage was completed only six years later, but the material used for the whole building was 'inferior freestone, quarried in the neighbourhood' that eventually lead to a quick decay of the church.[212] *The Advocate* recalls: 'Travellers between Geelong and Melbourne were always surprised when reaching the summit of the mount Moriac hill to see the magnificent church in so lonely a place and serving so scant a population. Some would pause a while and inspect the beautifully carved doorways and windows which were features of the building'.[213] The

[208] *Advocate*, 3 January 1952, 15.

[209] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 November 1858, MDHC.

[210] Clement Nash was monumental sculptor, and a marble and granite merchant. Born in England, he worked on carvings on several churches including Norwich Cathedral before relocating to Geelong in 1854. In 1855 he bought the bluestone quarry at Lethbridge which produced a stone characterized by his royal-blue colour. Among his most well-known works are the sculpted bluestone heads over the main entrance of St Mary of the Angels. Moore, 1984, 152-3.

[211] Goold et al., 2009, 18 November 1860, 122; *Advocate*, 3 January 1952, 15.

[212] *Advocate*, 21 May 1887, 18 and 3 January 1952, 15.

[213] *Advocate*, 3 January 1952, 15.

structure was demolished in 1952, and, three years later, a new, smaller one was completed on the same foundations maintaining only the old steeple.[214]

3.7 Unsuccessful commissions

Between 1856 and 1858, three major church projects were planned and commenced but eventually abandoned or demolished: St Kilian's, Bendigo; St John's, Heidelberg and St Patrick's Cathedral on Eastern Hill.[215] All three were commissioned to the local architectural firm of George and Schneider. On the occasion of a visit to Bendigo in December 1855, Goold had noted in his diary that the clergyman in charge of the district, Backhaus, had a good quarry of freestone at his disposal, but the presbytery he was erecting was a poor work for there was no lime in the mortar used by the builders.[216] Given the large Catholic population and the availability of building materials, a subscription was opened for the church. The first contract for St Kilian was started in April 1856 when Backhaus had £2,000 in hand.[217] The foundations were completed by September, when the architect noticed the works were not done according to the specifications.[218] Thus, the foundations were dismantled and new contractors, Stombuco and Fortune, hired. The corner stone of the building was laid by

[214] St Patrick's Church Mount Moriac Files, MDHC.

[215] Other buildings commenced at the time include chapel-school buildings such as the one at Survey (commenced in 1856) and the one at Beveridge. See Ebsworth, 1973, 105, and VHD, 'Former Catholic Church, Beveridge', Id. 68993. Other chapels-schools erected in the diocese are mentioned throughout Ebsworth's book.

[216] Goold et al., 2009, 10 December 1855, 89.

[217] Goold et al., 2009, 10 to 13 December 1855, 2009, 89.

[218] It is unclear if it was George or Schneider who visited the site. The episode is reported in the *Courier of Mines,* 18 September 1856, quoted in Ebsworth 1979.

Goold on the 25th January 1857, and the collection on the day exceeded £1,000.[219]

St Kilian's church was to have a square ground plan terminating in an apse measuring 125 feet in length per 45 feet width, among the biggest Catholic churches in the colony. (Fig. 51) It was planned to be completed in five months for £10,000.[220] It was a Gothic building with a continuous roof over the nave and an apsidal chancel. The walls, made of freestone, were 30 feet high, and the high-pitched ceiling reached 60 feet at its maximum height. The freestone was quarried locally, but it was not the stone available in the Backhaus' estate, which was deemed unsuitable. At the time of its opening on the 6th December 1857, the church received a glowing review by the reporter of the *Bendigo Advertiser*: 'a more beautiful structure as a place of worship, or one which promises to be more complete in every possible respect, does not exist in the Colony'.[221] Backhaus himself was very proud of the building, and reported to the *Propaganda* in Rome 'This building, though it would hardly be considered anything particular in the Metropolis of the Christian world, yet is deemed here one of the best ecclesiastical buildings in these Colonies, and costs the already very high fifty thousand scudi, notwithstanding that nothing but the bare walls and the roof have as yet been constructed'.[222] However, years later, in a description of the area, the correspondent of *The Age*, remarked that in

[219] *Bendigo Advertiser,* 26 January 1857, 3.

[220] *Ibid.*

[221] *Bendigo Advertiser,* 7 December 1857, 3.

[222] Fifty thousand scudi was equivalent to £10,000. Backhaus to *Propaganda*, 2 April 1858, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 6, I, ff. 72-3, PFHA.

Sandhurst 'the Church of England, the Roman Catholic and the Wesleyan chapel are of the ugly ugliest'.[223] As a matter of fact, for their design of St Kilian's, George and Schneider had re-elaborated and scaled down Hansom's plan for St Patrick's Cathedral, but the detailing and decoration were more crude: the refined curvilinear tracery of the windows became simple and geometric, while pinnacles above the chancel's buttresses disappeared. (Fig. 52)[224] The imposing central tower with spire envisaged for the Melbourne cathedral was not built (possibly waiting to have the funds in hand) and existing pictures of the church suggest that the western façade was closed by a rough temporary wall. In addition to that, *The Age*'s correspondent certainly saw that the church was in a bad state of decay.

In a letter addressed to the bishop less than two years after the opening, Backhaus wrote about the inadequacy of the structure: 'My church is pretty much in statu [*sic*] quo, except that, what Mr Stombucco [*sic*] one of the contractors mentioned to your Lordship long ago, happens but too truly; the stones (especially the cut-stone work) decays and splits up in every direction'.[225] Backhaus was very dissatisfied. He refused to pay the contractors and responsibilities were ascertained in court.[226] The ensuing inquiry ascertained that the stone quarried in the Bendigo area was not suitable for building. Stombuco had realised this soon after entering the contract, but George and Schneider had prepared the specification following Backhaus' direction without

[223] *Age*, 7 June 1866, 5.

[224] Compare to figure 57 and 58.

[225] Backhaus to Goold, 15 April 1859, MDHC.

[226] See *Age*, 17 March 1859, 6.

paying attention to the building material.[227] Stombuco introduced few alterations to improve the structure, but this did not prevent the materials from cracking. An examination of the building by an architect *super partes*, Mr Douglass, ascertained that the masonry was first class work, but the stone used was exceptionally soft.[228] When the new diocese of Sandhurst was created in 1874, St Kilian's became its pro-cathedral, and despite it was clear that it had to be replaced, it served its purpose until the late 1880s. Bishop Crane complained to the *Propaganda* authorities that the building was not suitable for divine service, it was badly built of an unsuitable materials and was at risk of collapse.[229] The church was demolished 30 years after its erection and replaced with a weatherboard structure still extant designed by W.C. Vahland.[230]

St John's, Heidelberg, was erected only a few metres south of the site of St Monica's chapel-school. The first mention of the church is in a report on the buildings of the diocese published on the *Freeman's Journal* in 1857, where the project was described as already in progress.[231] The church, to be built of bluestone with freestone dressings, was designed by George and Schneider.[232] It was to be 53 feet tall with a detached tower 80 feet in height, and it was to have one of the most elaborately ornamented windows in the colony on its western

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[227] *Ibid.*

[228] *Ibid.*

[229] Crane, *Relazione del Vescovo di Sandhurst relativamente alle cose ecclesiastiche della sua Diocesi,* 1882, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 14, I, 106-15, PFHA.

[230] This was opened by Bishop Crane in July 1888 and served as a pro-cathedral until the opening of the Sacred Heart Cathedral in 1901.

[231] Possibly, the works on the foundations had started and the church's plans were exhibited to enhance collections during one of the meetings of the Catholic Association. *Freeman's Journal*, 14 November 1857, 3.

[232] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 October 1858, MDHC.

façade.[233] Tenders for the mason's work and the bluestone had been called by the architects already in October, but it is unlikely that the building proceeded.[234] The ceremony of laying the foundation stone was planned by Bishop Willson, as Goold was travelling to Europe, on the 4th July 1858, but it had to be postponed for the bad weather.[235] In October, Fitzpatrick intervened, advising the parish priest, Hoyne, not to commence his building, remembering the rule forbidding clergymen to contract debts for building churches. Moreover, at the time the honour of George and Schneider was being questioned, and the vicar directed Hoyne to wait until the affair was settled.[236] Eventually, the architects were dismissed and Wardell prepared designs and specifications in 1859.[237]

In October 1858, Fitzpatrick intended to start building one of Hansom's plans at Carlton. A school used as a chapel, St George's, had been already erected in 1855 under the supervision of George and Schneider on the site assigned by the Government, but the growth of the neighbourhood demanded for a more capacious structure.[238] In this regard, Goold suggested Hansom's large plan for the new building. However, Fitzpatrick's idea of reserving part of the Government grant of 1859 for St George's failed, as funds were most probably

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[233] *Freeman's Journal,* 14 November 1857, 3.

[234] *Argus*, 19 and 28 October 1857, 6 and 8.

[235] *Ibid.*, 5 July 1858, 5.

[236] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 October 1858, MDHC.

[237] In February 1859 Fitzpatrick wrote to the bishop: 'Mr W. has also got the work at Heidelberg. I hope you will have the pleasure of seeing a good portion of a fine building there on your return'. Fitzpatrick to Goold 14 February 1859, MDHC.

[238] VHD, 'Sacred Heart Catholic Church', Id. 243, 1999.

absorbed by Wardell's cathedral, and the church was never built.[239] The only drawing supplied by Hansom that does not appear to have been used in those years were for a small two compartment church with a five-bay nave and a north west turret to be built of bricks. Goold clearly preferred stone for his churches, and this design was to be set aside for several years, until the commencement of the Church of St Joseph, Learmonth, in 1873.[240]

It is also necessary to mention that while visiting Ireland in 1858, Goold procured two church designs from Dublin architect Michael Brophy Moran.[241] Moran, whose work was mainly in the Gothic Revival, had been associated with the Irish Augustinians since 1856, when he provided the design for the Gothic Revival Church of St Augustine's in Drogheda. In 1858–59, Moran was engaged for the Church of St Augustine in Galway and in those months Goold took the opportunity to commission plans from him as probably recommended by his Augustinian superiors. The two plans destined for Australia had a cost of £20.[242] They were briefly described in the *Dublin Builder*: one was in the Early English style, the second, probably larger, was in 14th century Gothic. These were forwarded to Fitzpatrick in Melbourne without delay and Goold told his vicar to use the largest of the two for the Church of St Mary's in St Kilda, but it is likely that the plans arrived only after Wardell provided a design in the closing

[239] Additions to the George & Schneider's building were made in 1866 and a completely new church, the Sacred Heart, a red brick structure designed in the Baroque style by Tappin, Gilbert and Dennehy, was built in 1897-9. VHD, 'Sacred Heart Catholic Church', Id. 243, 1999.

[240] Andrews, 1989.

[241] *Dublin Builder*, 1 January 1859, 8

[242] *Dictionary of Irish Architects*, 2020; Moran to Heptonstall, 27 May 1859, MDHC.

months of 1858.[243] The intense building activity that characterised the years 1856 to 1858 continued after the arrival of William Wardell and throughout the 1860s.

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[243] The plans provided by Moran do not survive, and there is no further mention of them in the correspondence. It has been impossible to ascertain for which building they were used. Possibly, one design was used for the Church of St Francis Xavier's commenced at Corio soon after the bishop's return from Europe. See Lewis, 1991, entry 238. Goold to Fitzpatrick, 28 November 1858, MDHC; and Goold to Fitzpatrick, 26 December 1858, Box 4 Exhibition, MDHC.

Chapter 4: Goold's Cathedral

The cathedral church of Melbourne, St Patrick's, is the long-standing proof of Bishop Goold's vision for the colony of Victoria. The first church design was most probably copied from one of Archbishop Polding's architectural drawings imported from England. Goold's ambitious project was commenced and halted two times in the 1850s before the adoption of Wardell's grand Gothic structure at the closing of 1858. St Patrick's Cathedral exemplifies Goold's architectural patronage both in its refined Gothic lines and in its interiors, enriched with furnishings, stained glass and metalworks from leading European workshops. Goold's patronage was influenced by his networks in Australia and Europe, and the early history of St Patrick's testifies to the growth of his aspirations for the diocese of Melbourne.

A few months after his arrival in the diocese, in May 1849, Goold had selected one of the most prominent sites available for church building at the top of Eastern Hill. The design of St Patrick's was already significantly bigger than St Francis', the only completed church of the diocese.[1] Initiated in 1850, St Patrick's was one of Melbourne's most ambitious buildings, occupying a prominent location visible from all the settlement. The initial project was assigned to Samuel Jackson, the most active ecclesiastical architect of the district, who had already worked on St Francis' and St Mary of the Angels. As his practice went bankrupt in 1854, Goold decided to involve the English

[1] St Francis' Church was 138 feet long per 35 wide and had transepts measuring 90 feet. The first St Patrick's was about 200 feet long and 50 feet wide. Letter from Geoghegan to Murray, August 1846, quoted in Blessed Sacrament Fathers, 1941, 24. Goold, *Relazione Sommaria dello Stato delle cose Religiose nella Diocesi di Melbourne*, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 4, ff. 304-51, PFHA.

architects Charles and Joseph Hansom to improve the building's design. For the superintendence of the church, in 1856 the bishop engaged the Melbourne architectural firm of George and Schneider, who were most probably employed as diocesan architects, being involved on several projects around the diocese. The new bluestone church was erected on the same foundations of the precedent building, the original design having been modified only marginally by the English architects.

Shortly after George and Schneider failed to satisfy the bishop's expectations, architect William Wilkinson Wardell arrived in Melbourne. He soon realised that the structure of St Patrick's was not worthy of the colony of Victoria. Goold agreed. Wardell's grand Gothic design was adopted when the city was scarcely twenty years old, startling the Catholic population that had seen already the failure of two smaller projects, for which they had contributed generously. The bishop and the clergy believed firmly in the project and committed to raise the necessary funds to continue the works uninterruptedly for almost 40 years. At the same time, Goold procured items that would dignify the grand building even in its incomplete state, and purchased furnishings, paintings, vestments and stained glass from leading workshops not only in Australia, but also in England, Italy and Ireland.

As the walls of St Patrick's rose on Melbourne's skyline, public opinion, Catholic and not, began to take more than a passing interest in the cathedral. Newspapers published images and lengthy descriptions of the building, and several of the appeals for funds were answered by people of different denominations. St Patrick's, in its grandness, became a symbol of what the

young colony could achieve, and the Catholic authorities' foresight and determination in undertaking such an endeavour were highly praised. Architect Wardell and Bishop Goold had an ambitious vision for the Catholic church in the colony of Victoria. In the wake of the gold rush, their productive association led to the realisation in Melbourne of a cathedral distinguished by the impressive level of architectural ambition of its Gothic forms.

4.1 The site on Eastern Hill and the first St Patrick's Church

In July 1848, the Catholic church appropriated two acres of land to be chosen on Eastern Hill, a location that overlooked the whole settlement. A survey on the area was not available yet, as the terrain was still a sheep run leased to an English Catholic, Edward Curr.[2] When Archbishop Polding received the application prepared by Geoghegan, he wrote to Goold: '[Geoghegan] has transmitted all the preparations for a New Church in Melbourne, in nice order I think. These of course you would wish to be forwarded to Gov. through my V.G.'s office. I have a very well drawn plan of a Church and Tower – which I have sent in to Govt. for the Surry Hills. I think it would suit admirably – and thus much expense would be saved – The Plan & specifications would cost £10. The estimate about £3,000 to hold 1,000 persons'.[3] A few days later, he sent a similar letter to Goold's vicar in Melbourne: 'the application for Stipend and Church will be sent forthwith. The plan of the Church I consider the best which

[2] Ebsworth, 1979, 4.

[3] Polding to Goold, 22 June 1848, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 2, 107.

has been as yet produced. The Estimate is about £3,000'.[4] In his letter to Goold, Polding mentions the plan for the Church of the Sacred Heart that was about to be commenced to one of the designs he had procured in England from Charles Hansom. These two letters sent by the archbishop, where the design is praised, and the same estimate repeated, seem to suggest that Polding wanted Goold to have a copy of Hansom's church plan for the erection of St Patrick's on Eastern Hill.

The archbishop was eager to promote the diffusion of archaeologically correct Gothic Revival, and, most probably, he invited Goold to choose one of the church designs he had obtained from the English architects. Following this line of thought, while in Sydney for his consecration, Goold saw the archbishop's architectural drawings, he chose one and, he engaged a local draftsman to make a copy and took it to Melbourne for his new church. Unfortunately, the architectural drawings of the first St Patrick's have not survived. An 1850 sketch by Fitzpatrick of the ground plan records a square structure with nave and side aisles measuring 160 by 70 feet.[5] (Fig. 53) The only graphic representation of the church is provided by the lithograph realised after ST Gill's drawing in 1854, but it is unclear which of Polding's designs Goold selected.[6] (Fig. 54)

The survey of Eastern Hill became available in mid 1849, and Dean Coffey, the priest in charge of the eastern suburbs of Melbourne, wrote to the district

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[4] Polding to Geoghegan, 11 July 1848, *ibid.*, 111-2.

[5] John Fitzpatrick, Notebook, Fitzpatrick papers, MDHC.

[6] The Church of St Patrick's, Parramatta, built to Pugin's designs, had a prominent central spire on the façade that recalls the arrangement of the first St Patrick's Church in Melbourne. However, as the original drawings of either church do not survive it is impossible to ascertain the provenance of the Melbourne church.

Superintendent, Charles La Trobe, about the details of the site that the bishop had selected.[7] Goold had chosen what was considered to be among the best ecclesiastical sites in Melbourne, and this caused an outbreak of sectarianism.[8] As a consequence, the Crown grant was not formalised until the 4th April 1850. The official cause of the delay was a proposal forwarded to the Superintendent by the Committee of Works of the Melbourne town council. Their project envisaged an extension of the city streets towards east, thus cutting through the Church property. The superintendent discussed directly with the Roman Catholic trustees the possibility of changing their selected site, but it was impossible to find an alternative location 'equally advantageous under every point of view', hence La Trobe resolved not to force any 'injury' to the interests of the Roman Catholic community.[9] As the lot appropriated by the Catholics was in close proximity to the site of St Peter's Anglican church, it was hoped it would have encouraged a closer union of priests and congregations, as it testified of an 'advance in liberty, a proud movement of Australian freedom of worship'.[10] Respecting the Superintendent's decision, the city Alderman, Augustus Greeves, responded with a plan to reserve the land south west of the Catholic allotment 'as a site for some public building of architectural importance with the necessary enclosure such as the future Legislative Council Chambers, which might be so

[7] Coffey to La Trobe, 8 May 1849, quoted in Ebsworth, 1979, 6-7. Charles Joseph La Trobe (1801-1875) was appointed Superintendent of the District of Port Phillip in 1839. He became Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria when the separate colony was established.

[8] Freeland, 1963, 126.

[9] On the 17th of May 1849 a meeting was organised between La Trobe and the Catholic trustees. These were Dean Coffey, Mr John O'Shanassy and Mr Nicholas O'Connor. *Minutes of the meeting*, La Trobe papers 1848, quoted in Keany, 1976.

[10] *Geelong Advertiser,* 11 April 1850, 2.

placed as to command the imposing vista of Bourke Street for its entire length'.[11] Interestingly, almost twenty years later, the Anglican ecclesiastical community discussed the possibility to erect its cathedral on the site of St Peter's Church. Part of the clergy was convinced that 'no better position could be found', and among the many advantages, they mentioned that it was 'even three or four feet higher than the site of St Patrick's'.[12]

On the 9th April 1850, on the prominent site on Eastern Hill, Bishop Goold solemnly blessed the foundation stone of St Patrick's at the conclusion of an impressive celebration attended by more than 2,000. The sum of £170 was collected on the day, and an estimate of £6,000 had been approved for the erection of the nave. The ceremony was marked by great solemnity: the ritual was preceded by a large procession that took the faithful from St Francis' to the eastern suburbs, crossing the principal streets of the city.[13] The church was to face east and to 'command an extensive prospect of what, in the course of few years, will be the central street of the city'.[14]

The architect Samuel Jackson was engaged for the erection of the permanent church, while a temporary chapel was quickly erected to serve the Catholics residing in the eastern part of the city. This was a small weatherboard structure, 20 feet long per 15 wide, with 'a few forms and a very temporary altar'.[15] For the

[11] Greeves to La Trobe, 24 September 1849, quoted in Keany, 1976. The site was reserved as suggested, and the construction of Victoria's Parliament House commenced in 1855.

[12] *Portland Guardian*, 3 August 1877, 6; and *Weekly Times*, 24 November 1877, 15. Eventually, the site in Flinders Street was preferred.

[13] *Geelong Advertiser*, 11 April 1850, 2.

[14] *Melbourne Herald*, 10 April 1850, quoted in Ebsworth, 1973, 11.

[15] Ebsworth, 1979, 8.

permanent structure, Garryowen reports that a first design for a cruciform building was changed as a square structure was preferred.[16] The lithography prepared by S. T. Gill was most probably commissioned to publicise the construction works and enhance the community's generosity after the bishop's return from his first *ad limina* visit to Rome. St Patrick's was a 'conglomeration of Gothic styles' including tall lancet windows in-between Early English buttresses surmounted by a crenellated parapet.[17] The building was dominated by a central square tower in its western façade, which had pinnacle buttresses and niches for statues at the base.

As the bishop was often travelling in the diocese, Fitzpatrick was entrusted to supervise the erection of the building. In 1850, the building's account book, meticulously kept by Fitzpatrick, records an expenditure exceeding £900, encompassing almost exclusively foundations works.[18] Early in 1851, just before leaving for Europe to recruit priests, the bishop approved a tender of £2,250 to raise the walls to the windowsills, and further £705 were spent during the year. However, the contract was never finalised because of the Victorian gold rush.[19] Collections for the completion of the building resumed only after the bishop's return to Melbourne in February 1853. He was unsatisfied with the progress: 'Money has been most shamefully advanced to the contractor of St Patrick's

[16] Finn et al., 1976, 143.

[17] Freeland, 1963, 125-9.

[18] The exact total from the 15 May 1849 to the 10 February 1851 was £939 17s and 9p. *St Patrick's Church Receipts and Expenditure*, MDHC.

[19] *St Patrick's Church Receipts and Expenditure*, MDHC. See Minogue Files, MDHC; and Ebsworth, 1979, 116.

Church - Eastern Hill - during my absence. But little has been done for it'.[20] The bishop appointed Fitzpatrick as his second vicar general trusting his judgement completely regarding the erection of the church. When Fitzpatrick consulted him about renewing the builder's contract, the bishop informed him that he could manage the situation as he saw fit.[21] At the closing of the year the vicar engaged a new contractor, F. P. Dalton, and the works proceeded without interruptions, with a total of £4,053 spent from April 1853 to March 1854.[22]

During this year, the economy of Victoria registered a marked downturn entering a severe phase of deflation, and this most probably caused architect Samuel Jackson to go out of business, leaving several buildings unfinished.[23] St Patrick's project changed drastically as testified by two advertisements published in *The Herald* on the 15th and the 16th of March.[24] The first tender was for a supply of 5,000 feet of bluestone, the second invited the applications of foremen 'none but competent persons need apply'.[25] The decision of changing stone was significant. Bluestone was a much harder construction material, it was perceived as vulgar and gloomy and suitable 'for gaols other buildings where strength was required'.[26] Nevertheless, it was also a more durable stone, an important feature as, on at least one occasion, the delicate freestone

[20] Goold et al., 2009, March 1853, 31.

[21] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 17 November 1853, MDHC.

[22] *St Patrick's account book,* St Patrick's construction files, MDHC.

[23] See Serle, 1963, 239-48. Among Jackson's unfulfilled contracts there was also the roofing of St Paul's Church, Pentridge.

[24] *Herald*, 15 and 16 March 1854, quoted in Ebsworth, 1979, 116.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Victorian Hansard*, August 1872, 1122.

ornamental work of St Patrick's had been ruined.[27] Despite the invitation of tenders, and a further expenditure exceeding £800 to complete the contracts already entered, the church did not progress.[28]

As a matter of fact, in 1855 precedence was given to building of St Patrick's College. (Fig. 55) The Government had granted a large sum, £2,500, for the establishment of a Grammar School.[29] The foundation stone was laid in December 1854, and a portion of the building was opened in August 1855. The college was to be completed by November, but shortage of materials slowed the works, and delayed further the resumption of the church.[30] By the end of the year, the *Catholic Directory* published a fervent appeal: 'St Patrick's *Temporary Chapel!* Is this a reality of fact, or is it mere fiction? Is it possible, that amid our daily increasing Catholic population, a population so abundant and ample in pecuniary resources, there stands but one, poor, small, wooden *Temporary Chapel* under the name of the Great Apostle of the Irish Nation'.[31] The appeal indicated that only the foundations had been completed, and with a harsh tone accused that 'the stigma of disgrace' had befallen on the Irish, a population that alone constituted more than the nine tenths of the whole Catholics of the Colony.[32]

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[27] Ebsworth, 1979, 13.

[28] *St Patrick's Church Receipts and Expenditure*, MDHC.

[29] Head and Healy, 1999.

[30] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 2 November 1855, MDHC.

[31] *Catholic Directory for the Diocese of Melbourne*, 1855.

[32] *Ibid.*

4.2 The second St Patrick's Church

Once the college on Eastern Hill was opened, at the beginning of 1856 tenders were called for the erection of St Patrick's. By then, Bishop Goold had procured a revised design from the English architects Charles and Joseph Hansom.[33] The 1857 *Catholic Directory* informed the readers that the 'Ecclesiastical and Catholic buildings in progress by Joseph and Charles Hansom 1855–56 are: — Plans for three churches and the completion of St. Mary's Cathedral, Melbourne, for the Right Rev Dr Goold'.[34] However, collections came in slowly, and the bishop was doubtful about accepting the contract for the masonry works. From the presbytery of St Mary's in Geelong, Goold admitted that he wanted more money in hand before accepting the tenders: 'I dread undertaking so great a work with resources so precarious as promises - I mean verbal promises. Again, there is the example of this mission before us advising caution - I will give the proposal full consideration'.[35]

Eventually the contract for St Patrick's was prepared in March 1856, and the Melbourne architectural firm of George and Schneider was engaged to supervise the works.[36] (Fig. 56) The sections of the freestone building erected between 1850 and 1854 were replaced by bluestone ones, most probably erected on the same foundations. As a matter of fact, the architectural drawings still extant of

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[33] *Argus*, 7 January 1856, 6.

[34] Note that St Mary's should read St Patrick's. The three churches referred to were: St Patrick's, Kilmore; All Saints', Portland and St Patrick's, Port Fairy. *Catholic Directory,* 1857, quoted in Welsh Papers, Wes/1/12, f. 30, RIBA.

[35] Works on the grand structure of St Mary's were at a standstill. Goold to Fitzpatrick, 27 February 1856, MDHC.

[36] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 10 March 1856, MDHC.

the second St Patrick's church, indicate that the plan of the church had not changed much from the first one. The church still had its front tower, with minor changes in the windows' arrangements. The most significant alterations regarded the chancel, that instead of being a typically English square East end was transformed in a polygonal one.[37] (Fig. 57) Possibly, in the time elapsed between Goold's first contact with Hansom, 1852, and the delivery of the commission in 1855, the plans of the structure erected under Jackson's supervision were forwarded to England in order to receive a design that correlated with the foundations already present on the site. A further interesting detail is that the largest of the designs sent by Hansom, used for St Patrick's Church in Ballarat, was initially reported to have been intended for St Patrick's Cathedral on Eastern Hill.[38] This may suggest that Goold had intended to commission Hansom to provide a design for his cathedral, but for financial restrictions he later changed his mind and sent the specifications of the works already undertaken on site to commission an improved design saving as much as possible of the previous building.

Works on the church resumed in April 1856. In a letter, Fitzpatrick informed the bishop that 'Mitchell, the contractor for the building of St Patrick's has commenced work in earnest. There are at least 20 men employed'.[39] The initial eagerness unfortunately did not last long, and the church proceeded slowly mainly because of the want of funds, lack of workmanship and the

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[37] George and Schneider, *St Patrick's church, Eastern Hill*: *Transverse section, East elevation, North Elevation, Plan of aisle, Side Elevation, Front Elevation,* MDHC.

[38] Ebsworth, 1973, 235.

[39] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 6 April 1856, MDHC.

mismanagement of the architects. Nevertheless, under Fitzpatrick's careful management, construction never stopped as money was collected through bazaars and weekly appeals.[40] The estimate for the completion of the church amounted to £8,000-10,000 and Goold was well aware that the faithful of Melbourne were able to raise the amount 'without embarrassment'.[41] Addressing a meeting of the Catholic Association, Goold pointed out that the Catholics of Victoria had enjoyed great blessings, but both in Adelaide and Sydney collections for the erection and extension of the cathedrals were larger than in Melbourne.[42] Fortunately, the delay caused by the want of funds throughout the 1850s, eventually meant that Melbourne Catholics were to build their cathedral to William Wardell's grand Gothic plan, larger in scale than any project attempted in Australia at the time.

The first contract amounting to £6,000 was prepared in June 1856 and part of the front tower wall was completed by 1857. A new contract was entered into soon after, encompassing the first three bays of the south eastern aisle and the first three pillars.[43] The original drawings indicate that the builder, W. A. Blair, had signed the contract for this section on May 15, 1857.[44] (Fig. 58) More than £15,000 was spent on St Patrick's between June 1856 and March 1858, and of

[40] A 'Grand Fancy Bazaar' in aid of St Patrick's church and the Orphanage on Emerald hill was advertised in newspapers for the first week of January 1857. *Age*, 24 December 1856, 8.

[41] *Argus,* 28 April 1856, 5.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] One of the architectural drawings in George and Schneider's collection indicates with a line a section of the church labelling it as 'contract 1'. George and Schneider, *New Aisle – North Elevation – Plan of Aisle*', MDHC.

[44] 'These are the plans referred to in my contract of the ~~14~~ 15th May 1857 W. A. Blair'. *Ibid.*

the total, £4,000 were borrowed, mostly on the bishop's promissory notes.[45] It took almost one year of work to complete the first three bays of the aisle. The need of funds and the lack of superintendence of George and Schneider, who were working simultaneously on several projects, prevented the church's speedy progress. In July 1857, Goold answered a letter to his vicar advising prudence: 'With regard to a new contract for St Patrick's we must proceed cautiously. I must know how far it would be prudent to depend on our future resources and credit before taking it into consideration'.[46]

In November, Fitzpatrick informed the bishop: 'there has been another disappointment which will, I fear, further delay the opening of St Patrick's Church'.[47] The contractor for the plastering 'finding that he had taken the contract at too low a price has bolted taking with him the last week's wages of the poor workmen. […] The workmen who have been on the job are willing to continue if they can be employed by the day. If we had a competent clerk of works this might be the best plan, but Mr Schneider's inspection would not be sufficient'.[48] Moreover, Fitzpatrick reported that the modeller had come over with one of the casts for the bosses, and that in the original design each of the bosses was different from the others: 'This involves the expense of different moulds. If Your Lordship has no objections to having all the bosses alike, some expenses may be saved. The modeller says that the crest will not look as well as

[45] *St Patrick's Church Receipts and Expenditure*, MDHC.
[46] Goold to Fitzpatrick, Tuesday [July] 1857, Transcripts and Copies, MDHC.
[47] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 10 November 1857, MDHC.
[48] *Ibid.*

the boss. I have heard one Italian say that it would suit better as a medallion'.[49] Unfortunately there is no record documenting Goold's choice, and the only representation of the church interior, a rendering most probably prepared by the architects, is not detailed enough to distinguish the particulars of the bosses. (Fig. 59) At the time, the foundations of the north aisle were nearly dug out and stone had been found five to seven feet from the surface 'except under the spot where the first column is to stand. The excavation there is about thirteen feet. The soil appears to be getting worse as they go down. Mr Schneider thinks he will be obliged to use concrete – the rock appears to end just at the edge of the site for the column. There is no likelihood of their finding it soon'.[50] The good news was that the gallery and the doors -massive and plain -were all finished, and the decorator was at work. Fitzpatrick added that he disliked the figures that had been painted but added that others had praised them.[51]

In the context of the accusations of funds' mismanagement that followed the Dunne scandal, the grand opening of St Patrick's Church and the celebration of Pontifical High Mass in the rising structure was an important sign for the Catholic population of the city. On the 25th January 1858, Goold recorded in his diary 'I looked over the works at St Patrick's and examined that portion of the building that we expect soon to open'.[52] Evidently, he was pleased with what he saw and ordered the removal of the scaffolding. On the 2nd February he

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 10 November 1857, MDHC.

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] Goold and al., 2009, 25 January.1858, 91.

expressed his wish to open it the next Sunday.[53] (Fig. 60) The aisle was completed with a temporary wooden altar and an episcopal seat, prepared by Henry Bogg. Both were refined works: the Episcopal seat had cost £70, while the altar had a cost of £59 and the platform where they stood was another £29.[54] Moreover, a screen was commissioned and installed at a cost of £23.[55] Heney and Wood prepared 30 benches for the aisle (£90) and some of the paintings which Goold had procured from Europe were framed at a cost of £25.[56] The painting of the interiors, including the cross and the altar, 'a beautiful specimen of ecclesiastical painting', the realisation of the candlesticks and the gilding work in the temporary sanctuary was entrusted to Le Gould and Souter, who were paid £186 for their work.[57]

On the 14th February 1858, Goold sung Pontifical High Mass and blessed the first section of St Patrick's. The collection on the day amounted to £350, and in a subsequent meeting of the Catholic association, a complete account of the expenses between December 1856 and June 1858 was read to the attendees.[58] The report stated that a total of £8,963 5s 10p had been received, of which the donations of clergy and people accounted for almost half, £4,027. The money collected through the bazaar was £220, weekly collections had realised £1,016 and further £3,700 was borrowed on the bishop's promissory notes. There was

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[53] Goold and al., 2009, 2 February 1858, 91.

[54] *St Patrick's Church Receipts and Expenditure*, MDHC.

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Ibid.,* and *Age*, 15 February 1858, 6. See also Moore, 1984, 135.

[58] Significantly it was during this meeting that for the first time St Patrick's was referred to as a Cathedral: 'it was something to build a church but how much more was it to build a cathedral befitting the worship of God, the seat of their bishop […]'. *Argus*, 14 June 1858, 5.

no debt on the church, but at the completion of the current contract the contractor was entitled to £3,000 that was not in hand. The meeting promised more than £1,000 towards the building, of which £400 were paid on the spot.[59]

The day after the meeting, Goold left Melbourne for his second *ad limina* visit to Rome. The first section of the trip took him to King George's Sound and the bishop took the occasion to write to his vicar wishing the works at the church was still progressing favourably.[60] However, by the time the bishop reached the Mediterranean Sea, financial problems had started to trouble Fitzpatrick.[61]. In August in fact, he had to raise a loan: 'I called on the manager of the Colonial Bank and secured a cash Cr to the amount of £1,000. I shall not avail myself of this cr. If I can avoid it by borrowing P.[ostal] Notes having less interest than that charged by the Bank'.[62] A few weeks later, however, the situation worsened, as the honour of architects George and Schneider was being questioned: the architects had not paid the contractor in full, leaving a debt of £900.[63] Fitzpatrick was determined to get as much as possible done while avoiding taking the architects to court, and he borrowed money to meet the demands of the workers.[64] Eventually financial difficulties stopped the works and in October the vicar admitted defeat: 'I am sorry to see St Patrick's so long without

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[59] Pawsey gives a devastating analysis of Goold's financial behaviour following the Dunne scandal, and she maintains that the progress reports on St Patrick's were plainly defensive, as expenditures exceeded contributions. Goold et al., 2009, 92; *Argus*, 14 June 1858, 5; Pawsey, 1982, Chapter 1 and 2.

[60] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 23 June 1858. MDHC.

[61] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 16 August 1858. MDHC

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 September 1858, MDHC.

[64] *Ibid.*

workmen, but I thought it right to let the people see and feel that we cannot build without the money'.[65] The relationship with George and Schneider had deteriorated beyond repair: 'I have not yet settled with the architects - they have done their best to betray our cause. [...] I have heard that Schneider is addicted to drunkenness - this explains his neglect which we so often noticed during the progress of the work at St Patrick's, and the many mistakes in his plans and specifications'.[66] From Rome, the bishop approved of his vicar's management: 'Who would have thought that George and Schneider were such villains. [...] Such ingratitude and dishonesty are rarely combined'.[67] Hoping that they would not create more trouble, the bishop ordered the architects' dismissal. Later reports indicate that the debt accumulated on the building exceeded £7,000 and that the church was 'commenced on an unfortunate plan [...] with the painful certainty that whatever addition was made to the work would only increase its ugliness and unfitness'.[68]

As with most of the Roman Catholic churches in Australia, St Patrick's was predominantly financed by the offerings of the working class.[69] The clergymen of Melbourne struggled to repay the debts through donations, as allegations of financial misadministration seemed to be confirmed by the cessation of the works at St Patrick's. Collections proceeded slowly, and nevertheless Fitzpatrick

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[65] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 October 1858, MDHC.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 25 November and 26 December 1858, MDHC.

[68] *The Victorian*, 23 May 1863, quoted in Ebsworth, 1979, 22-3.

[69] In 1899, A.G.S. commented in the *Bulletin* 'From the poor Catholics of Melbourne – from Bridget the servant and Michael the labourer – flowed the main stream of contributions which have built the cathedral'. *Bulletin*, 26 August 1899, 27. See also Andrews, 2001, 100.

was determined as ever. He expressed his enthusiasm to the bishop when the contractors of the railway subscribed to provide £15 per month, deducting the sum directly from the men's wages.[70] This was done in addition to the weekly collections made directly on the lines: 'I think a large amount may be got in sums of £1 per week. […] We have good hopes of soon paying off the debt'.[71]. Good news had arrived from England as well: 'an architect named Wardell' had sent 'testimonials of a very high character'.[72]

4.3 Wardell's cathedral design

When Fitzpatrick received Wardell's letters of reference, he wrote immediately to Goold: 'The bishop of Hobart appears to know him. From his letter to me Mr Wardell appears to be just the man we want'.[73] The vicar wished Goold might have the chance to meet the architect in London, but by the time the bishop arrived in England, Wardell was already in Australia. With his wife and one of his sons, Wardell landed in Melbourne on the 29th September 1858.[74] As English newspapers regretted the departure of one 'among the first living architects of England […] universally respected and beloved', *The Age* remarked that Wardell was a valuable addition to the Colony as there was ample room for him to

[70] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 October 1858, MDHC.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 September 1858, MDHC.

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] The *Swiftsure* arrived in Hobson Bay on the 29th September. The passengers' list included Mr and Mrs Wardell and one child. *Argus,* 30 September 1858, 4.

exercise his ability and 'little danger of his failing to be appreciated in due time'.[75]

A fortuitous meeting between Fitzpatrick and Wardell in Williamstown soon after the latter's arrival was the first occasion to discuss the cathedral. The vicar was positively impressed -'he appears to be a good catholic'-, but he wanted to be sure of the bishop's approval and invited Goold to 'learn all about Mr Wardell's ability as an architect' while in England.[76] Goold arrived in London in October and quickly collected satisfactory information: 'I have been speaking to several persons of Mr Wardell and they are all loud in his praise, by all means engage him'.[77] The news of Wardell's appointment for St Patrick's quickly reached Tasmania, and Bishop Willson wrote to congratulate his friend on the wisest choice made in his life: 'You will have a cathedral in the true sense of the word to leave to those who shall succeed you'.[78]

The opportunity of building a cathedral certainly attracted Wardell, who started regularly visiting the site on Eastern Hill. By mid-November, after asking for permission to measure the allotment and the buildings erected, Wardell had already prepared a ground plan of the cathedral, the episcopal residence and the other buildings on the land grant.[79] (Fig. 61) He presented the vicar with a sketch of the design for the cathedral and this was forwarded to the bishop in

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[75] *Weekly Register*, 12 June 1858, quoted in Evans, 2010; and *Age*, 20 October 1858, 4.

[76] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 October 1858, MDHC. It is relevant to note that it usually took mail around one month to be delivered between Australia and Europe. However, several delays are recorded in the correspondence of 1858 and 1859. Goold to Fitzpatrick, 12 January 1859, MDHC.

[77] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 25 and 28 of November 1858, MDHC.

[78] Willson to Goold, 11 December 1858, MDHC.

[79] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 November 1858, MDHC.

Rome.[80] Fitzpatrick was certainly impressed by the abilities of the architect: 'I think Mr Wardell is competent to carry on any building that may be required in Melbourne' and hoped to resume the works immediately.[81] Wardell called for tenders for providing a ceiling for the section of the church that was temporarily roofed and the working relationship between the architect and the diocese was formalised with a contract signed on the 8th December 1858.[82]

As wished by the bishop, Wardell was soon busily engaged on St Patrick's.[83] The only condition imposed upon his design was to incorporate as much as possible of the preceding building in his design. This was clearly stated in the ground plan of the site still preserved at the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission Archives. It reads:

> N.B. The walls of such of the present Buildings as may remain temporarily are marked Black and the new works, alterations and additions in Red. The South Aisle of the Nave of the Church and its Pillars being already built, roofed in and ceiled with a Plaster groined ceiling I have been directed not to take it down and it is therefore incorporated in this Design, and shown tinted Black on Plan, but it should been removed as soon as possible and rebuilt to correspond to the Design of the North Aisle. The Black dotted lines show the remainder of the Church as now built which must be taken down at

[80] *Ibid.*

[81] *Ibid.*

[82] *Ibid.*; The contract is preserved within St Patrick's construction files, MDHC.

[83] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 29 December 1858, MDHC.

> once. I also advice the removal of the present Grammar School occupying the South Side of quadrangle of College as proposed. Its site is indicated by a dotted Line. W. W. Wardell archt. Nov. 1858.[84]

Welsh suggests that the influence of George and Schneider's work on Wardell's design should not be overlooked or forgotten. Incorporating part of the aisle they had built influenced the length and width of the nave and aisles, forming 'a good base upon which to build and relate a superstructure'.[85] Moreover, nave and aisles are 'so related to each other and the floor of the nave that the natural lighting of St Patrick's, Melbourne, despite the use of bluestone, is much superior to that of St Mary's, Sydney, built in different proportions and in a light coloured stone'.[86] However, the fact that sections of the first church were to be incorporated dictated the floor level of the cathedral building, and, as a result, the sanctuary, east of the transepts, ends below the level of the adjacent street. Thirty-nine years later, Wardell provided a description of the building in occasion of its grand opening and remarked that the stipulation to use bluestone and to maintain the floor level of the old building were 'unfortunate conditions', and that the old building determined 'some of the minor details' of the cathedral's nave.[87] The scale of Wardell's building dwarfed the previous church. With nave, transepts and an apse with ambulatory and chevet chapels, St

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[84] Wardell, *General Plan of St Patrick's Cathedral* [showing the plan of the previous church], 1858, MDHC.

[85] Welsh papers Wes/1/12 ff. 31-2, RIBA.

[86] *Ibid.*

[87] *Advocate,* 2 October 1897, 16.

Patrick's Cathedral has a total length of 340 feet, a width of 82 feet and transepts measuring 162 feet.

The architect's tracings are notable for the simplicity of expression of his Anglo-French Geometric Decorated Gothic, a style that had been explored in his previous English buildings.[88] (Fig. 62) In fact, De Jong maintains that St Patrick's was 'at once a culmination and an extension' of Wardell's architectural expression in England.[89] He had realised cruciform designs including a central tower surmounted by a spire in the churches of St Alexis', Kentish Town, and at Our Lady and St Joseph, Poplar.[90] He had experimented with twin towers for the design of the west front of the imposing Church of Mount St Mary's, Leeds in 1854.[91] Moreover, Wardell had the possibility to study continental Gothic during a number of trips in Europe in 1850s.[92] French tradition exerted a long lasting influence on his designs: in his proposal for the German church in London, 1852, which included an apse with ambulatory and three chevet chapels, and the church at St George's Square, Primrose Hill, where one design included five chevet chapels.[93] Wardell had experimented with several of the elements he reproduced in St Patrick's Cathedral, as shown by St Andrews'

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[88] Wardell, *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, Elevation of South Western Side*; *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, Elevation of North Western Side*, and *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, North East Elevation next Albert Street*, 1858, MDHC.

[89] De Jong provides a complete study on the elements of Wardell's English churches found in St Patrick's in her PhD dissertation. De Jong, 1988, 287-297.

[90] Wardell, *St Alexis' church Kentish Town*, [1849],PXD 316 ff. 90-9; and *Church of Our Blessed Lady, S. Joseph, Poplar*, 1850, PXD 382, ff. 30-57; ML, SLNSW.

[91] Wardell, *Mount S. Mary's Richmond Hill Leeds*, 1857, PXD 381, ff. 35-46, ML, SLNSW.

[92] De Jong, 1988, 35-6.

[93] Wardell, *German church, London*, 1852, PXD 381, ff. 87-8, and *Proposed church, St George's Square, Primrose Hill,* 1856, PXD 317, ff. 36-7, ML, SLNSW.

Church, Galashiels (1856), which De Jong considers the most similar to Melbourne cathedral, because of its external massing and interior articulation.[94] (Figs. 63 and 64) In general planning and composition, St Patrick's is indebted to Viollet-Le-Duc's illustration of a 13th century cathedral.[95] The French arrangement of the ambulatory with chevet chapels is a re-interpretation of the model of Amiens and Chartres cathedrals. (Fig. 65). The west façade is reminiscent of Lichfield cathedral, and the side elevations are mainly English, allowing for larger windows if compared, for example, to St Mary's in Sydney.

By employing French models, Wardell demonstrated he was keeping abreast with the latest developments of Gothic Revival architecture: James Renwick looked at continental mediaeval precedents for his design for New York cathedral (1858) and devised the plan following that of Amiens cathedral; James McCarthy for St Macartan's Cathedral (ca. 1860) at Monaghan in Ireland created details transposed from French Gothic; and English architect William Burges found inspiration from early 13th century elements in the cathedrals of Paris and Chartres for St Fin Barre's Cathedral in Cork (1863).[96] Significantly, a basilica plan with apse and radiating chapels was created also by the Irish-Canadian architect Joseph Connolly for the Church of Our Lady Immaculate in Guelph, Ontario, Canada (1876).[97] Similarly to Victoria, in Ontario the majority of the Catholic population had Irish origins. Connolly was an architect of Irish

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[94] Wardell, *Church at Galashiels, Selkirkshire, NB*, 1856, PXD 379, ff. 116-37, ML, SLNSW.

[95] See the article 'Cathédrale' in Viollet-Le-Duc, and in particular image 18. See also, Bergdoll, 1995.

[96] On St Patrick's, N. Y. C., see Knight Sturges, 1981; on McCarthy see Thomas, 1986, 100; on Cork cathedral see Lawrence and Wilson, 2006.

[97] On Connolly see Thurlby, 1986. On Guelph church see Thurlby, 1990.

origins who will become well known for re-elaborating Irish mediaeval examples in his Gothic Revival churches, and he worked on over thirty commissions in Ontario alone. However, for his church at Guelph, at the specific request of the patron, Fr Hamel, he designed a structure following the model of Cologne Cathedral. The restoration of the cathedral, commenced in 1823, and later its completion (1842-1880) were widely discussed in journals and architectural circles, and the drawings were published by art historian Sulpiz Boisserée.[98] However, Thurlby notices that for Our Lady, Connolly looked also at the solidity of the French south west tower of Chartres Cathedral.[99] The building was meant to be an exemplar of 'Catholic superiority over the other churches'.[100] In this case, like at St Patrick's Cathedral, the use of the mediaeval basilica plan was clearly intended to highlight a strong connection with the history of Catholic architecture.

The French inspiration evident in the east end of St Patrick's was most probably dictated by the need of differentiating the Catholic Gothic tradition from the Gothic propagated by the Church of England. Since its heydays, the Catholic churches of Australia, starting from Therry's design of the first St Mary's Cathedral in Sydney, showed the influence of French architecture. Kerr and Broadbent argued the French models were suitable for the Irish congregations of New South Wales, struggling to escape the position of poverty and

[98] Boisserée published the engravings in *Ansichten, Risse und einzelne Teile des Domes von Köln* (1823–31).

[99] Thurlby, 1990, 34

[100] Thurlby, 1990, 34

marginalisation in the new land.[101] Wardell was certainly sensible to these instances and he conceived St Patrick's design to provide continuity with the Catholic tradition of ages past and to evoke religious authority thanks to the Anglo-French Gothic idiom. The massiveness of the design, that will be enhanced by the use of bluestone, emanated a sense of strength and solidity, while the location of the building overseeing the city of Melbourne from Eastern Hill asserted the prominent position of the Catholic faith in the new colonial society.

The architectural drawings for the cathedral, 'very beautiful ones', were forwarded to the bishop for approval as Fitzpatrick was 'unwilling to decide on the plan of the principal features of the building without submitting it to your lordship [*sic*] inspection'.[102] The vicar intended to ask for new drawings 'of a more ornamental class' for the western façade, believing that it was too plain as 'Mr Wardell was afraid to make his design appear too costly'.[103] However, Goold answered that the plans of the new cathedral were 'much admired' in Rome, and he fully approved of the measures, the solid mass and the plain decoration as 'on a large building such as St Patrick's outward ornament, at least much of it, is not desirable. […] You could not have a better man as Architect as Mr Wardell'.[104] Goold was right. The drawings showed that Wardell was a sensitive

[101] Kerr and Broadbent, 1980, 23. See also Randles, 2005.
[102] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 14 December 1858, MDHC.
[103] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 28 December 1858, MDHC.
[104] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 31 March 1859, MDHC.

and scholarly interpreter of Gothic Revival and, in his cathedral, he was able to summarise both English and French medieval traditions.

The bishop did not plunge into the new project blindly. As the plans were adopted, he expected 'a good remonstrance' for the change of the design and the demolition of the previous structure.[105] Moreover he commented: 'if the means of the Catholics of Victoria and their generosity are equal to my expectations we might safely adopt Mr Wardell's plan. I should like very much to see it carried out - but there is the great outlay of our present unhappy divisions to be considered before we commit ourselves to it'.[106] As suggested by Fitzpatrick, construction began from the least expensive part of the building 'some portion of the nave and, omitting the towers and western entrances and closing in the north and west end with rough temporary walls'.[107] Financial caution was especially important because of the public astonishment caused by the demolition of part of the church erected under George and Schneider's supervision.[108] As already mentioned, most of the contributions towards the building came from the working class, and allegations of mismanagement of funds had already troubled the diocese. A letter published in *The Age* on 8th December, signed by 'a Catholic', informed the public that tenders were called for 'the taking down of nearly the whole of St Patrick's Cathedral, including tower'.[109] The next day another 'Catholic' answered that tenders were received

[105] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 28 November 1858, MDHC.

[106] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 8 June 1859, MDHC.

[107] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 14 December 1858. MDHC.

[108] While the south aisle was almost complete, the north aisle's wall was built only partially up to the springing of the windows arches. Fitzpatrick to Goold, 14 December 1858. MDHC.

[109] *Age*, 8 December 1858, 5.

for the completion of the second aisle according to a new design, which required taking down only a portion of the church.[110] The contractor engaged by the diocese was John Young, who had already been associated with the Catholic church in Victoria and Wardell in England, Young tendered to take down the wall and complete the works on the aisle walls and columns for £94.[111] Wardell noted that the price was 'fair and reasonable if the cost included all materials and scaffolds.[112]

As expected, Fitzpatrick got 'a good share of abuse' for pulling down the walls, and he described the removal as an awful affair 'it makes me sick to look at it. […] Some of the people are of course horrified at seeing this destruction of the work, but when I explain matters to them they go away pleased'.[113] Comforted by the fact that the bishop was not in Melbourne to witness the demolition and that on his return there would be nothing left to pull down, the vicar commented that the blame mostly came from 'parties who gave least for the erection of the wall' while prominent Catholics understood Goold's vision. Among these, Mr Archer took the time to write a long letter to the bishop expressing his sympathies.[114] Despite being sorry at seeing such a large portion of the cathedral being demolished, he had 'no doubt it is done for the best. I sincerely trust my dear Lord you will never again have to suffer such anxiety of

[110] *Ibid.,* 9 December 1858, 5.

[111] Young to Fitzpatrick, 16 March 1859, MDHC.

[112] Young to Fitzpatrick, 16 March 1859, MDHC.

[113] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 14 and 28 December 1858, MDHC.

[114] William Henry Archer (1825-1909) was a Catholic convert who became one of the lay leaders of Melbourne. He served as member of the Denominational School board and assistant-Registrar General for the Statistical department of the government of Victoria. Stilwell, 1969.

mind and pecuniary loss as this building must have entailed upon you, from apparently, the hands of incompetent men'.[115] Support came also from Bishop Willson, who had visited Melbourne at the time of Goold's departure in June 1858. He admitted that 'the state of that church was the only drawback to my pleasures', however, he rejoiced exceedingly in Wardell's engagement and foretold the everything would have been all right: 'There will, no doubt, be some gathering of a party - "but why all this waste?" - but now resistance, a proof of the improvement made by Mr Wardell, and the good sense of many will overcome much noisy opposition. The noise may be for few months, the improvements for centuries'.[116]

As urged by Willson, the construction of Wardell's cathedral pushed on notwithstanding criticism and financial constraints. In December, tenders were accepted to build 100 feet of the north aisle and six pillars with the clerestory wall to the height of crown and arches for a sum of £4,370. Prudently, Fitzpatrick reserved the right to stop the works if unable to find cash to pay the contractor, but he was confident to be able to collect enough to rebuild the walls to the height of the old ones by the bishop's return.[117] In less than one month, the new wall of the north aisle appeared above the surface, producing a positive response among the people that subscribed for the cathedral building.[118] As a matter of fact, a good stratum of solid rock layer was found under the site of the new wall, consequently less efforts were needed for the foundations, while

[115] Archer to Goold, 17 December 1858. MDHC.
[116] Willson to Goold, 12 February 1859, MDHC (emphasis in the original).
[117] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 14 and 17 December 1858, MDHC.
[118] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 28 December 1858, MDHC.

surplus materials were used to complete the foundations of the western front. Even if 'want of cash will prevent us from building much of it [the western façade]' the progress was remarkable.[119]

As the walls proceeded, Fitzpatrick and Wardell wrote to Hardman for stained glass. Wardell prepared a memo asking for the 'best lot of metal glass of the darkest amber colour' such as the one he had used for the church at Galashiels: 'It is important that it should be the darkest possible tint of amber as nothing short of that would be sufficient to dilute the power of the sun rays here'.[120] Fitzpatrick wrote a letter adding in the Post Scriptum 'If the bishop of Melbourne be near Birmingham he may call to select the glass – but do not delay waiting for him as I am sure he will approve of Mr Wardell's choice'.[121] (Fig. 66)

Early in 1859, the boldness of pulling down the north aisle was forgotten: 'Every hostile tongue is silent about the destruction of the old wall' and St Patrick's was beginning 'to deserve the name of cathedral. It is rising and displaying its great proportions'.[122] The new walls were progressing rapidly, and Fitzpatrick planned to open the second section of the southern aisle, for a total length of 120 feet, on St Patrick's day.[123] Two lengthy articles providing information on the new design of the cathedral were published by local press to explain what

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[119] *Ibid*.

[120] Fitzpatrick to Hardman, 15 December 1858, MS 175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

[121] *Ibid*. The amber glass was supposed to be temporary as funds became available to purchase stained glass. The plan was abandoned by Goold's successor, Archbishop Carr.

[122] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 14 February 1859. MDHC

[123] The day before St Patrick's day, Fitzpatrick admitted that the section of the southern aisle was not ready to be opened and he hoped to have it 'in a very good state' in less than a month. Fitzpatrick to Goold, 14 February and 16 March 1859, MDHC.

was happening on Eastern Hill. In *the Argus*, 'one of the congregation' described at length the 'vast and noble plan' Wardell had envisaged for St Patrick's, concluding that the 'unfortunate beginning of the previous building was behind, and the Catholics should have 'the fullest hope and believe that the future [...] will atone for the past'.[124] The second article appeared in the *Australian Builder and Railway Chronicle*, where they listed 'the merits of the large and handsome structure' intended to 'supersede the condemned building'.[125] Possibly, the vicar and the architect had decided to release the details of the new plan to enhance subscriptions towards the building and limit the criticism on funds management.

In March Fitzpatrick informed the bishop that Wardell had been appointed 'Colonial architect with a salary of £1,000 per annum' and he had engaged a clerk of works for St Patrick's as 'I found that I could not get on without one'.[126] A month later the wall of the north aisle was as high as the one pulled down, and the south aisle was in use in its entire length even if not officially open 'the congregation is now so large that we could not keep them out'.[127] The people were pleased with the improvements afforded by Wardell's design, but shortage of money was, once more, the vicar's main concern. The first portion of the

[124] *Argus*, 5 February 1859, quoted in De Jong, Chapter 11, note 25.

[125] *Australian Builder and Railway Chronicle*, 2 April 1859, quoted in De Jong, Chapter 11, note 25.

[126] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 16 March 1859, MDHC.

[127] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 16 April 1859, MDHC.

contract amounting to £2,300 had been completed, and the bishop was 'badly' needed to encourage the community to donate more.[128]

4.4 Goold's European networks

Goold had arrived in Rome in November 1858, and on the 23rd he presented his report to the Cardinal Prefect of *Propaganda Fide*.[129] To this, he had attached statistical information for every mission, and regarding St Patrick's in Melbourne, he noted that the church was a stone structure, 200 feet long per 53 feet broad, and that the southern side measuring 200 by 12 feet was almost complete, a section of it being already used for service.[130] From the Papal city, Goold wrote to Fitzpatrick: 'I will surprise you with my purchases here for St Patrick's on my return, all the money I could spare from my traveller's allowance I have spent in providing what I considered necessary for the mission. My last purchase was a marble altar, plainly rich and handsome. But I am letting you into my secrets'.[131] Later in 1859, Goold travelled in England, and he made time to stop in Birmingham: 'I shall see Hardman before I go to Ireland (this week)'.[132] At the workshop, he commissioned a few items for his rising cathedral to be made of the Victorian gold that he provided: a richly beaten,

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[128] *Ibid*.

[129] Goold, *Relazione Sommaria dello Stato delle cose Religiose nella Diocesi di Melbourne*, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 6, ff.304-51, PFHA.

[130] *Ibid*., ff. 326-8.

[131] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 31 March 1859, MDHC.

[132] Goold considered Hardman expensive, but continued to commission items from his workshop. Goold to Fitzpatrick, 29 December 1858 and 18 May 1859, MDHC.

engraved chrismatory and a chalice, a paten and a pectoral cross, all set with enamels.[133] He also took the chance to purchase some Pugin-designed vestments from Mrs Lucy Powell and the Misses L. and W. Brown, who had already supplied him with first quality outfits in 1853. This commission encompassed a ceremonial mitre whose design was directly inspired by the plate titled 'Examples of Precious Mitres' in Pugin's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*.[134] (Fig. 67) In June, the bishop was in Dublin, and he expressed his satisfaction for Fitzpatrick's reports: 'Your account of the progress of St Patrick's Church is wonderful. I wish, indeed, I were back to help in pushing it on'.[135]

Goold would not return to Melbourne until December, however, Bishop Willson travelled to Victoria for the consecration of the new Bishop of Adelaide, Patrick Geoghegan, and helped Fitzpatrick in raising funds.[136] Willson was impressed with what had been accomplished since the arrival of Wardell one year before: 'All seems to go well and prosperously here - What a comfort to witness it! You will now have a really fine church, a Cathedral in the true sense, and no mistake. […] Mr Wardell is indeed a treasure as well as Dr Brownless. How I envy you such men'.[137]

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[133] The items were billed on 4th October 1859. It is uncertain whether the bishop also inspected the cathedral glass for St Patrick's as Fitzpatrick requested. MS175A/3/3/1, f. 316, BCCLA.

[134] For a detailed description of the mitre and its design see Andrews, 2002, entry F.38, 195.

[135] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 8 June 1859, MDHC.

[136] The consecration was celebrated on the 8th September in St Francis' by Archbishop Polding and Bishop Willson.

[137] Sir Anthony Colling Brownless (1817-1897) was a Catholic convert physicist. From 1855 he was amember of the Council of the University of Melbourne. In 1858 he was appointed vice-chancellor and in 1887 chancellor. At Goold's request, Brownless was conferred the title of

Just before embarking for Melbourne, the bishop received the bill for his commissions to Hardman amounting to £62 11s.[138] As he had asked, the items had been posted to the bookshop of Mr Jones, in London, to be shipped with a case of books.[139] Goold complained that the cost of the chalice had exceeded his expectations, and Edward Powell answered him with a lengthy letter explaining that they used three of their best men, who had worked with the higher degree of care to provide him 'a chalice which there are few in existence well compared with'.[140]

Goold sailed to return to Melbourne in October 1859. He had been in Italy, Ireland, England, Germany and France where he had had the occasion to visit several churches. In Rome, Goold visited the Church of St Paul's: 'it is magnificent but it wants something'.[141] A few days later he went to explore the ruins of St Stephen's Church discovered close to a 'magnificent old Roman tomb, a few miles outside the gate of St. John Lateran'.[142] In Terracina, Goold noted that the church contained 'curious carvings' while at Velletri the cathedral

'Knight of the Order of St Gregory' in 1870 and 'Knight commander of the Order of Pius' in 1883. Willson to Goold, 16 September 1859, MDHC. Goold, *Relazione Sommaria dello Stato delle cose Religiose nella Diocesi di Melbourne*, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 6, f. 311, PFHA; and Goold to *Propaganda Fide*, 11 December 1858, *ibid*., f. 363. On Brownless see Russell, 1969.

[138] Hardman Metal Ledger, 4 October 1859 MS175A/3/3/1, f. 243, BCCLA.

[139] In several occasions, items were shipped to Mr Jones, who had a bookshop at n.13 Paternoster Row, London, so that the books Goold had purchased and Hardman metalwork would be shipped together to save expenses. Goold to Powell, 28 September 1859, MS175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

[140] The chalice arrived in Melbourne in April 1860, and the payment to Hardman was made by Heptonstall. Powell to Goold, 10 November 1859, St Patrick's construction files, MDHC; and Goold to Hardman, 18 April 1860, MS175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

[141] Goold is referring to the Papal Basilica San Paolo Fuori le Mura, the second largest Catholic church after San Pietro in the Vatican. The church was restored after a fire in 1823 under the patronage of Pius IX. At the time of its consecration in 1854 it was considered one of the early triumphs of Pius' reign. The works on decoration and mosaics continued until the 1870s. Goold et al., 2009, 18 November 1858, 94.

[142] *Ibid*., 8 December 1858, 95.

'well deserves a visit'.[143] On 19th March, Goold visited the excavations that were being made near the Church of St Clemente, Rome, while one month later he was in Orvieto, where he visited the 'magnificent Cathedral. It is a noble edifice, rich in architecture, painting and sculpture' and two days later in Siena, where he noted that the 'Cathedral, public library, and museum would do honour to any capital in Europe'.[144] In Ireland, Goold recorded that the newly built cathedral of Tuam 'is indeed deserving of the name; the high altar is in the Italian style of marble and beautifully executed'.[145] In England, he visited the Great Malvern Priory, a former Benedictine monastery turned into an Anglican parish church after the reformation. His comment was laconic: 'The external is in good preservation, but the interior has suffered woefully from Protestant bad taste'.[146] As he arrived in Cologne 'the first place I visited was the famous Cathedral; it deserves all the praise bestowed on it'.[147]

Eventually, he sailed towards Melbourne on the 16th October. On his way back, he stopped in Malta, where he 'Visited the grand Church of St John, rich in marbles and silver. There is a large relic of the Holy Cross in this church. Many of the sacred ornaments of the church kept in this depository show neglect and want of respectful care. Visited several of the other churches; they are all clean, and some highly decorated with frescoes of some merit'.[148] In Cairo, Goold

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[143] The bishop is referring to the Cathedral, where there are unusual sculptures of hounds and dragons, while the portico has mosaics representing winged monsters, bulls, eagles and other animals amid exotic plants. *Ibid.*, 21 and 22 February, 97.

[144] *Ibid.*, 19 March, 20 and 22 April 1859, 97-8.

[145] *Ibid.*, 7 July 1859, 100.

[146] *Ibid.*, 24 July 1859, 101.

[147] *Ibid.*, 30 August 1859, 102.

[148] *Ibid.*, 20 October 1859, 103.

descended to 'the grotto where it is piously believed that the Holy Family lived during their exile. […] It is a largely subterraneous chapel with some pretensions in style. Its roof is high and open, supported by pillars of marble. The screen before the altar is carved wood richly inlaid with ivory; it bears the evidence of ancient times'.[149] In Mauritius he called on the bishop, who received him courteously. Nevertheless, Goold harshly judged the diocese and its buildings: 'The situation and grounds are all that could be desired. […] The convent is an old building, a poor affair. […] From this we went to one of the suburban missions; here is a large barn of a church, the very perfection of ugliness. […] The site is good, healthy, and picturesque, but the house is built partly of stone, partly of wood. It is a wretched thing'.[150] The bishop finally landed in Melbourne the 12th December 1859. As his diary abruptly interrupts, unfortunately there is no record of his impressions of the rising cathedral.

During the time Goold was in Europe, Wardell settled in Melbourne where, having been appointed at an important position within the Public Works Department, he had to establish a trustworthy network for the supply of Gothic Revival furnishings and for the superintendence of his private commissions. In the first instance, Wardell sponsored John Young, his old associate from England and contractor at St Patrick's, in his application to open an emporium of Mediaeval art and metalwork in Melbourne. The architect referred him to John Hardman, writing a long letter expressing his endorsement of the project and advising Hardman on how to proceed: 'I would suggest that if you arrange

[149] *Ibid.*, 27 October 1859, 104.
[150] *Ibid.*, 18 November 1859, 104.

to supply him it would be well that you should know that nothing but the very best of every thing is likely to take here. I do not mean the most costly, but the best in workmanship and solidity. Richer things would sell I think occasionally and well'.[151] Wardell was committed to diffusing in Australia the taste for 'proper' style and suggested to Hardman also how to deal with customers that could not afford the highest quality:

> It would be for you to consider whatever it would be judicious to send beside these and other articles of proper design of course, but of less value worth materials and workmanship, so that those who wish to buy cheap things can. They could then make their selection either for good things that could be recommended and warranted at a fair price, and other things that would perhaps look as well but be not so desirable though cheaper.[152]

A scant note written in pencil on the letter indicates that Hardman agreed to the proposal and 'sent catalogues'.[153] Correspondence exchanged in the following years indicates that several items procured for St Patrick's Cathedral from Hardman arrived through Young's emporium.[154] An example is the cathedral glass needed for the nave. The lot sent at Fitzpatrick's request at the closing of 1858 was unsatisfactory: 'Mr Wardell is quite dissatisfied with the glass sent out by Messrs Hardman. The colour is most unsuitable. […] It is a great

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[151] Wardell to Hardman, 17 June 1859, MS 175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

[152] *Ibid.*

[153] *Ibid.*

[154] See the letters sent by Young in MS 175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

disappointment not to have the suitable glass ready for the windows'.[155] Hardman sent a new lot in 1860, and subsequent orders were placed by and delivered to Young.[156] Young ordered also metalwork and church furnishings such as chalices, bells, cruets, altar and processional crosses, and, in at least one occasion, he placed an order for the Mother superior of the Sisters of Mercy, Ursula Frayne. This included vestments 'all of Pugin's silks gold colour', and plaster statues of the Immaculate Conception and St Joseph's. [157] However, the business never flourished, and Young, who was very busy with contracts at St John's College, Sydney, St Mary's Cathedral, Hobart, and St Patrick's, decided to sell it.[158] He mentioned that Goold had purchased in France and Belgium a quantity of church vessels and furniture that, even if 'cheap' and 'not very good kind', were given to most of the parishes, thus hindering the sale of the quality items imported from Birmingham.[159] In fact, the orders he placed were intended for parish churches as well as for the cathedral, but Young recognised that for many priests engaged in building churches it was difficult to afford quality church furniture.[160] He wrote:

> His Lordship the Bishop of Melbourne gives me his patronage and recommends the priests to purchase at my shop, but at the same time

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[155] Fitzpatrick to Heptonstall, 17 November 1859, MS 175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

[156] Heptonstall paid Hardman £43- 3s for cathedral glass in August 1860. In April 1861, Young wrote to Hardman: 'Cathedral rolled glass both amber and brown is very much required'. Heptonstall to Hardman, 11 August 1860; and Young to Hardman, 25 April 1861, MS 175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

[157] Young to Hardman, 25 January 1862, MS 175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

[158] Young to Hardman, 25 June 1861, and 30 January 1864, MS 175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

[159] Young to Hardman, 25 July 1862 and 25 August 1863, MS 175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

[160] Young to Hardman, 25 January 1862, MS 175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

> he has told me repeatedly that your prices are too high. […] Mr W. W. Wardell has always advocated the sale of your goods, and done all he could do to assist me in the sale – but unfortunately the majority of priests here although good men and learned are very deficient in matter of taste.[161]

Quite surprisingly, Young thought that Goold 'did not see any beauty in Gothic architecture' and added this as one of the causes of his failure.[162] From Goold's diaries and his paintings it is possible to infer that the bishop had a predilection for Baroque art and he was particularly fond of Roman artistic culture. Nevertheless, even before Wardell's arrival, he never commissioned a church not Gothic in style, and he consistently purchased Gothic Revival furnishings and vestments for his cathedral and for the parish churches of his diocese.

4.5 John Bunn Denny

Another successful venture fostered by Wardell was the relocation to Melbourne of a competent clerk of works. Wardell had prepared a design for St John's College at the University of Sydney soon after his arrival in Australia and, following Archbishop Polding's recommendation, the Committee offered him the commission, which he accepted on the 22nd February 1859.[163] As Wardell

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[161] Young to Hardman, 30 January 1864, MS 175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

[162] *Ibid.*

[163] The Council Minutes read: 'In reference to Mr Wardell, […] His Grace [Polding] thinks the Council would do well to employ that gentleman; […] Mr Wardell should be instructed to prepare plans and designs'. Council Minutes, 3 January 1859, SJCA; and Wardell to O'Connell

was engaged with St Patrick's and the Public Works Department, in October he decided to divide the care to follow the college works with a partner, who would inspect the works that he was designing. For the purpose he had 'made arrangements for a person of the greatest experience and in whom I have the fullest trust and confidence to come from England to take charge of them as Resident Clerk of Works – and he is now, I believe, on his way'.[164] That person was John Bunn Denny.[165]

Denny was born in Norfolk, England, and for many years he worked for AWN Pugin on several commissions. In 1851 he was listed in the Directory of Staffordshire as Master of Works at Alton Towers, the Seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Pugin's patron.[166] In this capacity, he was involved not only in the additions of the castle buildings, but also in other Pugin's projects, including St Mary's Uttoxeter and St Giles' Cheadle. In this regard, at the opening of St Giles' the *Morning Post* noted: 'the designs of Mr. Pugin were ably seconded by the skill of Mr. Denny [...] whose admiration of the Gothic style of architecture, and acquaintance with its minutest details, has made the erection of this building a labour of love'.[167]

Pugin held Denny in high regard and testified to his abilities in his letters: 'Denny is constantly on the ground looking after the men. He is indefatigable. I

[Dean of the College Committee], 22 February 1859; SJCA, copies held at St John's College files, MDHC.

[164] Wardell to Gorman, [Chairman of the Building Committee], 30 October 1859, SJCA, copy held at St John's College files, MDHC.

[165] Denny's work in Australia is presented in Moore, 1984, 57-63; and Andrews, 2013-2014.

[166] White, 1851, 769.

[167] Quoted in Dolman, 1846, 13.

cannot speak for his conduct too highly. His heart is set on the work and I can thoroughly rely on him'.[168] Welsh suggests that Denny was essential to Pugin, and he proved to be invaluable to Wardell as well.[169] As Wardell's position did not allow him to supervise the erection of his designs, he was lucky to have had the possibility to invite to Australia a capable man who had knowledge and ability in the Gothic Revival style.[170] In fact, after the death of Pugin and Lord Shrewsbury in 1852, the Earl's heir died in 1856 and the title passed to the Protestant branch of the family in July 1858.[171] When Denny received Wardell's invitation to superintend the erection of the first University Catholic College in Australia, he seized the chance. As soon as he arrived, the architect entrusted him the plans and specifications of St John's for Sydney, adding in his letters his complete confidence: 'he is the very man for the work, and will appreciate him as highly as I do. [...] He is thoroughly honest and an upright good fellow', and again 'he has my full confidence (derived from many years knowing of him) both for probity and professional skill'.[172]

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[168] Pugin to Talbot, 31 March 1841, published in Pugin and Belcher,2001, vol. 1, 226. See also Pugin to Talbot March 1846, *Ibid.*

[169] Welsh Papers, Wes/33/1-7, RIBA.

[170] Welsh wrote: 'Wardell seems to have been a fortunate man to have had a J. B. Denny to help him. The churches St Patrick, Melbourne, Ss Peter & Paul, Ashby, Geelong and St Ignatius, Richmond are monuments to Denny. Without his careful supervision I doubt whether they would be such fine buildings. To work for Pugin as Denny did meant that he had knowledge and ability of a high order as far as practical work was concerned'. Welsh to McDonald, 30 November 1871, Welsh Papers, Wes/33/1-7, RIBA.

[171] Andrews, 2013-14, 7-8. See also Fisher, 2002, 153-4.

[172] Wardell to Ellis, [Building Committee], 7 and 16 May 1860, SJCA, copy held at St John's College files, MDHC.

When Wardell resigned from his position at St John's, Denny returned to Melbourne to supervise the erection of St Patrick's Cathedral.[173] Thus, Goold had the possibility to employ the man Wardell reputed better suited to carry out his work. In August 1860, Wardell redacted a memorandum of agreement between Goold and Denny. Denny was to give his service in the superintendence 'by such an inspection as is usually given by an architect [...] of all new buildings, and repairs and additions [...] for the service of the Catholic Church within the Diocese of Melbourne' encompassing not only churches and chapels, but also presbyteries, colleges, convents and 'every other work which Bishop Goold may require him to supervise or direct'.[174] Denny had to follow Wardell's direction, assist him with on-site measurements and prepare working drawings and specifications of his designs.[175] For this, Denny was paid £5 per week plus the reimbursement of travel expenses and he was entitled to an office on the cathedral grounds, while the architect's fee was reduced from 5 per cent to 2½ percent of the value of the works he was to design.[176] In this regard, it is important to mention that Wardell's position at the Public Works Department did not interfere with his right of private practice but the heavy workload prevented him from supervising his buildings, and he needed a competent

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[173] Wardell submitted his resignation on the 16th May 1860, and the College Committee accepted it on the 28th July. The reasons behind the break-up are several, including the impossibility of the architect's continuous supervision, the impatience of the Committee in starting the works, delays in postal communications and in the payment of the architect's fees. Surviving correspondence shows that several motives led to conflicts. Wardell's original plans were proceeded with under the supervision of Edmund T. Blacket, who designed some of the detailing and the furnishings. See Evans, 2010, Chapters 10 to 12.

[174] Wardell, *Memorandum of agreement made this 25th day of August 1860 between the Right Reverend J. A. Goold, D. D. Lord Bishop of Melbourne, of the one part and J. B. Denny of the other part*; St Patrick's Construction Files, MDHC.

[175] *Ibid.*

[176] Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 25 August 1860, St Patrick's Construction Files, MDHC.

foreman able to comply with his instruction. The architect reluctantly resigned from the supervision of his cathedral: 'With respect to St Patrick's Cathedral, though I always hoped to be able to reserve this as a specialty for myself, yet under the circumstances I propose that after the completion of the contracts now actually entered into with Mr Young, all future contracts should form part of this arrangement'.[177]

4.6 The building of the nave

At the time, the exterior walls of the nave were almost complete and on 25th March 1860, Feast of the Annunciation, Goold had laid the foundation stone of three pillars of the nave.[178] (Fig. 68) This was the first public ceremony connected with Wardell's building, and the bishop presided in full canonicals.[179] As columns were raised, each of them bore a plaque commemorating the donors who contributed to their building. These plaques, still *in situ,* are a telling example of how funds for the cathedral were raised. The subscription list for the pillar dedicated in 1863 by the 'Catholic children of Victoria and their teachers'

[177] Denny's contract was reviewed less than one year later, but no details on the new agreement have survived. Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 25 August 1860; Fitzpatrick to Wardell, 4 March 1861; Fitzpatrick to Denny, 5 March 1861; St Patrick's Construction Files, MDHC.

[178] The ceremony was planned on St Patrick's day, but had to be postponed due to weather conditions. *Age*, 26 March 1860, 5.

[179] *Ibid.*

still survives, and it indicates that about twenty teachers from several schools of the diocese donated sums from £1 to £5, for a total of £47.[180]

The wall of the south aisle erected under the supervision of George and Schneider was demolished in 1863 and rebuilt according to Wardell's design.[181] In May, the *Victorian* reported that the cathedral was free of debt, praising the exertions of Fitzpatrick: 'we must congratulate the Vicar-General [...] on having the courage and the boldness to grapple with the difficulty [...] The work has gone steadily since, and the building as it stands is not only, with a trifling exception paid for, but the original debt, the £7,000 'dead horse', is entirely discharged. [...] What has been done has been nearly all done by the princely contributions of the Bishop and the clergy'.[182]

As St Patrick's was progressing quickly, in the 1860s Goold continued to commission items for its decoration. William Lambert, a sculptor based in Portland who was recognised not to have equals in the colony, was engaged for works in the cathedral.[183] His chef d'oeuvre, the baptismal font, was executed in soapstone to Wardell's design and it was exhibited in the Mediaeval Court at the Intercolonial Exhibition (1866-7), deserving a prime place in the foreground of Albert Cooke's illustration.[184] (Fig. 69) At the corner of the base of the font, four

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[180] For reference, a handwritten note indicates that the cost for 'cutting ¼ column' was £13 19s. *Subscription towards the erection of the Teacher's Pillar in St Patrick's Cathedral - 1860*; and *Report of works in progress at St Patrick's Cathedral*; St Patrick's construction files, MDHC.

[181] Ebsworth, 1979, 23.

[182] *The Victorian*, 23 May 1863, quoted in Ebsworth 1979, 22-3.

[183] Moore, 1984, 154-5.

[184] A. C. Cooke, *Mediaeval Court, Intercolonial Exhibition*, wood engraving, published in *The Australian News for Home Readers*, 20 December 1866, 8. The font is still in the Baptistery of St Patrick's Cathedral.

demons symbolise the defeat of evil spirits at the moment of Baptism, behind them, the pedestal rises with arched openings within buttresses, decorated with a floral motive. (Fig. 70) Above them, a rich tracery of foliage frames the exterior of the basin, eight panels are sculpted with angels and the four Evangelists, represented as the symbolic living creatures: the winged Man for Matthew, the winged Lion for Mark, the winged Ox for Luke and the Eagle for John. Significantly, the Mediaeval Court was immediately at the left of the entrance on Latrobe street, and it was described as 'the most pictorially effective part of the whole building'.[185] Within the exhibition, there were other items intended for St Patrick's including 'quaintly carved figures that catch the eye in old churches' hung on the walls.[186]

In 1864, John Hardman prepared the design for the West Window. Fitzpatrick wrote to Heptonstall that the commission was to be delayed as the roofing of that part of the building was only temporary.[187] Heptonstall suggested to Hardman to inform the Bishop about how long it would take to complete the window as 'I also know by experience that orders from Australia are sometimes much delayed'.[188] Hardman estimated he needed two years at the maximum, and he received the order to commence the work directly from Bishop Goold on the 26th September 1865.[189] In November, Hardman received Wardell's

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[185] *Ibid.*

[186] *Guide to the Intercolonial Exhibition of 1866*, 1866, 19. The court encompassed several items provided by the workshops of Messrs Ferguson, Urie and Lyon, and John Young, who also worked as contractor for the court.

[187] Heptonstall to Hardman, 19 December 1864, MS175A/4/4/4, BCCLA.

[188] *Ibid.*

[189] Goold to Hardman, 26 September 1865, MS175A 4/4/4, BCCLA.

templates and the tracings, and less than one year later, the window was shipped to Melbourne, where it arrived in January.[190]

The window, representing the Ascension, is considered among the best works of John Hardman to arrive in Australia.[191] (Fig. 71) The pronounced vertical masonry, divided into seven lights without canopies, is counterbalanced by the division into two sections of the glass design by means of a row of roundels decorated with floral motifs. The lower section encompasses the representation of the Virgin surrounded by the apostles and is distinguished by the deep blue colours of the background decorated with green trees and flowers. Directly above the Virgin is Christ ascending to the heavens, dressed in a white robe and enclosed between two angels. The outer lights on both sides are divided by floreated roundels in three medallions each, in which are represented figures from the Old Testament. In the tracery above, the central space is taken by the *Agnus Dei* carrying the banner of salvation, encircled by angels and crowned figures. Overall, the deep tones of the backgrounds are carefully balanced by the brightness given by the silvery stain used for the light flesh tints, and the composition gives the window a sense of rhythm that makes it one of John Hardman's masterpieces. Goold saw the window completely installed only more than one year later as he left for his third *ad limina* visit on the 28th April.[192]

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[190] The bill amounted to £712 19s 8p and Goold insured the cases for £800. Hardman to Heptonstall, 3 October 1866, St Patrick's Construction Files, MDHC; Hardman to Heptonstall, 9 December 1867, General Sales Letter-Book, f. 202, MS 175A/4/5/1 and Hardman Glass Order Book, f. 416, MS175A/4/3/2, BCCLA; Goold et al., 23 January and 25 April 1867, 362 and 380.

[191] Moore, 1984, Chapter 10. The work was highly praised in newspapers, which reported that it was among 'the finest modern stained glass windows in the world'. *Age*, 24 July 1886, 13; and *Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers*, 25 April 1868, 12.

[192] Goold et al., 2009, 28 April 1867, 380.

Once more, during his time on the European continent, the bishop took the chance to visit several archaeological sites and both ancient and recently renovated ecclesiastical buildings. Significantly, before going to Rome Goold stopped in Naples, from where he set out to visit the excavations at Pompeii and the Flavian amphitheatre in Pozzuoli.[193] His taste for antiquities dictated this decision, and once he arrived in Rome, his first visit was to the excavations of St Clement's Basilica.[194] St Lorenzo Fuori le Mura Church and the attached cemetery were 'both worthy of attention - the former, now being restored, because of its antiquity and curious style; the latter on account of its admirable arrangement. When finished it will surpass anything of the kind I have seen'.[195] Piacenza cathedral was described as 'a fine old building - a curious mixture of styles'.[196] In the Duomo of Orvieto Goold recorded spending 'a half hour admiring the works of art with which this splendid church abounds'.[197] In Bolzano the main church was 'a fine gothic building. I bought a photograph of the exterior and interior and also good oil colored views of the picturesque country of this part of the Tyrol'.[198]

In Germany, Goold stopped by the workshop of Mayers & Co. the stained-glass artists based in Munich and commented: 'His works I very much admired - and his stain[ed] glass is very fine. I regret the window for St Patrick's was not

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[193] *Ibid*., 16 and 17 June 1867, 383-4.

[194] Goold's passion for the antiquities is discussed in Lo Conte, 2019. Goold et al., 2009, 18 June 1867, 384.

[195] Goold et al., 2009, entry dated 5 July 1867, 387.

[196] *Ibid*., 1 August 1867, 391.

[197] *Ibid*., 25 February 1868, 398.

[198] *Ibid*., 5 August 1867, 392.

ordered from here'.[199] At Nuremberg the bishop praised the city, where 'the relics of its ancient and true faith well preserved. In no city of its size in Germany, or perhaps elsewhere, have I seen such splendid Gothic churches and other monuments of the true faith'.[200] In France the building that impressed him the most was St Julian's, the cathedral of Le Mans, of which he wrote: 'in the Cathedral the choir, nave, and aisles are magnificent. I have not seen anything in Gothic equal to them'.[201] Significantly, the ground plan of St Julian's resembles in some respects to St Patrick's in Melbourne, encompassing a cruciform building with nave and aisles with ambulatory in the choir and radiating chapels.[202] In Ireland, Goold visited Armagh Catholic Cathedral, the Gothic Revival building completed to the plans of the 'Irish Pugin', architect James Joseph McCarthy, after the original mediaeval St Patrick's was transferred to the Irish protestants.[203] As testified by many entries in his diary, even if more often than not Goold's preference laid with the Gothic, he could also admire Neoclassical style: 'Longford. The Cathedral is a fine building in the Grecian Roman style. Visited the college [...] the chapel is a handsome Gothic building'.[204]

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[199] *Ibid.*, 9 August 1867, 393. Founded in 1847 by Joseph G. Mayer, the Institute for Christian Art focused on reviving 'Mediaeval building trades' producing 'a combination of fine arts, architecture, sculpture and painting'. Mayer, 2019

[200] Goold et al., 2009, 19 April 1868, 399.

[201] *Ibid.*, 14 May 1868, 399.

[202] The current cathedral was erected between the 11th and the 15th century. St Julian's is significantly bigger than St Patrick's, being 134 metres long (St Patrick's is ca. 95), it has a double ambulatory, 13 chevet chapels, and no aisles in the transepts.

[203] *Ibid.*, 29 September 1867, 396. On McCarthy see Sheehy, 1977; and Richardson, 1983, 488-92.

[204] *Ibid.*, 1 October 1867, 396.

In Europe, and especially in Rome, Goold took the opportunity to acquire items for his cathedral.[205] His purchases included, among others, sacred paintings, stations of the cross, a marble crucifix and two holy water fonts.[206] The water stoups, 'the marble of which they will be composed will be the very best', were executed in an elegant Neoclassical style. (Fig. 72) Indeed, Goold's eye for beauty and quality transcended styles, and he wrote to Fitzpatrick: 'Never mind about what Mr Wardell may say about style—put them in St Patrick's'.[207] The crucifix was executed by Wilhelm Achtermann, the German sculptor of the renowned *Pietà* of Münster's cathedral. Goold informed Fitzpatrick he had paid the deposit to secure it, adding that 'the Holy Father has promised to visit the studio where he will bless and indulgence it. Many who know something of art have been to see it and have been high in the praise of it'.[208] (Fig. 73) As he visited Achtermann's studio in Rome, he was certainly impressed by one of the sculptor's greatest projects, an altar of Roman and Carrara marble described as 'a perfect wonder'.[209] (Fig. 74)In Melbourne, the diocese opened a fund to raise the money to purchase it, issuing an appeal containing a detailed description that insisted this was the great work of Achtermann's life for which 'labour has extended over nine years. […] It is as chaste and beautiful a work as can well be conceived, and elaborately finished in all its parts; the height is thirty feet'. The

[205] *Ibid.*, 21 June 1867, 384.

[206] The Stations of the Cross have been hanging in t St Patrick's ever since. The frames were added in 1902. See Rogan, 1997, 17.

[207] The water fonts are still *in situ* in the narthex of the cathedral. Goold to Fitzpatrick, 17/20 February 1868, quoted in Rogan, 1997, 16-7.

[208] The crucifix still hangs in the chancel of St Patrick's Cathedral. On Achtermann see Herbermann, 1913.

[209] The Roman correspondent of the *London Weekly Register* compiled a description of the altar that was printed and distributed in Victoria to collect funds. *Description of the Altar proposed to be purchased for St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*, St Patrick's construction files, MDHC.

notice informed that the materials alone costed over £1,200, but despite the generous contributions of the clergy, who were able to subscribe more than £800, the altar was eventually sold to the Cathedral of St Vitus in Prague.[210]

By mid 1868, the nave and side aisles of St Patrick's were approaching completion. (Fig. 75) To enhance collections towards the building, in April a wood engraving prepared by Ebenezer and Syme after a drawing executed by Wardell was published in several newspapers together with a lengthy description of the building.[211] (Fig. 76) The main entrance was redesigned in the second half of the 1860s: the original plan encompassed a portal with two small doors following the Gothic ideal that the faithful was to bow and humble himself before entering the house of God. This had 'an ugly pillar in the centre' and was not considered suitable for the large and elegant proportions of the building 'though we have seen, in some fine old ecclesiastical buildings, small ones similar to that condemned'.[212] The new entrance was considered an improvement on the previous one, as it allowed the speedy and easy egress of the congregation.[213] A temporary wall was erected to close the nave and allow to officiate mass while works proceeded in the transepts and chancel. After the failure to secure Achtermann's high altar, a new one was commissioned to substitute the small wooden altar installed in 1858. The design, in the Gothic style, was prepared by Denny, who knew every detail of Wardell's vision for the

[210] The list of donations and subscriptions indicates amounts ranging from £30 to the £200 promised by Fitzpatrick. *Ibid*.

[211] Wardell, *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*, 1868, wood engraving, SLV; *The Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers*, 25 April 1868, 1 and 12.

[212] *Advocate*, 30 May 1868, 12.

[213] *Ibid*. The West door was modified again in 1939, see Ebsworth, 1979, 91-2.

cathedral. (Fig. 77) It encompassed five compartments enclosing a pelican in the centre, and full-length figures of the Virgin, robed with a white mantle glistening with stars, St Joseph, St Patrick, dressed as Bishop and primate of Ireland, and St Brigit. Following mediaeval tradition, in the background of the patron saint of the church, there was a representation of the Melbourne cathedral copied from Wardell's perspective. The figures were surmounted by a carved cresting and the mouldings, coloured with deep tints, were relieved with ornaments in gold in a 'remarkably rich and artistic style'.[214] The decorative program for the altar was executed by the firm of Ferguson, Urie and Lyon, which was also responsible for the decoration of the temporary chancel.[215]

The altar was installed by the time Goold returned from Europe in November 1868. He had recently turned fifty-six, and after disembarking he proceeded to his cathedral to give the Pontifical Blessing to his flock. The Catholic newspaper reported: 'Dr. Goold may well have felt pride and gratification. [...] He had evidence in the magnificent church in which the meeting took place'.[216] A week later, the bishop blessed the peal of bells he had acquired in Ireland more than 15 years before. As a matter of fact, the masonry work on the two front towers

[214] *Advocate*, 28 November 1868, 12. The altar has been in St Patrick's until the completion of works in 1897, when it was replaced by Wardell's designed high altar. Then, it was transferred to the church of the Sacred Heart in Carlton, where it is still in use.

[215] The cost for decorating the altar was £105. Moore, 1984, Chapter 5, note 23. Ferguson, Urie & Lyon were decorators, gilders and stained glass artists based in North Melbourne. Their work became increasingly popular in the 1860s and they received commissions from all Australia and New Zealand. The decoration of the chancel was lost when the temporary wall erected to close the nave was demolished. Detailed information on the company Ferguson, Urie & Lyon is provided in a dedicated website, see Brown, 2019.

[216] *Advocate*, 28 November 1868, 8.

had been pushed forward in the previous months to accommodate the bells.[217] The 'impressive and solemn ceremony' was attended by about 5,000 persons, who paid a ticket in aid to the building fund to assist.[218] Reports indicated that 'never before […] did so magnificent a ceremony take place within the walls of a Catholic Church in these colonies, or did so large an assemblage gather together within the precincts of any church'.[219] The engraving prepared for the occasion by Charles E. Winston, shows the crowd assembled in the completed nave of St Patrick's.[220] (Fig. 78) The image does not provide any detail of the decorations of the temporary wall closing the nave, but it shows the six paintings that were hung above the high altar.[221] Reid notices that even if the artworks were 'varied in style, size, period and location', their arrangement on the wall created a multipaneled polyptych altar inspired to those Goold would have seen in his voyages in Europe.[222] As a matter of fact, the altar composition resembles the arrangement of the sculptural groups of Achtermann's altar that Goold wished to purchase for the cathedral. (Fig. 79) The artworks in the outer panels represented the Apostles St Peter and St Paul, while one step further in were paintings of St Ambrose and St Augustine, the latter being particularly

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[217] Only one of the two towers was completed to the belfry stage. Legend has it that Wardell wanted the two towers to have different heights to create a feeling of incompleteness and thus enhance collections for the completion of the spires. A description of the works in progress was presented on the first issue of the *Advocate*, a Catholic weekly newspaper founded by Samuel V. Winter, Michael O'Grady, Charles G. Duffy and Fr Joseph Dalton. *Advocate*, 1 February 1868, 15; Serle, 1976.

[218] *Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers*, 4 January 1869, 5-6.

[219] *Ibid.*

[220] Winston, *Blessing of St. Patrick's bells* [i.e. St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne], wood engraving, 4 January 1869, SLV. Charles Edward Winston was a London-born wood engraver, who relocated to Australia in 1851. Darragh, 1992.

[221] Ferguson, Urie and Lyon had been paid £52 for the painting of the chancel. Moore, Chapter 5, note 23.

[222] Reid, 2019.

significant to Goold as he was an Augustinian. Moreover, Reid indicates that these two paintings replicated 'the two arch-form frescoes positioned at either side of the main altar in Sant' Agostino in Campo Marzio, Rome'.[223] The central focus of the composition was the copy of Guido Reni's *Crucifixion*. Goold had purchased it in Italy in 1858 for ca. £20.[224] The original was located over the high altar at the Church of San Lorenzo di Lucina, in Rome, a building that underwent a radical restoration ordered by Pius IX in 1858.[225] Significantly, since 1824, a copy of Reni's *Crucifixion* hanged also in St Augustine's, Cork, the church that Goold attended as a child and during his education among the Augustinians.[226] Possibly, the bishop selected it for his cathedral but also because he had a strong emotional connection to it. To complete the composition, underneath the *Crucifixion* was hung a *Dead Christ* from the Spanish Baroque artist Francisco Meneses Osorio, one of Batolomé Esteban Murillo's pupils.[227] (Fig. 80)

In February 1869 Archbishop Polding visited Melbourne, and he could only express admiration for Goold's cathedral:

> Melbourne Catholics are making wonderful progress. The body of the cathed. up to the transept is completed, at a cost of £50,000; but you recollect a large sum was lost in charges. It is 140 feet long, 78 wide.

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[223] *Ibid.*

[224] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 29 December 1858, MDHC.

[225] It is possible that Goold visited the church when it reopened, but there is no mention of it in his diary.

[226] Augustinians in Cork, 2007.

[227] Anderson, 2019; and Reid, 2019.

> […] Melbourne is far ahead of Sydney in every respect except the piety of the faithful; here there has been a wonderful change for the better. […] The resources of this Church are immense. The B[ishop] has annually £10,000 placed at his disposal by the State, half for Church building, half for Clergy and large weekly contributions.[228]

Polding was then organising the provincial Synod of the Australian Bishops and he thought Melbourne the most suitable location: 'The bishop is very desirous to have it [St Patrick's] consecrated, and the occasion of holding the Synod would give an excellent opportunity'.[229] However Goold was not convinced and informed Polding that as the cathedral was not completed and it did not have its permanent altar, it could not be consecrated.[230] Nevertheless, he agreed to the honour of having the Synod in Melbourne. Between February and March, the bishop received several cases containing artworks he had acquired in Italy.[231] In March, Goold recorded in his diary: 'the cases containing the grand marble crucifix for the Cathedral by Atcherman [*sic*], a German artist of great ability, paintings and other works of art, arrived'.[232] A month later, on 18th April, the Synod of the Australian bishops opened in St Patrick's Cathedral. A photograph of the bishop's procession records the progress of the building: the nave was

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[228] Polding to Gregory, 1 February 1869, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 3, 317-8.

[229] Polding to Lanigan, 10 February 1869, *ibid*., 318.

[230] Polding to Lanigan, [February 1869], *ibid*., 319.

[231] See Anderson, 2019. On the 10th March 1869, Fr Bleasdale, Goold's secretary, wrote to Redmond Barry regarding the exhibition of Fine Arts: 'I feel sure that his Lordship would send what works of art and virtue he has to the exhibition […] within the last few days several large cases of pictures have arrived from Italy and have not as yet been opened'. Bleasdale to Barry, 10 March 1869. PROV. VPRS 927/P0000/5 'Applications for Situations at Fine Arts Exhibition 1869', quoted in Reid 2019.

[232] Goold et al., 2009, 13 Mach 1869, 405.

complete, the windows filled with stained glass and one of the towers of the façade was completed to the belfry stage.[233] (Figs. 81 and 82)

It was one of 'the most imposing ceremonies in connection with the Catholic church that has ever been witnessed in Melbourne, or probably in any of the Australian Colonies'.[234] Celebrated with solemnity and magnificence, the inaugural procession saw the thurifer with thurible, the cross bearer, the clergy, seven bishops attired in cope and mitre, followed by Archbishop Polding, enter St Patrick's from the main entrance, and celebrate Pontifical High Mass with a support choir including more than 60 voices.[235] St Patrick's was already by far the largest ecclesiastical building in Australia, and the paintings, the furnishings and vestments acquired by Goold in Europe made it the only suitable place for the important meeting.[236]

4.7 Transepts and chancel

In October 1869, Goold was instructed by the *Propaganda* to go to New Zealand to report on the state of the Church and then proceed to Rome for the Vatican Council.[237] He left the diocese a few days later, entrusting Fitzpatrick to

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[233] The other tower is not visible. It was considerably shorter as the belfry stage not erected.

[234] *Age*, 19 April 1869, 3.

[235] *Ibid.*

[236] Polding considered the suggestion of having the Synod at St John's College in Sydney but commented that 'it would be a pity to that so important a celebration should want the fitting accessories that a Cathedral alone can supply'. Polding to Lanigan and Quinn, 26 February 1869; and Polding to Lanigan, 19 March 1869, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 3, 322.

[237] In February 1868, while in Rome, Goold applied to the *Propaganda* to have a dispensation to avoid doing the trip back and forth to Rome twice in two years. He asked to either be exonerated

continue the works on the cathedral.[238] On St Patrick's Day 1870, Fitzpatrick laid the foundation stone of the central tower with 'the usual ceremonies, but almost in private'.[239] One month later, he signed a contract amounting to £18,000 for the erection of the four central pillars of the tower and the central section of the transepts.[240]

Goold returned to his diocese on the 22nd January 1871.[241] At the official reception organised in his honour, he spoke with enthusiasm about the progress of the cathedral observing that 'it was an enduring monument to the faith and generosity of the Catholic people, and of the genius of the architect who planned it, Mr W. W. Wardell'.[242] The following Sunday the bishop celebrated High Mass in the cathedral at the end of which he imparted the Papal benediction on the congregation. *The Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers* reported that the ceremony was 'exceedingly imposing' and provided a full-page engraving of the event.[243] (Fig. 83) Meanwhile, works in the transepts continued without interruptions, and with the pillars of the central tower rising and others being laid, the arrangement of the chancel became visible.(Fig. 84) In October 1872 a man signing himself 'Artis Amator' wrote a heartfelt letter to the Catholic

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from attending the Council or be allowed to stay in Rome until its opening. His wish was not granted, and he returned to Melbourne. Goold to *Propaganda Fide*, 4 February 1868, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 8, I, f. 1030; and Goold to *Propaganda Fide*, 9 October 1869, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 9, I, ff. 344-5, PFHA. Goold et al., 2009, 9 October 1869, 415.

[238] Goold travelled to New Zealand, returned to Melbourne for one week and on the 7th December left towards Rome. He returned to Melbourne in January 1871. Goold et al., 2009, 14 October, 1 and 7 December 1869, and 22 January 1871, 415, 418 and 434.

[239] *Advocate*, 19 March 1870, 6.

[240] *Advocate*, 30 April 1870, 7.

[241] Goold et al., 2009, 22 January 1871, 434.

[242] *Argus*, 24 January 1871, 6.

[243] *The Illustrated News for Home Readers*, 27 February 1871, 49-50.

Authorities regarding St Patrick's 'the mother and mistress of all the churches in our city'.[244] He was concerned about the ivy growing on the walls of the cathedral:

> This work is too good to be hidden; the more closely it is inspected the more will its strength and beauty be made manifest. We have all heard of the beauty of ivy-clad ruins, and the time will no doubt come when St Patrick's will be a ruin, but I trust not for centuries. [...] There are some churches in the city, and the sooner they are covered with ivy the better; but save, oh! Save your glorious building from premature decay. Let its grand walls, erected with such loving care, be seen by those who will come after us.[245]

The ivy was quickly uprooted. A few months later another testimonial of the growing appreciation for the Melbourne cathedral appeared: the building, in 'its grand simplicity', was considered a rival of the old cathedrals of Europe, notwithstanding its incomplete state.[246] Both Catholics and people belonging to other denominations could not approach the building without experiencing a feeling of reverence and self-sacrifice that had led to the undertaking.[247] The rising structure on Eastern Hill was inspiring pride among the population of Victoria, Catholics or not.

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[244] *Advocate*, 5 October 1872, 13.

[245] *Ibid.*

[246] *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 4 December 1872, 3.

[247] *Ibid.*

In late 1873, Goold was once again in Rome for his fifth *ad limina* visit. The main reason of the trip was the division of the diocese into two ecclesiastical provinces: Ballarat and Sandhurst.[248] In Melbourne, collections towards the Cathedral fund slowed building progress and Goold urged Fitzpatrick to implement a new system for fundraising:

> Divide the city into blocks, and let each clergyman organise a collection in each block. I would also greatly wish that some organisation for the same purpose should be made throughout the colony. The building of the Cathedral for which you have made so many sacrifices and over which you have watched with so anxious care – keeping it out of debt – is a glorious enterprise, which gives evidence of the love the clergy and laity of Victoria entertain for the glory and beauty of God's House, and of the living active faith within them. It would be my greatest consolation to hear from you during my absence that the clergy and laity have thrown themselves heart and soul into this labour of love.[249]

At the time, the building was out of debt, more than £2,000 was already in hand for the continuation of the works and a contract amounting to £5,550 including the masonry up to the wall plates was in progress, to be finished within eight months.[250] The completion of the roofing and the glazing of the transepts

[248] See Barr, 2019.

[249] Goold's letter to Fitzpatrick was read publicly and published in the Catholic newspaper. *Advocate*, 28 March 1874, 6.

[250] *Ibid.*

required a further £10,000.[251] Collections restarted with new impulse after news reached the city that Goold had been elevated to archbishop and St Patrick's was the new cathedral of the Metropolitan archdiocese of Melbourne.[252] The new appeals were successful, and by the archbishop's return in December 1874 the sum of £5,000 had been realised with the help of 'non-Catholics as well as Catholics'.[253] Once more, in Europe Goold completed several purchases for the diocese, including two life-size statues from a German workshop, most probably Mayer's.[254] One, representing the Dead Christ, was placed beneath the altar at St Francis' Church, while the second had the Sacred Heart of Jesus as its subject, and was placed in the Sacred Heart Chapel in the cathedral.[255]

A description of the building's construction progress appeared in the *Advocate* in February 1875: the masonry of the transepts was almost complete, the south eastern transept was built to the parapet of the clerestory, 64 feet tall, while the north western transept was built to the clerestory, the central tower was rising above the ridge of the roof, and a portion of the sanctuary had been commenced together with the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament.[256] The large six-light window on the north western transept was filled with 'ornamental tracery of beautiful

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[251] *Ibid.*

[252] Goold was elevated archbishop on the 17th March and consecrated on the 10th of May 1874. Goold et al., 2009, 17 March and 10 May 1874, 438.

[253] *North Eastern Ensign*, 22 December 1874, 2.

[254] Goold visited Mayer's workshop in September 1874. *Advocate*, 30 October 1875, 9; Goold et al., 2009, entry dated 25 September 1874, 441.

[255] A temporary altar was erected in the chapel once it was roofed. In 1882, when the *Advocate* reported that the statue was removed and repositioned after the background was painted of red with golden stars. It is possible that the statue was placed at the centre of the permanent altar designed by Wardell in 1899. *Advocate*, 17 June 1882, 15; and 29 June 1901, 12; Wardell, *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, Altar & Reredos, in alabaster, for the chapel of the Sacred Heart,* PXD 315, f. 102 and 121, ML, SLNSW.

[256] *Advocate*, 20 February 1875, 13.

design and excellent workmanship'.[257] A few months later, the organ gallery was erected temporarily at the west end of the nave, waiting for the completion of the works in the transepts.[258] In fact, Wardell's original design envisaged the organ chamber and choir within the chapel at the south eastern corner of the chancel and the positioning of the 'unsightly structure [...] cruelly interfered' with view of Hardman's grand window so that 'its effect, and, indeed, that of the whole internal western end of the church [...] [is] much against the wishes and intentions of the architect'.[259] (Fig. 85) A section of the organ was installed in August 1876.[260] This was erected by Mr. McKenzie with pipes that had been prepared in London and enclosed in a Gothic case.[261] With a cost of £3,000, this was to be largest organ in Australia, but financial constraints halted the project.[262]

In July 1876, a full-page illustration of the progress of works appeared in *The Australasian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil*.[263] (Fig. 86) The reporter remarked that the walls were particularly thick and gave an impression of great solidity, an appearance relieved by 'the light flying buttresses and delicate tracery of the

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[257] *Ibid.*

[258] The organ gallery in the nave was built with second-hand materials. Ebsworth, 1973, 39; *Freeman's Journal*, 14 August 1875, 7; *Advocate*, 2 October 1897, 16; *The Australasian,* 6 November 1897, 46.

[259] Wardell's design, dated 1858, clearly marks the current Sacred Heart Chapel as 'Organ Chamber and Choir'. Wardell, *St Patrick's Cathedral Melbourne Ground Plan*, St Patrick's Architectural Drawings, MDHC. *Advocate*, 2 October 1897, 16.

[260] *Advocate*, 5 August 1876, 5.

[261] *Ibid.*

[262] The organ was completed between 1879 and 1880 by George Fincham of Richmond. A full account is given in Boland, 1997, 27-8. *Advocate*, 5 August 1876, and 18 October 1879, 5

[263] *Australasian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil,* 8 July 1876, 54 and 56.

upper and inner walls'.[264] St Patrick's was the 'most remarkable of the many religious edifices which adorn the city of Melbourne', 'a monument of the steady faith and patient energy of the Roman Catholic denomination' that was to 'rival in the time of its erection the famed temple of Jerusalem'.[265] A further report by the Melbourne correspondent of a Sydney newspaper praised the recently completed Scots' church in Collins-street as the finest completed sacred edifice in Victoria, adding, however, that 'it will be as nothing to St Patrick's Roman Catholic Cathedral, which has been creeping into gigantic proportions'.[266] The 'bold architectural design' was a 'striking object for miles around' it could be seen from every suburb, and his central tower, when finished, was to rival in height 'those of the grandest Gothic cathedrals of England'.[267] St Patrick's was probably the most often described building in the whole colony, and all news regarding the progress of the cathedral highlight how Goold's vision and Wardell's grand design had gained the admiration of the people of Melbourne despite religious differences.

When the transepts were opened in late 1876, a drawing of the intended interior of the Cathedral was prepared by J. D. Ryland, who had previously drawn the interiors of Christ Church and St Patrick's in Ballarat.[268] (Fig. 87) It took the

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[264] *Ibid.*

[265] *Ibid.*

[266] *Evening News*, 27 May 1876, 3. The Scots' church was commenced in April 1873 after a design by the architectural firm of Reed & Barnes. It was opened for service the 29 of November 1874. See Ward, 2014.

[267] *Evening News,* 27 May 1876, 3; *Freeman's Journal*, 22 July 1876, 15.

[268] J. D. Ryland and C. Nettleton, *Interior of Saint Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*, 1876, MDHC. The photographs of the original drawings of the Ballarat churches are at the SLV: C. Bayliss, *Interior of Christ Church, Ballarat,* 1874 H96.160/2545; and C. Bayliss, *Interior of St. Patrick's Church, Ballarat*, 1975, H96.160/2707, SLV.

artist seven months to complete the imposing drawing, 4 feet high, which included also the sanctuary that was not yet built and was drawn following the architectural drawings prepared by Wardell.[269] Before release, the drawing was submitted to the architect for approval, and he endorsed the image describing it 'as accurate in detail as it is admirable in its general effect'.[270] In fact, the perspective gave a vivid idea of distance, space and the colossal proportions of the building.[271] Charles Nettleton was commissioned to take pictures of the drawing, and these were on sale in several establishments in order to collect funds for the cathedral, publicised as a 'handsome present for Christmas'.[272] The most significant difference between the drawing and the building as it appeared at the time of consecration was the unrealised fresco of the *Last Judgment,* intended for the arch between the nave and the crossing.[273]

Following Black Wednesday in 1878, the day on which the Victorian government dismissed a large number of civil servants, Wardell left Melbourne and relocated to Sydney.[274] Despite the distance he remained deeply involved in the building of the cathedral, and through Fitzpatrick he asked that Denny would write to him exactly as to how he was carrying out the works: 'I shall also be very glad if you will desire him to let you know at once any question on which he has the smallest doubt, [...] I shall be only too happy to continue to give you

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[269] *Advocate*, 23 December 1876, 9.

[270] *Age*, 8 November 1876, 2.

[271] *Ibid.*

[272] *Advocate*, 23 December 1876, 9.

[273] No mention of it has, so far, been found in the archives. Apparently Goold and Wardell intended to have it realised after the demolition of the temporary wall that closed the nave, but the project was eventually abandoned.

[274] See Strangio, 2008

every help I can, for I can never lose my intense interest in St Patricks'.[275] As he left, a second exterior perspective drawing of St Patrick's as it would appear when finished was commissioned to A. C. Cooke. (Fig. 88) Also on this occasion, Wardell was consulted before the release of the image, and he marked all the needed modifications and sent them to the artist for correction.[276] On the 8th September 1879, Archbishop Goold laid the foundation stone of the Ladye chapel, located immediately beyond the high altar.[277] The two rectangular chapels located at the corner of the chancel and the transepts were in an advanced state, and works were proceeding with the erection of the pillars of the chancel.[278] A new organisation of collections was implemented in mid-1880, including fortnightly public meetings of the building fund and the appointment of the new collector, Fr Patrick Aylward.[279] A new effort was commenced to complete the building with as much speed as it was compatible with good work. St Patrick's was out of debt and Fitzpatrick announced that he had £1,462 10s in hand for the continuation of the works.[280] The construction of the transept and chancel had progressed with an average expenditure of £4,500 per year in the

[275] Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 13 September 1878, Wardell Letterbooks, I, ML MSS 10-1, ff. 22-3, SLNSW.

[276] Wardell to Cooke, 11 September and 22 November 1878, Wardell Letterbooks, I, ML MSS 10-1, ff. 20-1 and 61-2, SLNSW.

[277] *Advocate*, 13 September 1879, 7.

[278] The two chapels are: The Blessed Sacrament Chapel in the north west corner and the Sacred Heart Chapel in the south east corner. *Freeman's Journal,* 22 July 1876, 15; *Advocate*, 20 September 1879, 7.

[279] *Argus*, 22 June 1880, 4. On the Cathedral Building Fund Committee see, for example, *Advocate*, 11 and 25 September, 9 October 1880 13, 13, and 10 respectively and *Argus*, 8 December 1880, 10.

[280] *Argus*, 22 June 1880, 4.

last decade, but for a prompt completion of the works a yearly sum of at least £10,000 was needed.[281]

In June 1880, Mr McGowan, a representative of the laity involved in collecting funds for the completion of the cathedral, showed to the building committee a plaster-of-Paris model of St Patrick's, which he had prepared.[282] (Fig. 89) The model, which had taken almost one year in the making, is on a scale of 8 feet to the inch, and depicts every detail of tracery, buttresses, pinnacles while displaying 'their admirable architectural proportions'.[283] Moreover, the windows are filled with cathedral glass, and the model can be lit up from the interior.[284] This was loaned to the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880 and presented to the committee afterwards for 'the benefit of the building fund'.[285]

The International Exhibition also included a section occupied by Mayer's workshop within the German court, where there was a large section of religious figures 'coloured in a most marvellous imitation of life' in addition to altarpieces, church ornaments and stained-glass windows arranged in a chapel-like composition.[286] The glass cast 'a dim, religious light over the scene, and give it so ecclesiastical an appearance as to lead many persons on entering to fancy

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[281] *Ibid.*

[282] *Advocate*, 26 June 1880, 13.

[283] *Ibid.*

[284] *Ibid.*

[285] *Age*, 5 November 1880, 5. The model was placed in St Patrick's for several years before archbishop Mannix presented it to the SLV. It is now displayed in the foyer of James Goold House within the Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne.

[286] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 1880, 7; and *Argus*, 2 October 1880, 4.

themselves in a church' and the exposition included , among others, a high altar with candles and pyx, two pietas, a group of the Nativity, another of the crucifixion and large figures of St Patrick expelling the serpents from Ireland, St Joseph and Bridget.[287] Of these items, two windows were realised by Mayer's specifically for St Patrick's, while others were purchased for the cathedral at the time of the exhibition.[288] For example, from Mayer's stand at the Exhibition came also the statue of St Patrick, that was presented to the cathedral by an anonymous 'gentleman' and placed in the sanctuary railing at the side of the temporary altar.[289]

Correspondence indicates that Goold placed the commission for the stained-glass windows representing the *Last Supper* and *Melchizedech giving bread and wine* for the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in 1879.[290] (Figs. 90 and 91) The two subjects, appropriately selected as they foreshadow the Eucharist, cover the three lights of the windows with conventionally composed figures, while the tracery above encompasses symbolic figures of the Pelican in its piety, the *Agnus Dei*, the Trinity and the chalice. The windows were fixed in the chapel by August 1882, and they are the only stained glass in the cathedral not supplied from Hardman's workshop. These two windows are also the last commission of stained-glass for the cathedral from Goold's lifetime. The glass for All Souls' Chapel, completed to honour Goold's death, was commissioned by Fitzpatrick to

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[287] *Argus*, 2 October 1880, 4; and *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 1880, 7.

[288] Possibly, Goold had commissioned them for his cathedral during his voyages in Europe or by correspondence, but no archival material substantiating this hypothesis has been found.

[289] *Advocate*, 4 and 11 June 1881, 9 and 7 respectively.

[290] Mayer & Co. to Fitzpatrick, 1 August 1879, MDHC. In the letter, Mayer mentions an estimate presented by Mr Young, suggesting that the commission was placed through the workshop established under Wardell's patronage in 1860.

Hardman's in the closing months of 1886 and also the windows of the Ladye's Chapel, and of all the other chapels completed by Goold's successor were purchased from Hardman's. This suggests that even if Goold's preference was clearly for Mayer's work, Wardell preferred to work with the English glass artists, and after the bishop's death it was Hardman's workshop and not Mayer's, who were chosen to create the stained glass for the cathedral nearing completion.[291]

As regards the progress of the building, by the end of 1880 all the chevet chapels had been commenced. (Fig. 92) Archbishop Goold presided over public ceremonies for the laying of the foundation stone of the chapels dedicated to St James and All Souls.[292] During the first ritual, he addressed the public remembering that the first foundation stone of the cathedral was laid when the population of the whole colony did not exceed 80,000, while now Melbourne alone counted 200,000 Catholics.[293] In one month, the building committee received more than £3,000, and works in the sanctuary proceeded steadily, with about 30 among tradesmen and labourers employed.[294] In the next two years, £9,000 was spent on the building.[295]

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[291] Carr's order to Hardman's is recorded in Hardman's Glass Orders Bill Books, 175A/4/3/10/1, f. 472, BCCLA.

[292] The foundation stone of St James's chapel was laid on July 25, the Feast of St James the Apostle, while the cornerstone of the other chapel was blessed the week after All Souls' Day on the 7th November. St James' Chapel was dedicated to the name saint of Archbishop Goold, but the structure was not finished in his lifetime. Carr changed the dedication to St Thomas Aquinas. All Souls' Chapel was also referred to as Mortuary Chapel after the bishop's burial, and is today known as Holy Souls'. *Argus*, 26 July 1880, 3.

[293] *Ibid.*

[294] *Ibid.*, and *Advocate*, 25 September 1880, 13.

[295] *Advocate*, 30 September 1882, 15.

On the 21st August 1882, Peter O' Farrell, a solicitor, attempted to murder Goold over an old financial dispute. O'Farrell shot the archbishop twice while he was walking in Brighton in the proximity of his summer house. While the first bullet caused a superficial wound to Goold's hand, the second one missed him completely even if O'Farrell was only at a couple of metres from his victim. The fact had great resonance in newspapers also because Peter O'Farrell was brother of Henry James O'Farrell, the man who had shot and wounded Alfred Duke of Edinburgh in 1868.[296] Following the attempted murder, *The Argus* suggested that the gentlemen presenting the archbishop their congratulations for the lucky escape, should, instead of words, 'provide the money for the completion of some memorial work which would mark their gratitude for the frustration of a cruel outrage [...] It is well known that the archbishop is very much interested in the progress of his cathedral church'.[297] Thus, the 'Archbishop Goold Memorial Tower' building fund was commenced. The erection of the central tower was estimated at £10,000, and at its completion would allow an increase of accommodation of 800 people: £500 was collected at the first meeting and the fund reached £1,000 in one month.[298] In October all the walls of the seven chevet chapels were built at least to the wall plates, while the scaffoldings for building a portion of the central tower and the walls of the clerestory of the

[296] For a full report see *Argus*, 22, 23, 24 August 1882, 6, 5 and 9 respectively and 2 and 21 September 1882, 13 and 5.

[297] *Argus*, 5 September 1882, 5.

[298] *Ibid.*, 13 and 30 September 1882, 10 and 15.

sanctuary were being fixed, as 'those works should proceed *pari passu*' for security reasons.[299]

In 1883 the diocese organised the Cathedral international fair which was held for almost three weeks at the Royal Exhibition Building.[300] It was a successful event attended by more than 8,000 people, and it generated a revenue of £6,017 4s that was officially presented to the archbishop.[301] In November 1884, the central tower was visible above the roof and the total amount spent for the cathedral reached £120,000.[302] However, collections slowed in the following months, and in June 1885 Fitzpatrick was worried that he had to interrupt the works.[303] The building committee decided to organise a new bazaar, which was opened at the Exhibition Building in November 1885, and collected about £3,000 to continue with the construction of the cathedral.[304]

4.8 The completion

Archbishop Goold died on the 11th June 1886. He was buried underneath All Souls' Chapel despite its incomplete state. At the meeting held a week after his death, following Fitzpatrick's recommendation, it was decided to complete the

[299] *Advocate*, 7 and 14 October 1882, 15.

[300] The opening ceremony is described in *Herald*, 27 March 1883, 3; see also *Advocate*, 14 April 1883, 16.

[301] *Argus*, 29 May 1883, 10.

[302] *Advocate*, 29 November 1884, 15.

[303] *Ibid.*, 20 June 1885, 12.

[304] *Ibid.*, 28 November and 19 December 1885, 15 and 16.

chapel as the 'most appropriate and lasting memorial' of Goold's life.[305] The sum of £2,000 was estimated to cover the completion of the masonry works, the roofing, the commission of an altar and the stained glass windows.[306]

As the diocese's administrator, while waiting for the appointment of a new bishop, Fitzpatrick wrote his first letter to the *Propaganda Fide*, asking for permission to use the archbishop's salary for the erection of the cathedral as long as the seat was vacant.[307] He attached to his letter a sketch illustrating the current state of the building and a lithograph of the intended building.[308] To evaluate the appropriateness of the request, the Cardinal Prefect of *Propaganda* asked the opinion of Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney.[309] Moran's answer was a commendation of Fitzpatrick's life mission: he argued that despite already dedicating 40 years to the Australian missions, Fitzpatrick was still using all his energies in the erection of the cathedral. For this, he deserved only praise and he was worthy of the highest respect. Moran suggested to allow Fitzpatrick to use a three-month's amount from the archbishop's income for St Patrick's, as this was sure to help the building fund and give renewed strength to the enterprise.[310]

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[305] *Advocate*, 26 June 1886, 18.

[306] *Ibid.*, 19.

[307] Fitzpatrick to *Propaganda Fide*, 12 August 1886, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 15, f. 1026, PFHA.

[308] *Ibid.* The two attachments are acknowledged as received but they are not preserved with the letter.

[309] Patrick Francis Moran (1830-1911) was the third archbishop of Sydney. A nephew of Cardinal Paul Cullen, he was appointed to Sydney on the 14th March 1884. Moran to *Propaganda Fide*, 8 November 1886, S.R.C., F.O., vol. 15, f. 1025.

[310] *Ibid.*

With the generous collections of the people of Melbourne, Fitzpatrick began the erection of All Souls' Chapel even before receiving the answer from the *Propaganda*. In the closing months of 1886 three stained glass windows, representing the Crucifixion, the Resurrection and the Ascension were ordered from Hardman for a total of £350.[311] (Fig. 93) In addition to these, Fitzpatrick commissioned a memorial brass that was sent out few months after the windows, taking the final bill to £545.[312] He asked Wardell's advice on the completion of the chapel, and the architect suggested to order a brass inlaid in a black marble slab, with the archbishop represented in full pontificals: 'you could not have no better or more fitting monument than this'.[313] The brass tablet, still *in situ*, is a beautiful example of Hardman's metalwork.

The structure of All Souls' Chapel was complete by the beginning of February 1887, but it took more than a year to fit the interiors. When Archbishop Carr, Goold's successor, blessed it on the 9th June 1888, the *Advocate* remarked that 'a visit to the little chapel would well delight an artist'.[314] The windows imported from Birmingham had 'no equals'; the colours were 'beautifully blended' and each group of figures being 'a study in itself'.[315] The chapel was completed by a meticulously detailed full-size brass tablet representing Goold underneath an ornate Gothic canopy, which also included part of his and the Augustinian coat

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[311] Hardman registered the order on the 22nd December 1886. The windows were shipped to Melbourne in April 1887. Hardman Glass Order Book MS 175A/4/3/2/11, f. 209, Bill Book, MS 175A/4/3/10/12, f. 161; General Sales Letter Book, MS 175A/4/5/1/14, ff.172, 216, 228, 292; BCCLA.

[312] *Ibid.*

[313] Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 19 August 1886, WL, MLMSS 10-2, f. 611, SLNSW.

[314] *Advocate*, 23 June 1888, 16.

[315] *Ibid.*

of arms, and the figure of St Columbanus. This was inlaid in highly polished black marble, and a small, temporary altar 'decorated with suitable mourning colours', which was built to Denny's design.[316]

John Fitzpatrick also died before seeing St Patrick's completed, on 21st January 1890. He was buried alongside the archbishop and a commemorative brass was erected for him in the Mortuary Chapel opposite to Goold's. This was the work of William Montgomery, who followed the example of Hardman's tablet so skilfully, that it is difficult to tell the craftmanship apart.[317] *Ad memoriam,* Carr opened a new fund for the completion of the cathedral, and by the end of April, almost £20,000 had been promised for the final stage of the works.[318] In May, Wardell was in Melbourne to attend a meeting of the building committee and he was instructed to prepare plans for the completion of 'the whole fabric of the Cathedral (excepting the towers) as soon as possible'.[319] In November, the architect called for tenders and the last contract, amounting to £39,500, was signed with James Young, who had been associated with St Patrick's for 25 years.[320] This included the completion of the structure only, leaving out the internal fittings and tiling of the floors. In the same year, John Bunn Denny

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[316] *Ibid.* Wardell designed the Mortuary chapel's current alabaster altar in 1898. Wardell, S*t Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, Altar and Super Altar of Mortuary chapel,* 1891, PXD 315, ff. 104, 113, 130 and 130A, ML, SLNSW.

[317] A detailed description is provided in Moore, 1984, 233-4.

[318] Ebsworth, 1973, 52-3.

[319] *Advocate*, 31 May 1890, 15.

[320] Young signed several of Wardell's drawings of the sanctuary of St Patrick's underneath the note: 'This is a drawing referred to in my contract for works towards completion of S. Patrick's Cathedral Melbourne and which contract I have this day entered into. Dated this 18th day of December 1890'. Wardell, *S. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, Contract tracings,* Sheets n. 1 to 15, 1890,PXD 315, ff. 47-61, ML, SLNSW. *Herald*, 18 December 1890, 1. Despite the death of James Young in October 1892, his company completed the contract.

retired forced by ill-health at the age of 80 after having been resident clerk of works at the cathedral for three decades.[321] He was replaced in January 1891 by Mr Campbell, who had been associated with Wardell for several years.[322] Despite leaving the building to a reliable associate, Wardell was again in Melbourne in February, when for a few weeks he was seen constantly supervising the works.[323]

The structure of St Patrick's was completed in 1895, but as the contract was finalised, for the first time since the 1860s, the cathedral had a significant debt of at least £20,000.[324] It took almost three years to repay it, and St Patrick's was eventually consecrated on the 27th October 1897 and formally opened the following Sunday, 31st October.[325] (Fig. 94) Wardell, aged 74, assisted to the grand celebrations surrounding the building he had designed only 39 years earlier. Most of the cathedral was completed, the towers and spires being the only part missing. At the time, one of the façade towers was ready for the spire, while the other was built to the bell chamber, and the central tower was only about 10 feet above the roof-line. The high altar, designed by Wardell and commissioned from the London firm of Farmer and Brindley, had arrived in October 1896.[326] In the chapels only the altars of Our Lady, St Joseph, and St

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[321] Denny died in 1892. Moore, 1984, 62-3.

[322] *Advocate*, 24 January 1891, 11.

[323] *Advocate*, 14 February 1891, 17.

[324] Contractors started to remove the scaffoldings in February 1895. *Advocate*, 26 May 1894, 9 and 2 February 1895, 16; *Argus*, 3 April 1895, 6. Archbishop Carr's strategy to liquidate the debt is reported in Ebsworth, 1979, 58-9.

[325] A full account of the ceremonies is given in Watson, 1898; and *Advocate*, 6 November 1897. See also Ebsworth, 1979, 58-94.

[326] *Advocate*, 24 October 1896, 15. Most of Wardell's commissions for St Patrick's Cathedral placed at this late stage are detailed in the architect's letterbooks: MLMSS 10/1-4, SLNSW.

Bridgid had been erected, while in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel only one of the altar mosaics had arrived.[327] The mosaics were commissioned from the Venice and Murano glass and mosaic company established by Antonio Salviati in the 1860s, that had provided mosaics also for the Anglican Cathedral of St Paul's in Melbourne.[328] Significantly, Wardell provided the designs for the mosaics allowing the artists to decide upon the colours, but he clearly indicated that the background was to be rendered in gold and the style had to be inspired by the paintings of the Italian artist Giotto.[329]

The floors were covered with Minton's encaustic tiles, but in the sanctuary and side chapels the flooring was made of mosaics of the finest quality produced by the firm of Maw's and Co.[330] At the time of the opening, in the chancel several of the stained glass windows were missing, as well as most of the altars Wardell had designed and commissioned from his favourite London firm of Farmer and Brindley.[331] The rich painting decoration of the chapels was commenced only in in 1901 by Charles Firth, who followed the Gothic decorative program envisaged by the firm of Reed, Smart and Tappin.[332] In July 1902, the same artist continued the work in the sanctuary.[333] The spires were commenced only in

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[327] The Ladye Chapel altar was commissioned to the Melbourne firm of Jageurs & Son, but Carr was disappointed with their work and commissioned a new altar from London. See Moore, 1984, 172-3.

[328] A description of the Venice and Murano company's work in Melbourne is given in Moore, 1984, 195-202. On Salviati see Liefkes, 1994; and Savorra, 2005.

[329] Wardell to Fontana, 14 May 1896, Letterbooks. ML MSS 10-4, f. 204, SLNSW.

[330] On Minton's and Maw's see Moore, 1984, 180-94; and Pearson, 2006.

[331] See *Advocate*, 29 June 1901, 12. Wardell's designs for the chapels' altars are at the Mitchell Library: Wardell, *St Patrick's Cathedral Melbourne*, [1891-1899], PXD 315, ff. 1-137, ML, SLNSW. Notably, Wardell's last altar designs are dated February 1899, only a few months before his death in November. A description of the altars is given in Moore, 1984, 173-9.

[332] Wardell originally envisaged mosaics also for the walls. Ebsworth, 1979, 78.

[333] On of Firth's work see Moore, 1984, 145-7. *Advocate*, 29 June 1901, 12; and 19 July 1902, 17.

1937 by Archbishop Daniel Mannix, and completed in time to mark the centenary of the first mass celebrated in the Port Phillip district.[334] They were not built to Wardell's original design and were made about one third taller than Wardell intended.[335]

St Patrick's was the first cathedral that Wardell designed, and the only one satisfactorily completed to his plans in his lifetime. Bishop Willson commissioned Wardell to design a cathedral for Hobart after seeing the progress of St Patrick's. On the occasion of his visit to Melbourne in 1859 Willson had the time to discuss with the English architect the cathedral building in Hobart. Wardell had never visited Tasmania, but prepared a dignified design for a large church suitable for the colony.[336] Willson entrusted the superintendence of St Mary's Cathedral to architect Henry Hunter, while the contractor for the building was John Young.[337] Works on the cathedral commenced from the chancel and proceeded quickly, so that in 1866 the first section was opened.[338] However, poor construction meant that the building had to be demolished less than a decade later. The use of cheap stone, the lack of a clerk of works, and Hunter's poor superintendence all contributed to the

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[334] The first mass was celebrated by Geoghegan on 15th May 1839. The contract for the spires was signed in April 1937 with the firm of Connolly and Vaheems, and encompassed also the remodelling of the entrance. *Advocate*, 22 April 1937, 16. The *Advocate* published a whole issue celebrating the Victorian Catholic Centenary in November 1939: *Advocate*, 2 November 1939.

[335] See Ebsworth, 1979.

[336] Hobart cathedral was a cruciform building 131 feet long, substantially smaller than St Patrick's, which is 340 feet long.

[337] The relationship between architect Hunter and Bishop Willson is described in Southerwood, 1989. On Hunter see Moore, 1984, 52-7; and McDonald, 1973.

[338] A description is provided in *the Mercury*, 5 July 1866, 2.

disaster.[339] Wardell never visited the site, and he did not provide specifications for the foundations, being responsible only for the plans of the works above ground.[340] He was cleared of any blame in the following years, while Hunter, busy with other commissions, was found remiss for his approval of the contractors' work.

In Sydney, Wardell's design for St Mary's was commissioned after the early structure with Pugin's additions burned to the ground in 1865. Wardell had designed St John's College, University of Sydney, in 1859, under the patronage of Archbishop Polding, who was convinced of the architect's skills. However, despite the steady growth of his archdiocese, Polding was reluctant to the idea of pulling down St Mary's Cathedral to build to a larger plan, and he continued his building program to enlarge the structure to Pugin's plans.[341] When a fire destroyed Polding's cathedral, he turned to Wardell: 'I leave all to you and your own inspiration in the matter. […] Any plan, any style, anything that is beautiful and grand, to the extent of your power'.[342] St Mary's Cathedral, similar in size and magnitude to St Patrick's, was commenced from the east end, but a gross mistake on the part of the foundations' contractors forced Wardell to amend his plan. He was obliged to cross two bays of the nave, as otherwise the building

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[339] De Jong states that Willson asked Young to use cheaper stone in order to cut costs. De Jong, 1988, section 12.3. See also Southerwood, 1989; and McDonald, 1973.

[340] Wardell's statement was published in the *Australasian Sketcher* of the 3 July 1880, 104, quoted in De Jong, 1988, 374.

[341] Interestingly, in 1863, after visiting Sydney and seeing St Jon's College, Bishop Willson, a friend of Pugin and a strong supporter of his work, also wished Polding would commission Wardell to rebuild St Mary's. Willson to Goold, 25 July 1863, Willson Correspondence, MDHC.

[342] Polding to Wardell, 10 October 1865, quoted in Glanville, 1971, 58.

would end so close to the road to prevent a safe entrance.[343] After relocating to Sydney in 1878, Wardell supervised the cathedral until his death, when almost all of the liturgical eastern section, including the transepts, was completed. The partial structure was opened in 1900, and works on the nave commenced only in 1915, to be completed in 1928.[344] Significantly, Polding did not commission Wardell any other church in the archdiocese, nor did the archbishops that followed him. The architect employed several of the craftsmen that had worked at St Patrick's, but he did not establish the same productive relation with the Sydney Catholic authorities that he had had with Bishop Goold. For St Mary's, Wardell employed again Geometric Anglo-French Gothic: the English ground plan, with its square East end, is a re-elaboration of Lincoln cathedral, while façade and side elevations are reminiscent of Notre Dame, Paris. Internally the elevation is modelled on Chartres cathedral, but it includes details such as the double hammer-beam roofing of the nave and the wooden groining in the chancel that reference to York Cathedral.[345] De Jong suggests that the design of St Mary's is more conservative and 'English', as it was based on Wardell's understanding of the Australian social conditions in the 1860s.[346] Moreover, the grand structure was designed for an English archbishop who had wished to realise his Benedictine dream in Sydney, and the question of patronage must be taken into account when investigating the cathedral's design.[347]

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[343] In 1915, Church authorities requested to the City Council a change of boundaries for the church reserve and Wardell's plan was carried on as the architect initially intended.

[344] The spires were added in 2000.

[345] Kerr, 1977, 333-6.

[346] De Jong, 1988, 365.

[347] St Mary's design is discussed in De Jong, 1988, section 12.2; and Kerr, 1977, 333-8.

St Patrick's Cathedral remained the boldest statement of Goold's architectural ambitions. When plans were adopted it was significantly larger than both St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, that was being enlarged to Pugin's designs, and St Andrew's Anglican Cathedral, Sydney, the product of the association between Bishop William G. Broughton and architect Edmund Thomas Blacket.[348] Broughton suffered the competition of the Roman Catholics and he used architecture to try to demonstrate the superiority of the Anglican confession.[349] He was also quite interested in architecture: he contributed to the design of St Andrew's Cathedral and other churches, and, after seeing Blacket's references, he engaged him soon after his arrival to the colony.[350] Blacket produced an extraordinary number of Gothic churches for the Anglican community. Among them, was the Cathedral of St Andrew's, that was commenced in 1837 to the plans of James Hume and Bishop Broughton. Blacket modified the design approved by his bishop, and in 1847 this was accepted and proceeded with after receiving the favourable comments of both the Oxford and the Cambridge Camden Society.[351] Even if he had not completed formal training as an architect, Blacket remains, together with William Wardell, one of the key champions of Gothic Revival in Australia. In Melbourne, the Anglican Bishop Charles Perry, encountered several difficulties in raising funds for church building.[352] Despite this, the number of Anglican churches in Victoria soared from five to almost one

[348] St Andrew's was opened in 1868 and completed in 1874. Its total length, 157 feet, is similar to the length of the nave of St Patrick's, which was completed in 1868.

[349] Bremner, 2013, Chapter 5. See also Curthoys,

[350] On Bishop Broughton's involvement in the realisation of the cathedral see Bremner, 2013, 75-8. On Blacket's work see Kerr, 1983.

[351] Kerr, 1983, 45-6.

[352] Bremner, 2013, 272-6.

hundred between 1851 and 1865, showing the exceptional development of the colony following the gold rush.[353] The Cathedral of St James', built between 1839 and 1847, served the diocese for more than forty years.[354] It was Bishop James Moorhouse, Perry's successor, that commissioned the grand building of St Paul's Cathedral to the English architect William Butterfield.[355] Moorhouse was convinced that colonial architects were not competent enough to build his cathedral, and he decided upon engaging Butterfield.[356] Already in 1847, Butterfield had been involved with the Australian colonies, furnishing the designs for a cathedral building to the first Anglican Bishop of Adelaide, Augustus Short.[357] For St Paul's, Butterfield envisaged 'the grandest of the sandstone interiors', but the architect, who never travelled to Australia, had several frictions with the supervising architects and church authorities, and eventually resigned in 1884.[358] The building was not completed entirely to Butterfield's plans, but it is distinguished for the sober solidity of the exterior and the superb polychrome interior.

The city of Melbourne is fortunate enough to have two cathedral churches that can be considered masterpieces of Gothic Revival architecture: at St Patrick's Wardell created a scholarly interpretation of the mediaeval architectural

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353 On the development of the Anglican Church in 19th century Victoria see Nunn, 1947, Chapters 1 to 5.

354 Lewis, 1982.

355 On Butterfield see Thompson, 1971.

356 See Moore, 1984, 32.

357 On the building see Bremner, 2013, 110-4; Andrews, 1984, 32-7.

358 Thompson, 1971, 249.

tradition, while Butterfield's design for St Paul's is one of the greatest examples of of High Victorian Gothic Revival architecture extant in Australia.

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Chapter 5: 'Good taste and sound judgment': Wardell's parish churches in the Melbourne diocese

All of Wardell's churches in Victoria were designed within the first decade after his arrival in Melbourne. To answer to the challenges of the colonial environment, including the harsh sun and the scarceness of specialised workmen, Wardell predominantly employed the early English idiom. Moreover, consistently with the evolution of his practice in England, when financially viable, he added Geometric Decorated detailing to enhance the architectural expression of his buildings.

As in the years preceding Wardell's arrival, Goold exerted a tight control over church building in city suburbs and rural areas alike. In fact, despite the excitement surrounding the works on St Patrick's Cathedral, Goold did not neglect other architectural projects in the diocese. Even if most of the Government funding was spent on St Patrick's, during episcopal visitations in Melbourne's suburbs and townships outside the city, Goold urged local Catholics to donate for the building of ambitious Gothic Revival churches that were, in most cases, needed to replace a school-chapel erected in the early 1850s.

In addition to St Patrick's Cathedral, Wardell was given other commissions a few months after his arrival. Among his first churches in Victoria were the design of two large clerestoried buildings dedicated to St Mary, one at East St Kilda and one at Williamstown. Another commission received soon after his

arrival was for the completion of the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, Kyneton. In this instance, the architect prepared specifications for the erection of the sanctuary of the church erected to Hansom's designs. Differently, for the Church of St John at Heidelberg, Wardell had to prepare a design to fit the foundations of a building originally designed by the firm of George and Schneider.

Several other commissions followed in the 1860s, which were years of great activity in church building. More than 20 bluestone churches were commenced during the decade, not including chapel-schools. The largest share of these were built to plans provided by Wardell, so much so that a jealous colleague complained in the pages of the *Australian Builder and Railway Chronicle*: 'Is it possible there is no other Catholic architect in the colony of Victoria [...] deemed competent or worthy enough to be employed in designing and superintending their [the Catholic churches] erection'.[1] The new buildings designed by Wardell varied in size and complexity, ranging from smaller structures, like the churches at Sunbury, Wangaratta and Woodend, to large clerestoried churches such as the ones at Ashby (West Geelong), Koroit, Warrnambool, Hamilton, and the grand St Ignatius' commissioned by the Jesuit fathers at Richmond.

Wardell's Victorian parish churches, characterised by the Early English style in most occasions, sometimes also include a polygonal east end inspired by the French tradition. Often considered plain, these commissions were often troubled by financial difficulties and the need to accommodate a large

[1] *Australian builder and railway chronicle*, 28 March 1861, quoted in McDonald to Welsh, 10 April 1972, Welsh files, Wes 33/1, RIBA.

congregation. In this regard, they may share some characteristics with both Irish mediaeval sources and Gothic Revival buildings. Already in 1843, Pugin wrote about the ancient Gothic buildings of Ireland: 'many of those were indeed rude and simple; but massive and solemn, they harmonised most perfectly with the wild and rocky localities in which they were erected'.[2] Wardell, who was called upon designing buildings for a predominantly Irish congregation, under the patronage of an Irish bishop, was conscious of the importance of creating reminders of the homeland for the colonial settlers. The use of local bluestone created a strong connection with the territory, and the severe lines evoked solidity, and strength similarly to the examples found in Ireland. Pugin himself had designed Gothic Revival churches in Ireland remodelling Irish models in the Early English idiom, a style found in several Irish Gothic precedents and particularly suitable when funds were scarce.[3] The churches Pugin designed in Ireland varied in size and complexity: among them there is the small chapel-like church at Bree (1837), which included only a five-bay nave and polygonal apse, the large, cruciform parish church dedicated to St Mary at Tagoat (1843), and Killarney cathedral (1842). Wardell's parish churches in Victoria show continuity with his English practice, but also the architect's ability to adapt his architectural expression to the requirements of the colonial setting and its Irish Catholic congregations.

From a practical standpoint, given his position at the Public Works Department, he entrusted John Bunn Denny to execute the works according to his vision. On

[2] Pugin, 1843, 23, note 13.

[3] O'Donnell, 1995.

occasions when the original architectural drawings of a church do not survive, some confusion arises as to the authorship of the design, as newspaper reports often indicated the name of the supervising architect not providing information on the provenance of the design. The history of Wardell's churches in Victoria tells us about Goold's ambitious architectural patronage. The bishop and the architect persevered in pursuing a high architectural standard for buildings scattered throughout the diocese, thus enriching it with substantial Gothic Revival churches, testifying still today to the importance of Catholic heritage in the colony of Victoria.

5.1 St Mary's Church, Williamstown

One of the first designs Wardell prepared for the diocese of Melbourne, the Church of St Mary was begun and left uncompleted soon after, and the architect's grand building never realised. (Fig. 95) A reason for this was that a suitable school-chapel built of stone had been in use for a few years when Wardell submitted his proposal. The ambition of the architect, freshly arrived in the colony, is demonstrated by the grand plan he presented for the new church. A cruciform building with polygonal chancel and a prominent tower at the crossing of the transepts, St Mary's would have been among the largest parish churches Wardell designed in Victoria.

The mission at Williamstown was established at the time of Patrick Geoghegan's arrival in Melbourne in 1839, and subscriptions towards the building of a

temporary chapel had started in 1841.[4] A little wooden school-chapel was erected by 1843, when Geoghegan asked for permission from Superintendent La Trobe, but the formal application for the grant was sent to the Governor only after the creation of the diocese of Melbourne in 1848.[5] In 1853, Geoghegan was appointed resident clergyman in Williamstown, where he soon erected a permanent school made of bluestone, that served also as a chapel.[6] Only at the beginning of 1859 was it decided to build a proper church to Wardell's design.[7] The foundation stone of the church, dedicated to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (generally known as St Mary's) was laid in September 1859 by Bishop Willson assisted by Geoghegan, who had been recently consecrated Bishop of Adelaide.[8]

As Geoghegan left the mission, works stopped when the walls were only at the height of the nave's windows, as precedence was given to financing the construction of St Patrick's Cathedral.[9] The old bluestone school-chapel remained in use for another decade, and only in 1871 did works resume to complete the nave of the church.[10] Actually, the building committee had

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[4] Gibson, 1992, 11-2.

[5] Geoghegan to Goold, 20 June 1848, Geoghegan Files, Transcripts and Copies, MDHC. The school inspector, who visited the structure in 1851, stated that it had a cost of £35, and measured 28 by 20 feet (not including the altar). Ebsworth, 1973, 300-5. See also Gibson, 16-9.

[6] Gibson, 21-4.

[7] In the newspaper reports, there is no mention of Wardell being the architect of the building in 1859, but he mentions the church in a letter dated 1860. Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 25 August 1860, St Patrick's Construction Files, MDHC. Ebsworth, 1973, 300-5.

[8] *Argus*, 26 September 1859, 4-5, and *Herald*, 20 February 1871, 2.

[9] Fitzpatrick wrote to Goold that the works (for the foundations) at Williamstown had commenced already in December 1858. Fitzpatrick to Goold, 28 December 1858, MDHC.

[10] Wardell's drawings clearly show that the intention was to build the façade, four bays of the nave and side aisles plus an extra bay in the main nave to serve as a temporary chancel. The old chapel-school continued to be used as a school after the opening of the church in 1872 and was

resolved to complete the building already in 1867, and started to collect funds for the purpose.[11] Collections came in slowly, and to further delay the works, it seems that Wardell's original plans were nowhere to be found.[12] In 1869, the committee decided to call for new designs for the completion of the building, and the *Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers* reports that the proposal of architect T. A. Kelly was selected by the residents to be realised.[13] However, works did not start for another year, and Kelly's design was eventually abandoned. According to the parish history, in 1871, the resident priest, Fr McGillicuddy announced that Wardell's original plans had been found, and that Bishop Goold desired to see them realised.[14] Accompanied by Archbishop Polding, Goold celebrated pontifical High Mass in February 1871, and works resumed soon after under the supervision of architect A. L. Smith.[15]

Wardell's design encompassed a cruciform church with a five-bay nave, side aisles terminating in chapels, clerestory, polygonal transepts, a square tower at the intersection with the nave, and a semi-octagonal apse.[16] The chancel (never realised to Wardell's design) was similar to those designed for the church at Hamilton (1865) and East St Kilda (design of 1869), while the central tower recalled the church realised at Poplar, England (1851). Different groupings of

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demolished only in June 1887. Wardell, *St Mary's church, Williamstown,* [1858], PXD 316, ff. 141-51, ML, SLNSW; *Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers,* 29 November 1869, 218; *Advocate*, 25 February 1871, 6; and Ebsworth, 1973, 310.

[11] Parish of St Mary's, Williamstown, 1980.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers*, 29 November 1869, 218.

[14] Parish of St Mary's, Williamstown, 1980.

[15] Smith was the architect inviting tenders and plans of the church could be seen at his office in Market street. *Advocate*, 25 February 1871, 6; *Argus,* 12 August 1871, 3.

[16] Wardell, *St Mary's Church, Williamstown*, PXD 316, ff. 141-51, ML, SLNSW.

lancet windows typical of the Early English style opened in the nave (couples with a roundel on top), in the clerestory (triplets), in the west front (a group of four) and in the chancel (singles). The drawings clearly show that the intention was to build the four bays of the nave and its western façade, with an extra bay in the main nave to temporarily serve as chancel.

A first contract for the masonry was signed in October 1871, and, one year later, a second one for the interior fittings took the total expenditure to £4,400.[17] At the time of the opening in November 1872, the structure was 79 feet long per 49 feet wide, and it included a temporary chancel with altar and the Lady chapel.[18] (Fig. 96) Despite being temporary, this section of the church was decorated by fine oil paintings including a *Transfiguration* above the high altar, with representations of St Francis and St John the Baptist at either side, while the Lady chapel housed a statue of the Immaculate Conception and a large oil painting of the *Madonna and Child*.[19] Some of these had been gifted to the parish by its first incumbent, Fr Geoghegan, who had died in 1864.The church remained incomplete for over 60 years, as chancel, transept, side chapels and sacristy were realised only in 1933 to the design of WP Connolly.[20]

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[17] *Advocate,* 2 November 1872, 6; *Argus*, 5 December 1872, 1; *the Advocate index,* 'Williamstown - St Mary's', MDHC. In an article on the *Advocate*, the architect was indicated to be Wardell's son Bernard. Indeed, his signature appears on one of the plans now preserved at the Mitchell Library. As De Jong points out, at the time Bernard was probably helping his father with the management of his private practice. B. Wardell, *Sketch for Door screen – St Mary's Williamstown*, [1871] PXD 316, f. 151, ML, SLNSW; De Jong, 1988, 406-7.

[18] Goold blessed and opened the building on 17th November 1872. *Age,* 18 November 1872, 3; *Advocate,* 23 November 1872, 6.

[19] *Advocate*, 23 November 1872, 6.

[20] Parish of St Mary's, Williamstown, 1980. Lewis indicates that works done in the 1930s were 'largely unfortunate additions' to Wardell's plan, which he considered 'somewhat pedestrian'. Lewis, 1991, entry 151.

One of the earliest designs Wardell envisioned for the diocese of Melbourne, St Mary's included already some of the features that were to become recurrent throughout his churches: the use of the Early English idiom, scant decoration intended to enhance the architectural expression of the structure, an emphasis on solidity, massiveness and clear lines. The section of the church erected at Williamstown typifies one of Wardell's widely used designs: a large building with nave, side aisles, porch and clerestory, that was to be completed by a chancel, side chapels and sacristies (only in two instances, including this one and Richmond, Wardell included transepts). The second design he re-elaborated upon when he was commissioned to prepare drawings for smaller churches, was used at Heidelberg.

5.2 St John's Church, Heidelberg

Wardell took over the commission of St John's Church, Heidelberg, soon after his arrival in Melbourne. Fr Hoyne, the resident priest at Heidelberg, had commissioned architects George and Schneider to provide the plans for a bluestone church in 1857, and the corner stone was to be laid in July 1858, but Fitzpatrick intervened and stopped any further work after at least part of the foundations was dug. The vicar decided to engage Wardell for the building and laid the foundation stone on the 6th March 1859.[21]

The architectural drawings that survive at the Mitchell Library show Wardell's design for the east end of the small church, including chancel, three bays of the

[21] *Hamilton Spectator and Grange District Advertiser,* 20 April 1861, 3.

nave and two sacristies.[22] (Figs. 97 and 98) While the nave had a timber roof including scissor beams with collars, the chancel's ceiling was lowered and characterised by arch braced trusses. The nave was lit by traceried windows, and, in the simple structure, decoration was focused on the four-light east window beautifully traceried in floriated Decorate Gothic.[23] The use of Decorated Gothic instead of the simpler Early English lancets may have been inspired to the drawings previously provided by George and Schneider, who had worked on the floriated Decorated tracery of Hansom's windows designs in previous years. Another possibility is that the lower cost of the small structure allowed for a more refined decoration. In this regard, it is interesting to notice that the works commenced from the most expensive part of the structure, suggesting that the building committee had substantial resources at its disposal.

Denny was appointed superintending architect for the project soon after his arrival in Melbourne, and, thanks to the ability of Fr Hoyne to secure a steady financial support from his parishioners, works on the walls proceeded swiftly, so that tenders for roofing the structure were called already in September 1860.[24] This first section, costing about £4,000, was consecrated on the 14th April 1861, and Denny's conscientious management of the project was credited in the newspapers.[25] (Fig. 99)

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[22] Wardell, *Church Heidelberg Victoria*, PXD 316, ff. 58-64, ML, SLNSW.

[23] The window was filled with stained glass only in 1914, when the 'memorial window' commemorating the labours of the parish's pioneer priests was unveiled. It represents the Annunciation, the Baptism on the Jordan, the Crucifixion and the Ascension and it was the work of Melbourne stained glass artist William Montgomery.

[24] Heidelberg Parish Files, MDHC.

[25] Ebsworth, 1973, 156; *Herald,* 17 April 1861, 3; *Hamilton Spectator and Grange District Advertiser,* 20 April 1861, 3.

It is possible that Wardell's design was realised to fit the foundations already dug up in the previous years. De Jong notes that St John's resembles the English Church of St Birinus, and differs substantially from the other two small parish churches he designed in Victoria, at Woodend and Wangaratta.[26] Moreover, a description provided by *The Herald* at the time of the consecration, mentions that the church was to be completed with a tower at its north west corner that does not appear in Wardell's drawings, but may be a feature of the plan provided by George and Schneider in 1857.[27] In any case, the structure of Heidelberg church typifies Wardell's smaller projects, including nave a and chancel with lowered ceiling as the main space, with sacristies and a south porch attached.[28] St John's remained closed by a temporary wall for several years, until in 1909 the nave and west end were completed under the supervision of architects Kempson and Conolly for £2,000.[29]

5.3 St Mary's Church, East St Kilda

The plan of the church at East St Kilda included nave and side aisles, and, as at Williamstown, the construction was to proceed in stages, starting from the building of the nave. At Williamstown, the church was to be particularly grand,

[26] De Jong, 1988, 391-3.

[27] *Herald*, 17 April 1861, 7; and *Freeman's Journal*, 14 November 1857, 3.

[28] In the architectural drawings the porch appears very faintly drawn off the south side of the nave on the ground plan. Also, it seems that the west end had a centrally placed structure, possibly a tower. Wardell, *Church Heidelberg Victoria,* PXD 316, f. 58, ML, SLNSW.

[29] *Advocate*, 11 September 1909, 19. There is no surviving sketch of Wardell's intended west elevation, but the drawings are not numbered, and it is possible that Kempson and Conolly reworked Wardell's design. They added the porch at the west end and did not build the porch at the south side.

but, unfortunately, Wardell's vision was never realised, and the church was completed at a smaller scale. Differently, less than ten years after the completion of the nave, the plan of St Mary's required to be extended because of the large congregation, and the building today is considered to be one of the most successful recreations of the mediaeval splendour of Gothic churches in Victoria.

The area of St Kilda was originally part of the Brighton parish, where mass was officiated in a public house.[30] In March 1853, Geoghegan sent an application for a site on Dandenong Road, which was granted in July, but upon inspection, Goold was unsatisfied with his vicar's choice, and Fitzpatrick officially requested a new land grant.[31] However, none of the following applications were accepted, and Goold laid the foundations of a brick chapel-school dedicated to St Mary on the 22nd January 1854.[32] The building was designed in the Early English style by the architectural firm of Dowden and Ross. In addition to the two schoolrooms for boys and girls (one volume divided by shutters), it encompassed a chancel and sacristy, an 'ancient' Irish cross on the gabled roof, and a belfry with spire to highlight the solemnity of the structure externally.[33] Contracts for the masonry, the carpentry and the decoration of the school-chapel were signed with Mr Leggett, Mr O'Mally and the firm of Ferguson and Urie respectively.[34] The

[30] Ebsworth, 1973, 464-5.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Argus*, 23 January 1854, 5.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] The decorators, who would be employed by Goold on several occasions in the coming years, were probably given the task to dignify the chancel and temporary altar, which were separated by a curtain during school days. *Ibid.*

building had a total cost of £4,500, it measured ca. 40 by 20 feet, contained 70,000 bricks, and was completed and opened by the bishop on the 4th June 1854.[35]

In late 1857, the resident priest, Fr Niall, started to collect funds for the erection of a proper church and tenders were called one year later by architect Patrick Scanlan. [36] However, correspondence between Fitzpatrick and Goold indicates that there was some friction with the congregation when it was decided to commence the building: Goold had rejected the plan proposed by Scanlan and instructed Niall to erect Hansom's tripartite design used for the churches at Kilmore and Kyneton.[37] Once Goold left for Europe, Fitzpatrick complained: "Fr Niall has not begun to build yet. He could not induce his people to build on Mr Hanson [*sic*] plan. A deputation of them waited on me with a copy of the plan drawn by Scanlan and condemned last year by Your Lordship. I gave a good scolding and told it would be better to burn their money than expend it on such an horrid building".[38] Eventually, Fitzpatrick advised Niall to ask Wardell for a new design, and the architect answered with a 'plain' church 'in good taste'.[39] (Fig. 100) Designed in the Early English style, it consisted of a five-bay nave with side aisles, clerestory with quatrefoil windows opening above each column, while slim lancets opened in the aisles and both at the west and east end.[40] The

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[35] *Ibid.*, and Ebsworth, 1973, 465-6.

[36] *Freeman's Journal*, 3 October 1857, 3; *Argus*, 10 November 1858, 8. Patrick Scanlan was a native of Ireland and was involved in the building of St Patrick's College, Eastern Hill.

[37] Scanlan was supposed to act as superintending architect for the erection of Hansom's plan at St Kilda. Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 November 1858, MDHC; *Argus*, 10 November 1858, 8.

[38] Fitzpatrick to Goold, 28 December 1858, MDHC.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Wardell, *Church at East St Kilda*, 1858, PXD 378, ff. 42-53, ML, SLNSW.

chancel was distinguished externally by a lowered roof, while inside, it was separated from the nave by three steps. Access was granted from a southern porch, while adjoining the chapel at the north side of the altar was the sacristy.

The foundation stone of Wardell's building was laid by Fitzpatrick on 27th February 1859. The structure measured in the nave and aisles 64 by 44 ft, while chapels and sanctuary were 20 by 44 feet. Works commenced from the west end, as clearly marked on several architectural drawings.[41] (Fig. 101) However, despite the nave being the cheapest section, after the completion of a contract amounting to £1,600, the project was suspended for want of funds.[42] A bazaar was organised in aid of the building in December 1860, but despite different contributions were received from both Catholics and Protestants, no contract was signed, suggesting that the money was used to repay debts incurred previously.[43] One year later, Goold expressed his pessimism to Fitzpatrick: 'Fr Niall will never do much in the way of obtaining the necessary means to finish his church and pay his debts. I wish I could place an active clergyman at Prahran'.[44]

In September 1862, St Kilda was made an independent mission. Fr Niall was removed and the area assigned to the care of Fr McCarthy. However, he was

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[41] *Ibid*., see ff. 46, 48, 50 and 53. In particular, folio 84 shows the plan of the temporary wall that closed the church leaving space for a temporary altar.

[42] Carr, 1897, 35.

[43] In November 1860, *The Argus* published a list of the donors to the church including Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of Victoria, and William Nicholson, Premier of Victoria. A person signing as 'Puritan' rebuked the Protestant donors asserting that several churches of their confession needed financial support, and that they should not be aiding the furtherance of Catholicism. *Argus*, 19 and 22 November, 5 and 1 respectively; and 5 and 6 December 1860, 5.

[44] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 31 October 1861, Transcripts and Copies, MDHC.

tormented by bad health, and died only three months after his appointment. McCarty was succeeded by Haydn, who also died in a few months, but the fortunes of the mission changed significantly with the arrival of Fr Corbett in August 1863.[45] James Francis Corbett was born in Limerick and he studied in Belgium and France before returning to Ireland for his ordination in 1858.[46] In 1863, he decided to answer to an appeal for volunteers made by Bishop Goold, and relocated to Victoria. Corbett very quickly became one of Goold's right-hands and a close friend.[47] He was appointed at St Kilda soon after his arrival in August, and less than one year later the bishop solemnly opened the new Church of St Mary of the Immaculate Conception.[48] Only the nave and aisles were then completed, while the erection of chancel, chapels, sacristy and porch were postponed.[49]

The structure remained closed by a temporary wall at its east end until 1869, when a meeting of the parishioners discussed its completion.[50] Wardell soon provided a new plan for the church's enlargement.[51] (Fig. 102) As the neighbourhood of St Kilda developed dramatically, the original plan needed to be extended to accommodate the large congregation. Because the site granted to

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[45] Francis Haydn was a missionary under Bishop Hynes in British Guyana. He relocated to Melbourne but suffered the climate and died after three years of service. Ebsworth, 1973, 468-9; Hazell and Moore, 1971; and Starke, 1981.

[46] Starke, 1981.

[47] Goold's diary testifies of the many times he visited Corbett in St Kilda. Ebsworth, 1973, 469. Goold et al., 2009, see for example the year 1866, 287-358.

[48] The ceremony took place 11 months after Corbett's arrival, on 31st July 1864. *Argus*, 5 August 1864, 5.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Advocate*, 30 January 1869, 6; Ebsworth, 1973, 469-70;

[51] Wardell, *St Mary's Church, St Kilda,* 1869, PXD 378, ff. 54-65, ML, SLNSW.

the Catholic church was quite narrow and did not allow the addition of transepts, Wardell increased the length of the building with three new bays in the nave, and balanced the elongated structure adding a south west porch and a choir positioned off the north aisle.[52] The chancel was completely redesigned to be semi-octagonal, lit by lancet windows that recalled the west end. Similarly to what was done at the Church of Our Lady and St Michael in London, Wardell decided raise the ceiling of the chancel to meet the height of the nave to enhance the feeling of spaciousness inside the building. The reviewed design measured 136 by 44 feet, bringing the capacity of the church to 1,000, for an estimated total of £3,800.[53] (Fig. 103) As previously seen in Wardell's English churches, also at St Kilda he was able to group the masses and to articulate the space effectively: the porch entry and the little chapels give the worshipper an intimate space from which to spiritually approach the building and for private moments of prayers, while the long nave is characterised by the trussed roof that emphasises the imposing, lofty structure. Goold laid the foundation stone of the new section on 2nd May 1869 in the presence of Archbishop Polding.[54]

For the interiors, Wardell had prepared the design of the high altar with its reredos and one of the side altars, the pulpit, the rood beam and the screen, the ambry, the credence table, the piscina and the holy water stoup.[55] Moreover, his detailed instructions on how to realise and paint the screen, the communion railing, the altar cross, the crane and the benediction crown are still legible on

[52] The area of Wardell's intended choir became the chapel of the Sacred Heart.
[53] *Age*, 3 May 1869, 3.
[54] Goold et al., 2009, 2 May 1869, 408.
[55] Wardell, *St Mary's church, St Kilda,* 1869, PXD 378, ff. 60-3, ML, SLNSW.

the architectural drawings, showing his attention towards the completion of his own parish church.[56] Indeed, after spending a few years in East Melbourne, in 1864 Wardell relocated with his family to 'Dulquhurn', a two storey Italianate house in Dandenong Road, making St Mary's the church where he and his family attended Sunday services.[57]

The structure was completed and dedicated on the 26th November 1871.[58] (Fig. 104) De Jong states that St Mary's was realised following very closely Wardell's indications, and even today, despite refurbishments and improvements, it is 'closer to the spirit of Wardell's original intentions' than any other of his Victorian parish churches.[59] This was certainly possible thanks to the generous contributions of the wealthy congregation residing at St Kilda, but Catholic patronage must not be underestimated. Goold and Corbett were very close, and Corbett acquired at least one of Pugin's publications, the *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*.[60] Fitzpatrick, who shared Goold's aesthetic taste, was the first to approve of Wardell's design of St Kilda, and Corbett devoted himself to its completion for more than 20 years. However, Goold himself was deeply involved in the realisation of the parish ecclesiastical structures as testified by the several visits to St Mary's recorded in his diary. Additionally, two entries mention the presbytery erected in 1866: on the 5th

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[56] *Ibid.*, f. 56.

[57] In the 1860s St Kilda became one of the wealthiest neighbourhoods of Melbourne, housing several prominent citizens. Wardell resided 5 years in 'Dulquhurn' (later Ardoch) residence, and in 1869 he moved to another house in Dalgety Street, St Kilda. O'Hanlon, 2009; and Peterson, 2009.

[58] *Advocate*, 2 December 1871, 5.

[59] De Jong, 1988, 401.

[60] Andrews, 2002, 25.

June, he inspected the site of the grant to select the most suitable site for the presbytery, and five days later he met Wardell to further discuss the position of the new building.[61]

The parish was enriched with furnishings made by Hardman and Co., and stained glass and stations of the cross ordered from the firm of Mayer and Co. of Munich, Goold's favourite in the 1870s.[62] (Fig. 105) Fr Corbett also purchased the organ that had won the gold medal at the Victorian Exhibition of 1872-3.[63] After Goold's death, a large part of the internal decoration was carried on in 1887. In fact, soon after hearing about his appointment as first bishop of Sale, Corbett engaged the firm of Lyon, Cottier and Wells to complete the interiors of St Mary's.[64] In particular, Andrew Wells, who had recently arrived from Glasgow, had the responsibility for executing the decorations and stencilling.[65] These were largely inspired to Pugin's *Glossary*, and it is plausible that both Wardell and Corbett had their say on Wells' decorative program.[66] As usual, this was focused on the east end of the building. Well's work, considered 'purely Gothic in character', encompassed a 'very rich and soft' chancel, with a blue ceiling with orange and red bands, golden quatrefoils and fleur-de-lis.[67] The

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[61] Wardell provided the designs and the presbytery was erected in less than one year, Goold et al., 2009, 5 and 10 June 1866, 317-8; Ebsworth, 1973, 469-70. This was not the only presbytery realised in Victoria to Wardell's designs. In fact, he was responsible for several others, including at Kyneton and North Melbourne.24 may

[62] A detailed description of St Mary's interiors is given in Hazell and Moore, 1971.

[63] *Advocate*, 24 May 1873, 6.

[64] Corbett was appointed on 13th May 1887 and consecrated on the 25th August. When engaged, the firm Lyon, Cottier and Wells had just completed the decoration at Wardell's Gothic Bank in Collins street. *Advocate*, 13 August 1887, 15.

[65] Moore, 1984, 139-41.

[66] Andrews, 2002, 25.

[67] *Advocate*, 13 August 1887, 15.

walls were painted orange and green, enriched with golden patterns, monograms, fleur-de-lis, shamrocks and crowns, while the dado was of a rich brown.[68] The Chapels of St Mary and St Joseph were richly painted in the manner of the chancel, while the Sacred Heart Chapel was decorated in a salmon-pink tint, with a striking dado coloured black, amber and gold. Differently, the body of the church was 'very chaste', encompassing a pale-yellow colouring, columns painted in terracotta, with capitals rendered in red with golden details similarly to the aisles' dado.[69] Corbett was consecrated first bishop of Sale in a sublime parish church conceived and realised closely following mediaeval Gothic tradition. (Fig. 106)

5.4 Ss Peter and Paul's Church, Ashby

A large clerestoried parish church was designed also for Ashby, as the building was meant to serve the Catholics of all the western suburbs of Geelong. Already in 1849 the Catholic congregation was so numerous as to be entitled to apply for a site, which was granted in February 1850.[70] On the 29th June 1853, Goold laid the foundation stone of a school chapel dedicated to Ss Peter and Paul in front of a congregation of no 'less than three hundred'.[71] The firm of Snell and Kawerau was entrusted with the erection of the brick structure, which was

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ibid*

[70] Extracts form the files of the Land's Department, Reg. N. C62085, 25 October 1849 and 20 February 1850, Ashby Parish Files, MDHC.

[71] Goold et al., 2009, 29 June 1853, 52.

completed by the end of the year at the cost of ca. £2,000, partially paid with the Government's contributions.[72] In May 1859, Dean Hayes, who was in charge of the Geelong mission, had just finished repaying the debts accumulated by the previous pastors for St Mary of the Angels, when he started thinking about a new church: 'Perhaps your Lordship may hit upon a suitable church for Ashby? We could not now safely go beyond 4 or 5,000£'.[73]

Nothing happened for at least a year, but eventually Wardell was informed of the commission, and he submitted a proposal in late 1860 or early 1861. In fact, even if the ground plans of the church that was realised are dated 27th May 1861, among the architectural drawings there are two undated folios, number 33 and 34, that show the site and the ground plan of an early proposal.[74] These, show a small church encompassing the main volume of the nave (70 by 25 feet) and chancel (20 ft deep and 22.6 wide), with a chapel opening at the south side of the nave, from which was divided by two pillars, a north porch and two sacristies.[75] Probably at the same time, Wardell also provided a perspective of the small church as he envisaged it.[76] (Fig. 107) The church design certainly took under advisement its financial restrictions, but, most probably, it was deemed too small for the large congregation. Hayes asked for a new design from

[72] Dunne to Campbell, 21 November 1853, and Snell & Kawerau to Dunne, 19 November 1853, Ashby Parish Files, MDHC.

[73] Earlier that year Hayes confessed his discouragement about the possibilities of completing St Mary's Church: 'I fear very much Geelong will never be able to carry on the Great Church'. Hayes to Goold, 30 January and 15 May 1859, MDHC.

[74] Wardell, *Proposed Church at Ashby, W. Geelong*, [c. 1860], PXD 316, ff. 33-46, ML, SLNSW.

[75] *Ibid*., ff. 33-4, ML, SLNSW

[76] Wardell, *Ashby Church, Geelong*, [c. 1860], PXD 378, f. 28, ML, SLNSW. The drawing includes two options for the west end: a bellcote or a turret with spire.

Fitzpatrick, who, in turn, forwarded the message to Wardell.[77] The architect, however, answered: 'the drawings I have already furnished comply with the conditions laid down in it, and as I feel unable to amend that design for the description of church required, I must offer that again for consideration'.[78] The congregation demanded a larger, more expensive building, and in May 1861 Wardell submitted a new proposal.[79]

The second design, which was accepted, encompassed a structure with a five-bay nave with clerestory and lean-to aisles, chancel with side chapels, a north porch and two sacristies, very much like the 1859 proposal for the church at East St Kilda. Like at St Mary's, the west end was surmounted by a bellcote, but, in this instance, this was made to fit two bells symbolic of the double dedication to Ss Peter and Paul. Just like St Mary's, the nave was lit by couples of lancet windows and the chancel encompassed a triplet of lancets, however, at Ss Peter and Paul's Wardell added a geometric quatrefoil above them, while, in the clerestory he used simple square windows opening in couples above each bay instead of the geometric ones realised at St Kilda. The west façade, which included the main entry, is more similar to the church realised at Williamstown, with a group counting four lancet windows and a roundel. (Fig. 108) The plan was clearly more spacious (the nave with aisle measuring 65 by 48 ft) and more expensive. Thus, to avoid extra costs, there is virtually no ornamentation, and the design results austere. After receiving plans and specifications, the project

[77] Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 25 February 1861, St Patrick's construction files, MDHC.
[78] *Ibid.*
[79] Wardell, *Proposed Church at Ashby, W. Geelong*, 1861, PXD 316, ff. 35-46, ML, SLNSW.

was put aside for a couple of years as the building committee wanted more funds in hand before its commencement. In January 1864 Goold travelled to Ashby to lay the cornerstone of the new church, a ceremony he performed in front of more than a thousand people.[80] Denny acted as superintending architect, while Clement Nash was the stonemason entrusted to build the church. He had already worked at St Mary of the Angels in the 1850s and he had built St Patrick's Church at Mount Moriac. Nash's skill and Denny's guidance guaranteed the prompt progress and high standards of the works.[81]

Bishop Goold appears to have been quite interested in the progress of the building, as he visited the worksite on several occasions.[82] He thought it was a 'commodious and handsome building' and, about two years later, it was ready to be consecrated.[83] The £6,000 needed for its completion were carefully collected by Fr Hoyne, who had been transferred from Heidelberg soon after the completion of St John's Church.[84] Hoyne was certainly most qualified for the responsibility, he had already worked with Denny and had proved his ability in raising funds and managing the expenses of a substantial building program. He excelled also on this occasion, and when he was transferred to Keilor mission, a number of gentlemen expressed their thanks for his years of labour, adding that Ss Peter and Paul's stood as a memorial of his untiring exertions.[85] At the time

[80] Goold et al., 2009, 17 January 1864, 203; *Argus*, 20 January 1864, 6.

[81] Notably, in 100 years, the church has required only minor repairs. The Parish of Ss Peter and Paul's, Ashby, 1966, 123.

[82] Goold et al., 2009, 25 July, 13 September and 12 December 1864, 250, 263 and 279.

[83] *Ibid*., 25 July 1864, 250 and 1 July 1866, 322.

[84] He had arrived in Geelong in 1862.

[85] *Geelong Advertiser,* 22 January 1869, 2.

of its opening, the 1st June 1866, 'the splendid little church' was described as a 'Cathedral *in petto* [...] one of the purest specimens of ecclesiastical architecture in this colony' and Nash was praised for hi 'promptitude and excellence in workmanship'.[86] (Fig. 109)

The sombre bluestone structure was relieved by the light Barrabool Hill stone dressings of the doors and windows. Inside, the pillars of the nave were made of Hobart freestone, while the floor was composed of a mosaic pattern. The three windows behind the high altar were filled with stained glass representing, from left to right, St Peter, the Ascension and St Paul. It was a gift by Dean Hayes from the workshop of Ferguson and Urie.[87] (Fig. 110) The building had had a cost exceeding £6,000, but thanks of the careful management of funds, no debt remained to be paid.[88]

5.5 Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, Sunbury

Another building commenced contemporaneously with to Ss Peter and Paul's was the church at Sunbury. Built between 1864 and the early 1890s, the church dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel was most probably realised after Wardell's plans. The area was subordinated to the parish of Keilor, where the Church of St Augustine, realised to Hansom's plans, was completed in 1863. At

[86] The church remained virtually untouched until the early 20th century, when new decorations, an organ and other changes were commissioned. *Geelong Advertiser,* 2 July 1866, 2; and 22 January 1869, 2; and Parish of Ss Peter and Paul's, Ashby, 1966, 16-20.

[87] *Geelong Advertiser,* 2 July 1866, 2. The high altar was a temporary wooden one. All the other windows were gifted by benefactors in later years.

[88] Parish of Ss Peter and Paul's, Ashby, 1966, 13.

Sunbury, the site at the corner of Macedon Road and Jackson Street was granted to the Catholic church in January 1856 after Fitzpatrick's application.[89] A timber chapel-school measuring 42 by 31 feet with a bluestone base was opened in 1860 thanks also to a government grant of £400.[90] A few years later, the plans for a substantial bluestone church were prepared, and these could be seen at the office of Mr Denny at St Patrick's Cathedral by interested contractors.[91]

The architectural drawings do not survive, but an article in *The Herald* published at the time of the laying of the foundation stone clearly states Wardell's authorship: 'Mr Wardell furnished the design which is considered by connoisseurs in architecture to be of a very tasteful character'.[92] In addition to this reference, both Denny's and, later on, Wardell's son involvement in the works virtually prove that the English architect designed the building. Additionally, the plan recalls the churches erected at Heidelberg and Wangaratta, encompassing the main volume of the nave, with a lowered-ceiling chancel, sacristies and porch. Differently from those, it showed a greater predisposition for asymmetry, with a single aisle envisaged at the south of the nave.[93] (Fig. 111) This served to extend the accommodation capacity to 500 without considerably affecting the budget, estimated at £3,000.[94] The nave was

[89] Sunbury Parish files, MDHC.

[90] Parish of Sunbury, 1985.

[91] *Argus*, 23 September 1864, 3.

[92] *Herald*, 16 November 1864, 2.

[93] *Ibid.*

[94] *Ibid.,* and *Argus*, 16 November 1864, 5. It is possible that the second aisle was due to be built once more funds were available.

lit by triplets of lancets, while the west end presented a roundel window, and the chancel had an imposing group of five lancets arranged to create a large pointed window.

In November 1864 Goold, accompanied by the resident priest, Fr Moore, laid the foundation stone of the new building, dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel, realising offers for £102.[95] The first contract amounted to £1,215, and included the walls of the chancel, but works did not proceed beyond it.[96] The church was left at a standstill for years, until Goold moved Fr Moore to Ballarat, and assigned Fr Hoyne at Keilor. Hoyne lived up to the expectations of his bishop, and works at Sunbury resumed under his care.[97] However, financial constraints pushed the parish priest to cut costs, and he decided to use cement instead of freestone for the windows and doors' dressings.[98] Bernard Wardell, who at the time was helping his father in the daily administration of his private practice, wrote a letter to Goold trying to persuade him not to change the material: 'I need not say Cement is only a sham material, and I do not think the saving would be a very large one. I think yr. Lordship would be better pleased (if freestone is not to be used) that the windows + doorways should be of Malmsbury Bluestone, rather than cement, and I do not think they would cost more. Even then as the Chancel has freestone for its windows etc it seems a pity

[95]Goold et al., 2009, 13 November 1864, 275; and *Argus*, 16 November 1864, 5.

[96] A letter sent in early 1872 by Bernard Wardell testifies that the chancel was at least partially built. B. Wardell to Goold, 26 February 1872, Sunbury Parish Files, MDHC.

[97] At the closing of 1871 Denny called for tenders for the completion of the church. *Argus,* 1 December 1871, 3.

[98] Hoyne to Wardell, 20 February 1872, Sunbury Parish Files, MDHC.

to alter the material'.[99] Goold answered through Fitzpatrick saying he had never recommended cement, and that if Fr Hoyne 'intends to build the church, bluestone and not cement should be used, his own good taste and sound judgment ought to have suggested this and not cement'.[100] To Goold and Wardell's disappointment, the dressings were eventually made with cement render and painted white to contrast with the dark tones of the bluestone.

Lack of funds dictated a construction stage by stage preventing the completion of the church, that was closed with a temporary wall and opened on 24th January 1875.[101] A reporter noted that both chancel and sacristy were 'really handsome' while 'the structure is not quite completed in other parts'.[102] Again in 1878, the *Advocate* mentioned that despite the addition of a side altar and an organ, the church was still 'far from being completed in all details'.[103] The west end of the church was built by the firm of Tappin, Gilbert and Dennehy only in 1889.[104] Moloney and Johnson suggest that the firm may have also completed the side aisle and the east end, however, correspondence and newspapers report that the structure of the chancel and at least part of the side aisle were realised by the end of the 1870s, so it is more probable that their work focused on the western façade. [105] To support this, architect Peter Straughton in his report on

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[99] B. Wardell to Goold, 26 February 1872, Sunbury Parish Files, MDHC. On Bernard Wardell's role in is father's office see De Jong, 1988, pp 406-7.

[100] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 27 February 1872, Transcript and Copies, MDHC.

[101] *Advocate*, 30 January 1875, 6.

[102] *Ibid.* The church was not described, so it is difficult to ascertain to which extent it was built at the time. See Teh, Tay and Chai, 1963.

[103] *Advocate*, 30 November 1878, 6.

[104] In 1998,

[105] In 1998, David Moloney and Vicky Johnson compiled a Heritage study on the church for the City of Hume (Place Id TPS/30), copy held in Sunbury Parish Files, MDHC.

the church states that the west end of the church is not original and 'appears to have replaced a weatherboard wall'.[106] His remarks are consistent with other examples of this common practice in church building, where on several occasions the westernmost section of the nave and the façade were to be completed once more funds became available.[107]

5.6 St Patrick's Church, Wangaratta

All of Wardell's churches discussed so far were built of bluestone. As testified by the exchange of correspondence regarding the use of cement at Sunbury, but also previous examples such as the disastrous experience of St Patrick's, Mount Moriac and St Kilian's, Bendigo, Goold was very concerned with the use of proper materials for the erection of churches. For the Church of St Patrick's at Wangaratta, the resident priest repeatedly asked the bishop to allow him to build a brick structure to contain costs, but to no avail. Despite its limited dimensions, St Patrick's is the most complex of Wardell's parish churches, and one of only two not built of bluestone.

The district of Wangaratta was not a wealthy one when Goold visited it for the first time. In his diary he noticed that despite the lack of agricultural land, the area was suitable for the grazing of sheep and cattle.[108] On that visit, despite the

[106] In 1984 Staughton, wrote a report for the Parish assessing the state of the present church and the possibility to build a new one. Sunbury parish files, MDHC.

[107] Examples of this practice are the already discussed church at Heidelberg, and the churches at Wangaratta, Koroit, Warrnambool and Hamilton discussed below.

[108] Goold et al., 2009, 13 November 1850, 17.

paucity of Catholics, Goold selected a 'rather handsome site for a church, clergyman's dwelling and schoolhouse'.[109] The application was submitted to the Land's Department soon afterwards and approved by the Colonial Secretary.[110] However, the rich discoveries of gold in the area east of the township affected its traffic, and the Surveyor General asked Bishop Goold to select another site.[111] Fitzpatrick complied with the suggestion applying for another lot of land, but before the application reached the Surveyor at Wangaratta he noted 'the Catholics have commenced building on part of the site originally granted them, I would therefore suggest that the two acres be marked for them in a suitable position near their original grant'.[112] The ecclesiastical structure erected on the site was a wooden chapel-school measuring 40 by 20 feet that had a cost of £580.[113]

Wangaratta was under the care of the resident priest at Beechworth, Fr Tierney, for a few years, and only in 1861 was a young priest freshly ordained by the bishop, Fr George Galen, given the mission. By July 1864, Galen had a significant sum in hand for commencing the building of a permanent church,

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[109] *Ibid.*, 20 November 1850, 18-9.

[110] The application was made on 29th November 1850 and approved on 3rd March 1851. *Extracts from the Land Department, Reg. No. C29647*, copy held within Wangaratta Files 2000/2/17, MDHC.

[111] Goold was requested to amend his application on the 30th December 1853, and again on the 5th January 1854. *Extracts from the land department,* Reg. No. C29647, copy held within Wangaratta File 2000/2/17, MDHC.

[112] Fitzpatrick made the new application on 9th March 1853, and the land was granted four days later. The Surveyor sent his letter to the land department on 6th December 1854. *Extracts from the Land department,* Reg. N. C29647, copy held within Wangaratta File 2000/2/17, MDHC.

[113] The building was supposed to function as a school and received a State Grant of £290. However, in August 1856 the secretary of the Denominational Schools board complained that the school was still not operational. This opened only in March 1858. Ebsworth, 1973, 412.

and he asked Fitzpatrick's advice on the matter.[114] The vicar answered forwarding him a plan for a stone church.[115] However, after receiving further plans and specifications from the bishop's palace, and confronting the church committee charged with the responsibility of collecting for the building, Galen confessed he was not confident he could get funds sufficient for a stone church.[116] He decided to ask a local engineer to compile a report for a cheaper structure made of bricks, as the committee opposed the idea of a stone church given the cost of the foundations alone.[117] The structure would ideally cost about £1,500, be made of bricks, have foundations as cheap as possible, and it would be replicated in the small township of Benalla, one of the settlements at a few miles distance.[118] Thus, he asked Fitzpatrick's mediation in commissioning Wardell to prepare new specifications.[119] Unfortunately, the answer to this letter does not survive, but the vicar convinced Galen to forget about bricks, and the priest soon signed a contract of £800 for the commencement of the foundations. In April 1866 Goold travelled to Wangaratta to lay the cornerstone of the stone building Wardell had designed.[120]

The drawings which survive today encompass only the east end of the building, even if at the bottom left of the ground plan the architect added a very faint

[114] Galen to Fitzpatrick, 19 July 1864, MDHC.
[115] Galen to Fitzpatrick, 5 March 1865, MDHC.
[116] Galen to Fitzpatrick, 27 November 1865, MDHC.
[117] Galen to Fitzpatrick, 13 December 1865, MDHC.
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] *Ibid.*
[120] *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 25 November 1905, 1; Goold et al., 2009, 29 April 1866, 308.

sketch of the façade as he intended it.[121] (Fig. 112) The first half of St Patrick's to be built at once included three bays of the nave, a chancel with lowered roof, a chapel with its own gabled roof divided by two round pillars from the nave at the south side and two sacristies at the opposite side. The whole structure was lit by lancet windows, including a triplet at the west end of the chancel. (Fig. 113) Goold was pleased with the design and the works on the foundations continued in earnest as the church received a government grant.[122] However, less than a year later, works came to a stop as the lowest tender for the erection of the walls amounted to £1,600 and the committee had realised only £300.[123] Galen tried once more to put forward the idea of a brick church: 'I wish you would endeavour to prevail on the Bishop to have a brick Church cemented in Wangaratta. This could be finished in a few years, and we are much in want of it'.[124] He was well aware of the bishop's lively interest in church building and conceded 'I would recommend His Lordship to have a brick Church here, however, if it is in his wish that it should be of stone, I will ask the architect to give me plans for the amount of work I will have money to meet by the end of the year'.[125] Goold's resoluteness in having a stone church prevailed, and eventually the material selected was a very resilient cream coloured granite quarried from the nearby Warby Ranges, with freestone dressings.[126] An initial

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[121] Wardell, *St Patrick's church, Wangaratta*, 1865, PXD378, ff. 66-76, ML, SLNSW. A pencil sketch of the intended western elevation is in the bottom right corner of the ground plan, but its main features are almost impossible to discern.

[122] Galen to Fitzpatrick, 21 May, 5 July, 7 and 14 August 1866, MDHC.

[123] Galen to Fitzpatrick, 11 February 1867, MDHC.

[124] *Ibid.*

[125] Galen to Fitzpatrick, 11 February 1867, MDHC. As a matter of fact, good quality clay was readily available in Wangaratta to create excellent quality bricks.

[126] *Advocate*, 18 March 1871, 6.

contract for the walls amounting to £2,300 was signed with Mr Griffiths under the superintendence of Mr Coyle.[127] This was completed by mid 1868, but the church was in debt of £700.[128] Collections continued and at the end of August the parish priest was ready to call for tenders for the roof.[129]

The structure was almost complete at the cost of about £6,000 when Galen, aged 30, died in September 1869.[130] He was entombed beneath the altar of the Lady chapel, while his successor, Fr Egan, continued to collect the funds necessary for the interior fittings of St Patrick's. These included Wardell's designed altars and credence, the high altar being 'a very handsome piece of workmanship' costing £350; and stained glass windows commissioned to the firm of Ferguson, Urie and Lyon, which were praised for its work: 'the central figure of the Saviour on the cross, with the Blessed Virgin kneeling at the foot, being represented with special correctness of drawing and colouring'.[131] (Fig. 114) The portion of the church built was closed by a temporary wall at the west end and a wooden porch was added to access the building.[132] The celebrations

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[127] Galen to Fitzpatrick, 20 May 1868, MDHC; *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 25 November 1905, 1.

[128] Galen to Fitzpatrick, 20 May 1868, MDHC.

[129] The debt was extinguished by the end of November 1868. Galen to Fitzpatrick, 28 August and 23 November 1868, MDHC.

[130] Ebsworth, 1973, 418; *Advocate*, 24 December 1869, 12.

[131] Wardell, *St Patrick's church, Wangaratta*, 1865, PXD378, f. 76, ML, SLNSW; *Advocate*, 18 March 1871, 6.

[132] St Patrick's remained uncomplete until 1905. In that year Mr Kell, an architect practicing in Maryborough, submitted a design in the free Decorated Gothic for the completion of the church, including the spire, for about £5,000. Miles Lewis indicates that this section does not match the quality of previous work. However, the west end windows manufactured with antique glass by William Montgomery are a work of art worth of attention. These include a window of the *Immacolata* after Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, a favourite of Goold. Lewis, 1991, entry 387; Anderson, 2018; and Moore, 1984, 299. A full description of the church is given in *Ovens and Murray Advertiser,* 25 November 1905, 1.

for the official opening of the church took place on 10th March 1871, soon after Goold's return from the Vatican Council.[133] Despite its incompleteness, the building was already among the most substantial ecclesiastical structures of north east Victoria.[134]

5.7 St Ambrose's Church, Woodend

The drawing of the Church of St Ambrose at Woodend is the only surviving example of a brick church designed by Wardell in Victoria.[135] Goold clearly preferred the use of stone, but he allowed the use of brick for school-chapels and minor projects in small settlements. In this instance, the use of bricks was a condition most probably dictated by the limited extension of the township and the consequent paucity of funds. In fact, St Ambrose's is the smallest of Wardell's church designs. (Fig. 115) The parish priest, Fr Horatio Geoghegan, had already distinguished himself with the building of the church dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary in Kyneton to Hansom's design, and he had worked with Wardell for its completion. As seen before, Goold tried to appoint church-builder priests to the parishes where significant architectural projects were being realised, and he pushed them to comply with his ambitious plans. In this occasion however, Geoghegan's experience in church building, together with a

[133] *Advocate*, 18 March 1871, 6.

[134] *Ibid.*

[135] Two architectural drawings of St Ambrose's Church survive at Mitchell Library: Wardell, *Brick Church Woodend*, PXD 317, ff. 60-1, ML, SLNSW.

clear assessment of the financial resources of the area, probably led the bishop to agree to have a church made of brick instead of stone.[136]

Woodend was one of the stations of the extensive parish of Kyneton, and school used as a chapel on Sundays was commenced in the township in June 1859. The building was a temporary hut made of slabs measuring 15 by 14 feet placed on unsold government land not yet surveyed.[137] The location was most adequate for a church, as it had a prominent view of the nearby countryside. In August, Geoghegan asked police magistrate William Lavender to ascertain when the land was to be sold, as he was anxious to commence a building.[138] More than a year later the small chapel school still in use despite being unfloored, as the land needed for the permanent church was not yet on sale. The site became available only in 1864, and soon after the purchase, Bishop Goold proceeded to Woodend to lay the foundation stone of St Ambrose's on 30th October.[139] The ceremony was attended by about 500 people, and, at its conclusion, the congregation left 'a pile of notes, gold and silver' as a testimonial of the faith in both their pastor and bishop.[140]

The structure was extremely simple, encompassing only a six-bay nave. The brick building measured 51 by 22 feet, it was lit by three conspicuous lancet windows at the west and east end, it had groups of three lancets in between the

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[136] Significantly, also the Hansom brothers had provided a brick church design to Goold in 1855, but this was not used until 1873 for the church at Learmonth. See Andrews, 1989.

[137] *Extracts from the Files of the Land's Department*, Reg. No. 59/4171, copy held within Woodend Parish Files, MDHC.

[138] Woodend Parish Files, MDHC.

[139] Goold et al., 2009, 28 to 30 October 1864, 271-2.

[140] *The Kyneton Observer,* 1 November 1864, 2.

buttresses, and a fleche housing the bell surmounting the façade. A picture surviving at the diocesan archives and dated ca. 1866 shows that the building was plastered and rendered in a fair colour, while next door the wooden school was still in use. (Fig. 116) There is no record of the interior of the church, however, Wardell's architectural plan shows a scissor truss roof with collar, a small sacristy opening on the southern side of the building, while the altar was most probably placed at the eastern end of the nave. A picture dating ca. 1900 shows that the church was completed with a wooden chancel.[141] There is no mention regarding its construction on newspapers or local histories, but it is reasonable to assume Wardell had made provision for the completion of the church since its beginning. The nave was built first, and the wooden chancel added later to complete the structure according to the liturgical arrangements of mediaeval tradition. The chancel had a lowered ceiling compared to the nave and had a triple lancet window similar to the one opening on the façade. The small church served the community for over 50 years, even after Woodend and Trentham were made a separate parish in 1888.[142] Eventually, the building was deemed inappropriate for the needs of the growing parish, and in 1916, the old St Ambrose was demolished and replaced by a larger church designed by architects Kempson and Connolly, who also completed the church at Heidelberg.[143]

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[141] See the image published in Fisher, 1989, 9.

[142] *Woodend Star,* 23 December 1916, 2.

[143] The contract for demolishing the church and building a new one was signed in March 1916 and in May Archbishop Carr laid the foundation stone. This was opened on 17th December 1916. An account of the opening ceremony and a description of the church design is given in the *Tribune*, 4 January 1917, 2.

The only other example of the use of bricks in a little church ascribable to Wardell is the chapel school of St John's erected at the corner of Hoddle and Albert street in East Melbourne.[144] (Fig. 117) The site was granted to the Catholic church in 1865 to answer to the need of the densely populated neighbourhood, and Goold laid the foundation stone on the 5th March .[145] On the day, John B. Denny was present on the site, and he showed the architectural drawings of the new building to a local correspondent.[146] The Gothic style plan encompassed the main volume of a five-bay nave, a lowered ceiling chancel, with sacristy and porch attached while the main access to the building was via a tower asymmetrically placed at the liturgical north side of the façade. Like St Ambrose's, St John's is lit by triplets of lancet windows at the east and west end, it has a chancel with a lowered ceiling while the nave has square windows, meant to allow major illumination as this section was a school room during weekdays. The structure, realised with bluestone foundations and bricks for the superstructure was completed in less than a year.[147]

However, questions on Wardell's authorship remains. Lewis' work on Victorian churches is a most authoritative source, and the attribution most probably considers some of the features of Wardell's designs at the time, including his predisposition for asymmetry, his use of Early English idiom and of triplets of

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[144] Lewis indicates Wardell as the architect in his survey of Victorian churches: Lewis, 1991, entry 24. Another significant example of Wardell's use of bricks for ecclesiastical structures is the Genazzano FCJ College in Kew, see De Jong, 2009.

[145] The application was made in October 1864, the site was temporarily approved one month later and permanently reserved in May 1865. *Extracts from the Files of the Land's Department,* Reg. No. 75S8736, copy held within the East Melbourne St John's Parish Files, MDHC.

[146] *Herald,* 6 March 1865, 2.

[147] *Ibid.*; and *Argus,* 20 January 1866, 5.

lancet windows. In addition to this, at the time the architect was designing an astounding number of buildings for Bishop Goold and Denny was called upon to supervise most of them as diocesan surveyor. However, it must be noted that no architectural drawings survive, and Wardell's name never appears in the reports of the time. In 1865, Denny was mentioned in two different newspapers as the architect of the building, and a decade later he erected a holy water stoup, placed in the entrance porch and he draw the plans for the organ gallery.[148] He certainly had the skill to design the building and superintend its erection, however, as seen before, newspapers at the time paid but little attention to the actual person who furnished the plans of a building, focusing instead on the person in charge of the works on site. Wardell's inability to supervise his buildings meant that, on occasions, his authorship was not reflected in news reports. To add further confusion, a short article in *The Argus* published the day after the opening of the church indicates the name of Richard Dowden as the architect, relegating Denny as superintendent of the work.[149] Over the years, Dowden, sometimes in partnership with Ross, had been busy in the erection of chapel churches throughout Victoria, a notable example being St Joseph's in Warrnambool, and larger structures, such as the church in Dunolly.[150] The appearance of his name certainly adds further doubts regarding the designer of St John's, and leaves the question open as to whether Wardell was involved at all.

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[148] *Herald,* 6 March 1865, 2; *Argus,* 20 January 1866, 5; *Advocate,* 13 May and 10 June 1876, 6 and 7;

[149] *Argus,* 22 January 1866, 5.

[150] Lewis, 1991, entry 215. Miskelly to Goold, 12 March 1866, MDHC.

Despite this, the high standards to which the church was built meant that it served its community well for more than forty years.[151] At the closing of the century it was clear that the small building was no longer enough for the large congregation of East Melbourne, and it was decided to build a larger church. Thankfully, as the Church had appropriated the adjacent site, the new building was never meant to replace the old one, a further testimony to the merits of the work done in the 1860s.[152]

5.8 Church of the Infant Jesus, Koroit

Koroit was chosen as the township of residence by several Irishmen who had benefitted from the Duffy Land act of 1862, deciding to dedicate their lives to farming and agriculture. Despite being only one of the stations of Port Fairy mission, when it was decided to build a bluestone church, Wardell was engaged to prepare the drawings for another large clerestoried church that, still today, commands a view over the surrounding countryside.

The district of Koroit was part of Port Fairy parish when discussions began for the new stone church. In Port Fairy, the elegant nave of St Patrick's had been commenced to Hansom's designs in 1857 and in 1860, one the priests attached

[151] A new school was built at the end of 1888. *Advocate,* 31 March 1888, 15.

[152] The second church was also built of bricks in a rare Irish Romanesque style envisaged by architects McCrae & Toole. Also this building, however, a few years later was found insufficient for the large congregation, and a third church was erected in 1930 in the Romanesque revival style of architect W.P. Conolly. The present church nowadays houses sections of the grand organ originally installed in St Patrick's Cathedral. The three churches still stand nowadays side by side at the corner of Hoddle Street and Victoria Parade. *Advocate,* 21 July 1900, 9. Lewis, 1991, entry 24; Organ Historical Trust of Australia, 2016.

to the mission was Fr MacEvery, who had been responsible for the building of the Ladye Chapel in St Francis' Church. While procuring the fittings for St Patrick's from Melbourne, MacEvery became interested in the creation of a separate mission at Tower Hill and where to erect a new church.[153] Mass was sung in a small paling-clad chapel-school erected in the early 1850s on the property of one of the parishioners, but the structure was already too small for the large congregation.[154] MacEvery died in August 1860 without being able to do much for the new church, but in May 1861 Fitzpatrick applied for a further land grant for church purposes.[155]

In 1864, the Catholics of Koroit organised a committee to raise funds for the new building, and Fr Stack, the new resident priest, wrote to Fitzpatrick: 'The people of Tower Hill would be glad to get from His Lordship a plan of a Church to see what they could do towards building'.[156] They had more than £400 in hand, however, Stack remarked that they would not be able to build anything too expensive, even if they required a large church.[157] Goold was in the Western districts in December for the laying of the foundation stone of the new Hamilton church, and he forwarded a ground plan to Belfast indicating he would be ready to lay the corner stone in early 1866.[158] When Stack showed the committee the

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[153] The city of Koroit is located north of the Tower Hill volcano. In Goold's diary and correspondence he refers indiscriminately at the area calling it Tower Hill or Koroit. MacEvery to Fitzpatrick, 22 June 1860, MDHC.

[154] Goold et al., 2009, 7-10 November 1853, 71-2; Russell, 1986, 3.

[155] Goold applied for the first grant in 1853. Goold et al.,2009, 7 November 1853, 71; Russell, 1986, 6-7.

[156] Stack to Fitzpatrick, 27 September 1865, MDHC.

[157] *Ibid*; and Russell, 1986, 7.

[158] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 9 December 1865, Transcript and Copies, MDHC.

ground plan, they requested also elevations and specifications in order to have a more specific idea of the probable cost and invite tenders.[159] For unknown reasons, preparations for the new building did not proceed. Goold visited the church site in March 1866, his intention to start the works as soon as possible, but a month later no tenders had been called for the church, as Stack was unwilling to take on the responsibility for the new building.[160]

As people were anxious to commence the works and had collected the funds for the first contract, Goold replaced Stack with another pastor, Fr Parle, who had completed his training at the Irish College in Rome. The *Banner of Belfast* attributed to his studies in Rome 'amidst those splendid monuments of genius and piety' his extravagance in church building, as they remarked that his 'indomitable perseverance' allowed him to erect 'the most magnificent and costly ecclesiastical building in the Western District'.[161] Soon after his arrival, Parle prepared to call for tenders for the Koroit church, some works on the presbytery and for the completion of the chancel of St Patrick's in Port Fairy, as the temporary wall had been severely damaged by strong wind.[162] On visiting Koroit, he suggested the site for the new church be changed for a piece of land owned by one of the parishioners. However, his idea was not sanctioned by the bishop.[163] Wardell had promised to send out plans and specifications for the church by the 15th September, and his drawings indicate that only the chancel

[159] Stack to Fitzpatrick, 24 December 1865, MDHC.

[160] Goold et al., 2009, 16 March 1866, 301; Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 17 April 1866, MDHC.

[161] *The Banner of Belfast* quoted in *Advocate*, 2 April 1870, 7; *Advocate,* 26 November 1870, 11.

[162] The contractor for the completion of St Patrick's was Mr Broadbent, who was later engaged for the churches at Koroit and Richmond.

[163] Parle to Fitzpatrick, 10 September 1866, MDHC.

and the easternmost bays of the nave were planned to be built at once.[164] (Fig. 118) The structure of the imposing clerestoried church included four bays of the nave, side aisles and a porch, the chancel with two sacristies on one side and a chapel at the other. The roof formed a continuous line over nave and sanctuary, which was internally distinguished by three steps, and lit by a group of three lancet windows surmounted by a small quatrefoil. Both the aisles and the clerestory had short lancet windows (surmounted by a roundel in the lower section), while the chapel at the eastern end of the south aisle had a triplet of lancets. (Fig. 119) The church was to be built of local bluestone, with freestone from Hobart Town for the detailing. Goold laid the foundation stone on the 1st January 1867 in front of more than a thousand people.[165]

It was a massive commitment for the community. The cost of the eastern section of the church, measuring 75 feet, was estimated at £6,000, while a further £6,000 were needed to complete the whole building.[166] The supervising architect was Mr D. J. Howe, while the contractor was Mr Broadbent.[167] On 2nd January, Goold visited the site to examine the works and remarked in his diary:

> 'I don't think the mortar is the right [one] - but little lime seems to me to be in it. Called Fr. Parle's attention to this and to the absence of

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[164] Wardell, *Church at Koroit for Reverend J Parle*, PXD 316, ff. 65-74, ML, SLNSW. The folder at Mitchell Library is titled 'Church at Koroit, 1863' but the date is wrong. Indeed, the drawings are not dated, and Fr Parle did not arrive in Port Fairy before mid 1866. Additionally, at least one of the drawings is missing, number 1 (the others are numbered 2 to 10, while folio 71, showing sections of gable crosses, credence table and other details is not numbered).

[165] Goold et al., 2009, 1 January 1867, 358.

[166] The total length was to be 112 feet, for a width of 48 feet. *Argus*, 30 March 1867, 5; Russell, 1986, 8

[167] Local newspapers indicated Mr Howe as the architect of the building, while Wardell's authorship was recognised only later. Russell, 1986, 9.

> through stones in one of the buttresses - as also the attention of one of the contractors was directed by me to the defect. The stones in the foundations are the very best. Walked over the site - suggested the purchase of the adjoining few acres as a site for a Convent School.[168]

The church proceeded quickly thanks also to Government grants, and by September 1867 the first contract was completed, leaving only the masonry at the apex of the gables to be completed, while walls, pillars and arches were in place.[169] At the same time, the chancel and octagonal tower at Port Fairy had been finished for a total of £1,300.[170] Despite the grants and the collections in the parish, a debt of £700 remained on the Koroit church, while £250 were needed for St Patrick's.[171] Struggles with collections meant that works on the building slowed in the following years, but when Goold visited the area in 1869 he was satisfied with what he saw, the walls of the nave and aisles were complete.[172]

Fr Parle did not live to see the church completed.[173] He had called for tenders for the completion of the building a couple of months before his death, and a few months later the fittings of the interior commenced under the supervision of

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[168] The adjoining three acres of land were purchased in June by Fr Parle. Goold et al., 2009, 2 January 1867, 358; and Parle to Fitzpatrick, 2 July 1867, MDHC.

[169] *Age*, 20 September 1867, 6.

[170] *Ibid.*

[171] Parle wrote that that both poor servants and protestants had subscribed very well towards the two churches, but the wealthiest families had provided only little support. *Age*, 20 September 1867, 6; Parle to Fitzpatrick, 25 June 1867, MDHC.

[172] Goold et al., 2009, 1 March 1869, 405.

[173] He died on March 29, 1870, after a serious illness and was interred in the Tower Hill cemetery

Fr O'Dowd.[174] Stained glass for the tall triplets of lancet in the chancel, the most impressive window of the church, representing from left to right the Crucifixion, the Birth at Bethlehem and the Ascension, together with others in the nave were commissioned to Ferguson and Urie.[175] (Fig. 120) Among them, is worth mentioning that the group of three lancets in the side chapel, representing St Patrick, St Mary Magdalen, and St Mary, were dedicated *ad memoriam* to Fr Parle.[176] (Fig. 121) The structure was closed with a temporary wall and opened by Fitzpatrick on the 13th November 1870.[177] (Fig. 122) The incomplete nave was 'hardly large enough' for the congregation already in the early 1880s, but the completion of the church took place only between 1914-1915.[178] (Fig. 123)

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[174] Tenders were called in January 1870. *Advocate,* 15 January and 20 August 1870, 5.

[175] The workshop's windows in the church are described in Brown, 2013. A full account of the stained glass at the Infant Jesus' is given in Linehan, 1991.

[176] At the time of the opening, not all the stained glass windows were in place.

[177] Goold was in Rome at the time. See *Advocate,* 26 November 1870, 11.

[178] Lewis indicates W. B. Tappin as the architect of the extensions, while Linehan asserts works were done according to Wardell's original plan. It is possible that Wardell had provided a ground plan and a sketch of the west end of the church in Drawing 1, but this is just a possibility as it is now missing from Mitchell library's collection. The supposition is substantiated by the fact that for other of his churches built only partially, Wardell had provided in drawing 1 sketches of his intended design (see for example the church at Williamstown, for which he left sketches for the transepts and chancel, and for the church at Hamilton, where he showed his vision for the façade of the building). For the Koroit church, the drawing may have been taken by Tappin as starting point for his design. The *Advocate* attributed the design to architect Fritsch of Melbourne, but he was most probably only the supervising architect. Lewis, 1991, entry 302; Linehane, 1991, 11; Wardell, *Church at Koroit for Reverend J Parle*, 1863, PXD 316, ff. 65-74, *St Mary's Church, Williamstown,* 1859, PXD 316, f. 141; *Church Hamilton, Ground Plan and Elevation next Gray Street,* 1865, PXD 378, f. 29, ML, SLNSW. An account of the extensions is given in Russell, 1986; and *Advocate,* 4 April 1914, p 21 and 8 May 1915, 26.

5.9 St Joseph's Church, Warrnambool

Following the example of the congregation at Koroit, only some eighteen kilometres away, the Catholics of Warrnambool also decided to build a substantial stone church in the second half of the 1860s. Warrnambool had developed into a major township in the wake of the gold rush, becoming one of the major centres of the Western Districts. Fr Thomas Slattery was appointed resident priest of the area in early 1849. Like Goold and Fitzpatrick, Slattery had arrived in Australia in 1838, and he followed Goold to the Melbourne diocese soon after his election to the bishopric.[179] He was appointed to Port Fairy soon after, until in 1853 he decided to move to Warrnambool, which had developed into a more populous town.[180] Since 1849, a small wooden school dedicated to St Joseph was used by the Catholics of the area for Sunday service, but in 1855 the population had reached 1,600, and a new substantial building was planned. Drawings for the bluestone chapel school were commissioned from architect Dowden.[181] (Fig. 124) The structure, in the 'pointed Gothic style', measured 59 by 26 feet, had a lowered chancel at the east end and a pinnacle above the west entrance, while the nave (and schoolroom) was lit by pointed windows.[182] Goold laid the foundation stone in April 1856 and opened it officially in July 1857. The total cost of the building was £1,835, of which the Denominational School Board

[179] He arrived with Fitzpatrick on the 'Shamrock' on February 7, 1849. Melican and Lourey, 1989.

[180] Melican and Lourey, 1989.

[181] *Argus,* 24 August 1855, 5.

[182] *Ibid*. Moore noted the similarities between Dowden's chapel and Pugin's Our Lady and St Wilfrid's at Warwick Bridge, Moore, 1984, 38-39.

had contributed £887-10s. A school inspector described it as a 'noble looking building' and 'much too large for the pupils for a century'.[183]

The idea of erecting a larger church developed in 1866, a time when Port Fairy could already boast a completed church erected to Hansom's designs, and in Koroit preparations were made for the grand church dedicated to the Infant Jesus. Both were smaller settlements compared to Warrnambool, and the chapel-school completed a decade before was becoming too small for the congregation. In January 1867, after Goold's visit to the district (when he laid the foundation stone of Koroit church), Slattery wrote to Fitzpatrick discussing the details of the financing of a new building: Goold had given him until the following Easter to collect the funds to commence the works, but he asked for a share of the Government grant as well.[184] Money was collected by every means, including the suspension of the subscriptions towards St Patrick's Cathedral and the organization of bazaars.[185] It was a 'difficult and unpleasant work', nevertheless preparations continued in the following months, and in October, Slattery asked Fitzpatrick to urge Wardell to forward the plans.[186] As collections continued without any work being seen for it, local parishioners became more anxious, so that Slattery wrote again in November 'to hasten the plans of our New Church here, the tradesman of the town will pull the eyes out of my head I am so slow at work'.[187] Wardell's architectural drawings, dated November 1867,

[183] James Bonwick's report to the Denominational School Board 1857 and 1858, quoted in Ebsworth, 1973, 335.

[184] Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 18 January and 15 February 1867, MDHC.

[185] Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 23 March 1867, MDHC.

[186] Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 20 April and 1 October 1867, MDHC.

[187] Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 12 November 1867, MDHC.

present only the easternmost section of the building, including four bays of the nave and aisles, a rectangular chancel and two sacristies.[188] (Fig. 125) The new St Joseph's was an imposing clerestoried church with a continuous roof line and a spacious nave divided from the sanctuary and the two chapels at the east end of either aisle by three steps. Differently from other buildings in the Early English idiom, Wardell decided for the Geometric Decorated Gothic for St Joseph's, placing a large five-light traceried window behind the high altar, three-light traceried windows in the aisles and quatrefoils windows in the clerestory. In the two side chapels two-light windows opened on the side, while three-light windows with a roundel were placed behind the chapels' altars. (Fig. 126)

However, construction works were not commenced right away, and Slattery in 1868 devoted part of his time in collecting for a stone church in Terang, for which he had obtained a plan from Dowden.[189] The building, composed of a main nave volume with lowered ceiling chancel in the manner of the old St Joseph's, was completed in about a year, even if the official opening mass was celebrated by Goold in May 1869.[190] The works on the foundations of Wardell's St Joseph's were commenced in November 1868 when finally 'all hands [are] at work now night and day'.[191] On the 28th February 1869 Goold laid the

[188] Folio 164, illustrating the ground plan, is dated 'Nov 1867'.

[189] Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 12 November 1867, MDHC.

[190] The foundation stone was laid by Fitzpatrick on April 26, 1868, and Goold officially opened it on 9th May 1869, even if the building was finished by November 1868. *Advocate* 2 May 1868, 12 and 15 May 1869, 6; Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 16 November 1868, MDHC.

[191] Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 16 November 1868, MDHC.

cornerstone.[192] Works on the first section of the building, amounting to £3,500 were carried on by the firm of Davies and Falconer under the superintendence of Samuel Parker, a local architect, and completed early in 1872.[193] (Fig. 127) There was still a debt on the building, which was reduced to £800 one year later, but measuring 74 by 48 feet, the lofty church afforded appropriate accommodation for the congregation, the interiors appeared 'arranged with taste' and the church was enriched by 'good oil paintings, large in size'.[194]

After Dean Slattery's death in 1882, his successor, Fr Shanahan, presided over a meeting where discussions regarding the completion of St Joseph's commenced.[195] Works were carried on between 1886 and 1889 to plans prepared by the firm of Tappin, Gilbert and Dennehy.[196] As a matter of fact, Wardell had left a sketch of the ground plan showing he intended to have a southern porch and a northern tower, but the architects did not entirely follow his plan, placing the tower at the north side of the façade.[197] The nave was extended to measure 106 feet, and the works, including the erection of the spire, amounted to £7,000, bringing the total to more than £13,000. St Joseph's was completed and opened by the bishop of Ballarat on the 22nd September 1889.[198] (Fig. 128)

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[192] *Advocate,* 13 March 1869, 6.

[193] The opening was celebrated on April 21st. *Advocate,* 4 May 1872, 5

[194] Melican and Louray, 1989, 19; and *Advocate,* 16 August 1873, 6 and 18 May 1878, 7. There is no visual record showing how the church appeared at the time.

[195] *Advocate,* 31 January 1885, 17.

[196] *Advocate*, 12 December 1885, 17.

[197] Wardell, *Church Warrnambool,* 1867*,* PXD 316, ff. 163-165, ML, SLNSW.

[198] *Advocate,* 28 September 1889, 17.

5.10 St Mary's Church, Hamilton

The church Wardell designed for the township of Hamilton was, like the Infant Jesus' and St Joseph's, a massive building including nave, aisles and clerestory, but differently from those two, the east end was characterised by a semi-octagonal chancel. (Fig. 129)

The site had been purchased already in 1851, but it was only in 1857 that a school was opened.[199] This was a 'commodious room' 32 by 20 feet clad in timber palings which had a cost of £487, all paid for by the parishioners.[200] Hamilton remained a station of Belfast mission until 1862, when it became independent and was assigned to the care of Fr O'Connell, who soon after started collections for the erection of a presbytery.[201] This was completed in two years, in a period when the township was undergoing a substantial development.[202] In October 1864, Fr Farrelly took over the Hamilton mission. He had received his education at St Francis' Seminary in Melbourne, he was young and energetic, and soon started the collection for a permanent church.[203] When the bishop visited the district at the end of March 1865, the priest was not yet ready to commence the new building as money came in very slow.[204] In fact,

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[199] A further land grant for the adjoining allotments was reserved in 1854. Ebsworth, 1973, 477-8; McPhillamy, 1964.

[200] *Ibid.*

[201] *Ibid.*

[202] McPhillamy, 1964

[203] *Ibid.*

[204] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 30 March and 2 April 1865, Transcript and copies, MDHC; and Farrelly to Fitzpatrick, 12 April 1865, MDHC.

Farrelly remarked that there were only three prominent families able to donate money for the new church while 'all here are working men or very poor farmers who really haven't a shilling to spare'.[205] In four months he was able to realise £250, as the parishioners were aware that the wooden school-chapel was quickly deteriorating: 'it is the most unsightly (and has been for years) in the whole colony – in fact it is not as comfortable or even as presentable as the stables at respectable houses'.[206] Goold decided to defer the commencement of works until spring, had Wardell prepare the plans, and promised Farrelly to be back in Hamilton in December for the laying of the foundation stone.[207]

Wardell's drawings and specifications, dated September 1865, encompass a large church with nave and side aisles, a polygonal chancel, sacristies and porch opening off the south aisle, a tower with an additional entrance at the north side and a chapel closing the aisle.[208] (Fig. 130) The structure had a continuous roof over the six bays nave and chancel externally, while inside the area was separated by three steps in the light-coloured Mt Sturgeon stone. The aisles had lean-to roofs and lancet windows grouped in triplets, while the clerestory was lit by hexafoil windows placed at the top of each arch of the nave. On the western façade, the main portal was surmounted by three lancet windows and a large rose window, while the chancel had single lancet windows. As at Heidelberg, the nave's roof was structured by timber scissor beams with collar, while the

[205] Farrelly to Fitzpatrick, 12 April 1865, DMDHC.

[206] Farrelly to Fitzpatrick 13 May 1865, MDHC.

[207] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 2 April and 15 November 1865, Transcript and copies, MDHC,

[208] Wardell, *Church Hamilton*, 1865, PXD 378, ff. 29-40, ML, SLNSW. Wardell prepared a ground plan and a sketch of the western elevation on f. 29, while all the other include specifications and details only of the eastern section to be built at once.

chancel had arch-braced trusses. It was an imposing building, the nave and aisles being 52 feet wide by 70 feet long and the chancel being 25 ft deeper.

Works on the foundations started quickly, and in November, the *Hamilton Spectator* provided a description of the building that 'when finished, will certainly eclipse anything we have seen in the way of churches in Western District'.[209] The church was built of bluestone with Mt Sturgeon dressings starting from the eastern end, encompassing the chancel, sacristies and two bays of the nave. Contracts for the amount of £3,000 were signed for the masonry and carpentry works, and architect James H. Fox was engaged to superintend the building.[210] Goold travelled to Hamilton to lay the foundation stone and dedicate the Church to St Mary on the 10th December 1865, accompanied by the new bishop elect of Adelaide, Laurence Shiel.[211] On the same day, Goold and Shiel proceeded to Penshurst, a station of Hamilton, to lay the cornerstone of a bluestone chapel dedicated to St Joseph.[212] (Fig. 131)

The design, attributed to J. H. Fox but derived from Dowden's buildings, encompassed a square building with lancet windows piercing the nave, and, above the portal on the façade, a group of three lanced organised to form a

[209] *Hamilton Spectator*, 12 November 1865, quoted in Jensz, 1988, 32.

[210] Ebsworth attributes the design to Fox, probably misinterpreting the article in the *Hamilton Spectator*. Fox had completed his architectural training in London before relocating to Victoria in 1858. He based his practice as architect and surveyor in Geelong and relocated to Hamilton in 1862. Ebsworth, 1973, 480; *Hamilton Spectator*, 12 November 1865, quoted in Jensz, 1988, 32. On Fox and his practice in Moore, 1984, 81-4.

[211] *Hamilton Spectator and Grange District Advertiser*, 13 December 1865, 2.

[212] *Ibid*. VHD, 'St Joseph's Catholic Church complex, Penshurst', Id 23320, 2003.

pointed arch and a bellcote.[213] Despite the plan's modesty, the decision to finance two buildings at the same time was one Farrelly came to regret very quickly. In fact, works progressed quickly on both churches, by March the masonry works at Hamilton were almost complete, but the meagre collections meant that both churches incurred heavy debts.[214] In July 1866, Farrelly opened the church at Penshurst despite the debt, giving 'the Bishop mortal offence', and the same happened for St Mary's one month later.[215] (Fig. 132) Wardell, who visited the church in October 1868, was unsatisfied with the works and noted: 'I […] found that it had been carried out by the Surveyor who superintended the works with the utmost carelessness in regards the details – nearly all are wrong and the effect is utterly destroyed'.[216] He then proceeded to list details that could be fixed, but the heavy debt on the building prevented the correction of the details.[217] More than 30 years later, Wardell still remembered with bitterness that his drawings were 'shamefully' departed from.[218]

Interestingly, despite the several mistakes in the execution of Hamilton's church, Wardell valued Fox's competence. In fact, in the 1870s Fox took up a position as quantity and measuring surveyor at the Public Works Department,

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[213] In a subsequent visit to the completed building Goold recorded: 'it is a good building and a handsome village church'. The structure was completed by next July, but debts amounted to £659 and Farrelly struggled to repay it. A travelling correspondent described the chapel in 1887 as 'one of the prettiest little stone churches in the district', adding it possessed a 'beautiful carved altar, specially imported'. The nave was extended, and transepts were added to the design of local architect Hammond in 1897. Goold et al., 2009, 20 May 1969, 409; Farrelly to Goold, 15 July 1866, MDHC; MDHC; *Advocate,* 15 October 1887, 8; VHD, 'St Joseph's Catholic Church complex', Id 23320.

[214] Farrelly to Fitzpatrick, 27 March 1866, MDHC.

[215] Farrelly to Fitzpatrick, 23 August 1866, MDHC; Jensz, 1988, 27-32.

[216] Wardell, *Church Hamilton*, 1865, PXD 378, f. 36, ML, SLNSW.

[217] *Ibid.*

[218] Wardell to Shanahan, 7 December 1898, WL, MLMSS 10/4, ff. 456-7, ML, SLNSW.

and in 1890, after Denny's retirement, he worked for Wardell as quantity surveyor on St Patrick's Cathedral.[219] In Hamilton, the total cost of the works for the section of St Mary's reached ca. £4,500 towards which the Government had granted £700.[220] The rest was collected among the local Catholics over the years, but the need of opening the church was so pressing, that Farrelly resolved to do it before liquidating the debt. Given the circumstances, Goold did not conduct a formal consecration, a ceremony that was postponed until the completion of the nave and western façade in December 1901.[221] (Figs. 133 and 134) The completion of the church did not follow Wardell's original design, and works were carried out by the local architect Frank Hammond.[222]

5.11 St Ignatius' Church, Richmond

Wardell's grandest parish church was designed for the Jesuit fathers at Richmond. The neighbourhood was served by the 'ancient Gothic' chapel-school of St James' built to the plans of Dowden and Ross between 1853 and 1854.[223] (Fig. 135) This was a brick building on a 'very picturesque' site at the corner of Bridge Road and Coppin Street, and had a cost of £2,667 towards which the

[219] As Moore points out, Wardell was grateful to have a diligent man on site. Wardell to Fox, 13 September 1890, WL, MLMSS 10/3, ff. 259-61, ML, SLNSW.

[220] Farrelly to Fitzpatrick, 27 March and 23 August 1866, MDHC.

[221] The local newspaper informed the parishioners of the opening in August 1866 explaining that 'owning to the unavoidable absence of the bishop, all the ceremony usual on such occasion is postponed', however there is no further reference to a formal opening. *Hamilton Spectator and Grange District Advertiser*, 11 August 1866, quoted in Jensz, 1988, 32.

[222] For a full account of the extensions: *Advocate*, 7 December 1901, 19.

[223] Richmond Catholic Parish, 2010; *Melbourne Morning Herald*, 26 September 1853, quoted in Ebsworth, 1973, 314.

government contributed £1,700.[224] The building served the Catholics for 15 years, but in the late 1860s, it was evident that the area needed a more substantial building. The task to raise the funds for a new church was given to the newly arrived Jesuit fathers, who had been invited by the bishop to Melbourne to take charge of St Patrick's College after the financial scandal involving its rector, Fr Barry.[225] As they settled in Melbourne, the Jesuits took charge of both St Patrick's College and the parish of Richmond, and decided to build two ambitious churches: St Ignatius' and the Church of the Immaculate Conception at Hawthorn.

The site at the top of Richmond Hill was selected in 1866 by Fr Dalton, the superior of the order, with the approval of Goold, who judged it 'most eligible for the new Church'.[226] This was purchased for £2,500 and soon preparations for the new building begun. The plans were a gift of William Wardell to the Jesuit community as a token of gratitude for the education the fathers had provided for two of his older sons at the college of Stonyhurst, England.[227]

The design encompassed an imposing church. The ground plan recalled the one at Hamilton, it had a seven-bay nave with clerestory and aisles and was closed at

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[224] Dowden and Ross' church was demolished in 1876. The foundation stone of the building was preserved for the new St James', commenced by Archbishop Carr in 1900, while the bricks were re-used for the erection of the new Girl's and Infant Catholic school in Vaucluse *Melbourne Morning Herald*, 26 September 1853, quoted in Ebsworth, 1973, 314; *Advocate,* 10 February 1877 7.

[225] A full account of the scandal is given in Pawsey, 1982, Chapter 4. See also Hale, 1976, 142-4. The first two fathers arrived in Melbourne in September 1865. A full history of the order in Australia is provided in Bygott, 1980. See also Ryan, 1910.

[226] Fr Dalton, an Irish national who had been rector of St Stanislaus College in Tullabeg, had arrived in April 1866. Goold et al., 2009, 19 June 1866, 320.

[227] *Fr John Ryan's Memoir of the Richmond Mission, 1909*, Richmond Parish Files, MDHC. See also Moore, 1984, 61; and De Jong, 1988, 409-10.

the east end by a semi octagonal chancel.[228] (Fig. 136) As at Hamilton, in addition to the main portal (divided in two portals by a central column as originally planned at St Patrick's), two porches were placed at either side of the nave to grant access to the building. St Ignatius' had a bell-tower tower with a saddle-back roof rising from the south corner of the façade (with baptistery placed underneath) and a sacristy placed off the north aisle.[229] The church featured a large polygonal chapel dedicated to the Lady opening off the south aisle (the design of the chapel changed in course of erection and it became a larger structure off the aisle). Couples of lancets typical of the Early English style combined with Geometric windows to light the nave. The aisles had lancets surmounted by hexafoil roundels, while for the façade Wardell created two imposing lancets surmounted by a complex roundel.

Financial cautions called for a stage-by-stage construction and similarly to what had happened with St Patrick's, it was decided to commence from the building of the nave to allow for the accommodation of the large congregation.[230] The foundation stone of St Ignatius' was laid by Archbishop Polding on 4th August 1867 after an imposing ceremony witnessed by 3,000.[231] A temporary structure of canvas, open at the front was erected for the occasion, and it included an altar 'ornamented by flowers and sacred vessels [...] the whole being surmounted by an altar-piece of the fourteenth century, the centre figure of which represented

[228] The ground plan of the buildings belonging to the Jesuits, including the church was drawn by a Surveyor, J. Vaures, in February 1878. The original drawing is preserved in the Jesuit archives.

[229] The roof of the tower, one of a few of Wardell's concessions to the elements re-elaborated during the High Victorian period of the Gothic Revival, was soon set aside for a more traditional spire.

[230] The whole structure was estimated to cost around £23,000. *Advocate,* 19 March 1870, 5-6.

[231] Goold was in Rome for his third *ad limina* visitation. *Age,* 5 August 1867, 6.

the Crucifixion'.[232] Newspapers reported that the church was to be 140 feet long by 63 feet wide, built in a 'plain Gothic style, constructed of bluestone with freestone facing' and Denny was the architect.[233] The first section was to be built for an estimate of £12,000 (of which £670 were collected at the laying of the foundation stone), and at the end of August, Dalton asked Fitzpatrick to reserve a share of the Government grant for St Ignatius'.[234]

For the extensive and populous mission of Richmond, which encompassed not only Kew and Hawthorn, but also Camberwell, Nunawading and Mitcham, the fathers decided to erect a second substantial building, the Church of the Immaculate Conception at Hawthorn, which was commenced soon after St Ignatius'.[235] Fr Nolan, who had arrived with Dalton, was in charge of the project. The design of Messrs Crouch and Wilson of Elizabeth Street was selected after a competition, and the foundation stone was laid by Fitzpatrick in December 1867. It was another large cruciform church with aisles, belltower, a semi hexagonal chancel with two semi hexagonal chapels at either side. The *Advocate* described its Gothic style as 'lighter and more ornamental' compared to the sister church at Richmond.[236] As at St Ignatius', it was decided to erect only a section of the nave for an estimate of £3,000.[237]

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[232] *Argus*, 5 August 1867, 5.

[233] As on other projects, he was superintending the erection of Wardell's design. *Argus*, 5 August 1867, 5.

[234] Dalton to Fitzpatrick, 31 August 1867, MDHC.

[235] See Lloyd, 1998; Philips, 1969; and Duffy, 2011.

[236] Lewis defines the style of the detailing as 'flamboyant Gothic'. *Advocate,* 30 May 1868, 12; Lewis, 1991, entry 94.

[237] Works proceeded quickly, and the first part of the nave aisles and tower was completed by October 1869. The opening was celebrated on the 10th notwithstanding the fact that £1,500 (out of a total of £3,500 were still due for the works. *Advocate*, 16 October 1869, 5; Lloyd, 1998.

The first contract for the foundations of Richmond church encompassed the whole of the nave even if only a section of 70 feet was to be built at once, and it was completed by May 1868.[238] Soon after, Dalton engaged Mr Broadbent for the masonry, and once the walls became visible above ground, the church style was described as 'massive Gothic-French of the thirteenth century' and judged unsurpassed by 'anything in or around Melbourne'.[239] The contract, amounting to £5,000 was completed by November 1869, and the roofing was in place a few months later, so that the church could be consecrated on 13th March 1870. A lithograph published for the occasion showed the intended building, with Wardell's designed tower and a choir off the aisle that had taken the place of the semi-octagonal lady chapel (the choir was built to a modified design at a later stage).[240] (Fig. 137) The nave, that was closed by a temporary wall, had a cost of about £9,000, with a debt of £1,600 still outstanding.[241] (Figs. 138 and 139) In less than five years, the Jesuits had been able to raise more than £17,000 for the erection of two grand parish churches.[242]

The completion of St Ignatius' commenced only 14 years later. In July 1884 the *Advocate* reported that Wardell was in Melbourne to complete the drawings for the additions to the church.[243] The large and wealthy congregation of Richmond, and the successful Jesuit mission allowed for the creation of a more

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[238] *Advocate,* 30 May 1868, 12; Ebsworth, 1973, 322.

[239] Broadbent had already worked at Port Fairy and at Koroit. He was also built both the Mortuary Chapel at Melbourne General cemetery and the chancel of St Patrick's, Ballarat. *Advocate,* 30 January 1869, 10.

[240] *Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers*, 23 April 1870, 83-4.

[241] *Advocate,* 19 March 1870, 5-6.

[242] *Ibid.*

[243] *Advocate,* 26 July 1884, 15.

ambitious plan.(Figs. 140 and 141) Starting from the extant nave Wardell developed a cruciform design by adding transepts, opened a choir off the southern aisle with gabled roof, and he included an ambulatory with chevet chapels. Recalling the arrangement seen at St Patrick's Cathedral, Wardell created two square chapels adjoining the corner between transepts and chancel, and three semi-octagonal ones off the ambulatory. In the chevet chapels, Wardell used the same fenestration found in the aisles, while in the chancel clerestory he organised the lancets in triplets. Wardell created a peculiar design for the transepts' windows which included five small lancets surmounted by a large pointed-arch window with a pentafoil tracing enclosing a circle. (Fig. 142) Externally, the roof forms a continuous line over the nave and sanctuary. Inside, the nave present exposed timber trusses with lining boards, while the ceiling is lowered and made of panelled wood in the chancel (the panelling is present also in the Lady chapel).The foundation stone for the extensions was laid by Goold on 26th April 1885.[244] This included the completion of the nave and side aisles towards the east end and the transepts in its first stage, leaving the chancel with its radiating chapels for a second stage.[245] The imposing building, able to accommodate 2,500, remained one of Wardell's main concerns despite his relocation to Sydney. This is testified by the large volume of correspondence

[244] *Argus*, 27 April 1885, 9.

[245] The first stage was completed for £21,000 and opened by Carr in August 1888. The chancel was completed in 1894 for further £9,000.

exchanged during the years, which shows his devotion towards the completion of the building to his standards.[246]

It is significant that twenty-six years after his design for St Patrick's Cathedral, Wardell was commissioned to recreate the distinctive chancel with radiating chapels for St Ignatius'. It testifies to the popularity of the rising cathedral on Eastern Hill, and to the willingness of the Jesuits fathers and the local congregation to reproduce it. The Jesuits followed the example put forward by the bishop also for the decoration and the fittings of the church.[247] Like Goold, they spared no expense and took advantage of their networks in Europe to obtain high quality items. These included a very large painting, donated by a gentleman residing in London, being a *Burial of Jesus* considered to be an original Carracci; and a set of Stations of the Cross after Führich.[248] These paintings fit Goold's passion for the Baroque. Moreover, the Jesuits followed Goold's example when they employed Ferguson, Urie and Lyon for the decoration of the temporary wooden altar erected in 1870, and when they purchased two statues, the Angel Guardian and a Pietà from Mayer's 'German chapel' at the Melbourne International Exhibition.[249] The fathers were evidently

[246] Part of the correspondence, especially regarding the final stages of construction in the 1890s, is quoted in De Jong, 1988, 413-22. Other letters are scattered in Wardell's letterbooks: See WL, MLMSS 10-1, 10-2, 10-3, 10-4, ML, SLNSW. St Ignatius' was completed except for the spire in 1892 for a total estimated at £42,000, and consecrated two years later when the debts were paid. The spire was added in the 1920s.

[247] Goold's love for the French-inspired east end is expressed in the already mentioned comment on Le Mans' cathedral. Goold et al., 2009, 14 May 1868, 399.

[248] Further research on the current location of the *Burial of Jesus* and its attribution needed. The stations of the cross, which were consecrated by Goold on the 20th of October 1872, were purchased for £200. *Advocate,* 5 November 1870, 4; 24 August and 19 October 1872, 5 and 6.

[249] *Advocate,* 19 March 1870, 5; 26 August 1876, 7; 21 May 1881, 7.

inspired by Goold's ambition in church building and they shared his taste for architecture and design. (Fig. 143)

5.12 Beyond Wardell

The parish churches Wardell designed under Bishop Goold's patronage are impressive for their scale, massiveness, and ambition. In poor rural settlements and rich city suburbs alike, they were considered significant landmarks of architectural refinement. The sometimes severe, chaste design in the Early English style served well the double purpose of simplicity of execution and purity of Gothic architectural expression. The slender lancets allowed only little light into the building, protecting the interior spaces from excessive heat and creating a sombre illumination befitting the celebration of sacred ceremonies. The buildings' straightforwardness infused them with an appearance of grandeur, helped also by the intelligent positioning in prominent locations dominating the view around. The materiality of the dark bluestone enhanced the architectural expression of robustness, durability and solidity, relieved only by the fine treatment of the lighter, softer stone used for the dressings. Wardell's Victorian parish churches show continuity to his English practice but also his understanding of the colonial setting and the Irish congregation. Early English was a most suitable expression for the bold lines of Wardell's churches. The chaste design recalls the simplicity of Irish mediaeval examples and shows the architect's sensibility to his patron's wishes. For the Catholics of Victoria, Wardell created churches that strengthened the connection with the Catholicity

of their homeland. By doing so, Wardell's output is comparable to that of other architects working for Irish bishops and communities such as James Joseph McCarthy and Joseph Connolly.

McCarthy, who became known as the 'Irish Pugin', was born in Ireland and practiced in his homeland for all of his life.[250] But he also provided the design for St Patrick's Church in St John's, Newfoundland (1855), which created an Irish Catholic architectural expression outside of Ireland by referring specifically to Irish mediaeval sources.[251] Differently, Connolly, who was born in Limerick in 1840, after training in the Dublin office of McCarthy, relocated to Toronto in 1873.[252] Over the years, he worked on over thirty commissions for the Roman Catholic church, most of which were in the Gothic Revival style. In Ontario, Gothic was widely used as the main style of the Roman Catholic church since the 1840s. However, it was Connolly who introduced the Puginian principles of archaeological correctness to the area. For his churches, Connolly followed the example of McCarthy, integrating elements from Irish Catholic heritage.[253]

In Ontario, Connolly designed most of his churches during the episcopacy of James Vincent Cleary.[254] Cleary was born in 1828 in Dungarvan, Ireland, and he completed his studies in Italy, Ireland and Spain before returning to Ireland. He was bishop, and later archbishop, of Kingston from 1880 until his death in

[250] On McCarthy see Sheehy, 1977.
[251] See Thurlby, 2003.
[252] See Thurlby, 1986.
[253] Thurlby, 2005.
[254] *Ibid.*

1898.[255] In these years, fifteen churches were initiated or completed, several with the help of Connolly, who was held in high regards by the bishop. The Irish priests who commissioned the architect wanted buildings that dialogued with Irish mediaeval examples, while the continuity with old religious traditions were clearly stated by the use of Gothic style. In designing the alterations of St Mary's Cathedral, Kingston, Connolly looked at the Irish churches of McCarthy, E.W. Pugin and Ashlin. But his sources were not only Irish. For the tower dominating Cleary's Cathedral façade, he took inspiration from the crossing tower of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, which was once the mother church of the Roman Catholics in England. This testifies both to Cleary's ambitions for his diocese and to the architect's ability to create a link to ancient Catholic tradition in a largely protestant country.

Connolly worked also for the diocese (archdiocese after 1898) of Toronto.[256] He designed, among others, two of the largest parish churches found in the city: St Mary's (1885), and St Paul's (1887).[257] Significantly, while the first is in the Gothic Revival style and incorporates French and Irish elements, where the influence of McCarthy is evident, St Paul's is one of Connolly's few classicising church designs. The style was probably suggested by the parish priest Fr Timothy O'Mahony.[258] O'Mahony was born in Ireland and educated in Rome before his appointment as bishop of Armidale, Australia, in 1869.[259] However,

[255] Price, 1990.
[256] Thomas, 1986.
[257] Thurlby, 2004.
[258] Thomas, 1986, 101-2.
[259] Duffy, 1974.

he had to resign his post after a scandal in his diocese, and, once in Rome, in 1879 he met Bishop John Joseph Lynch. He became Lynch's auxiliary bishop and was assigned the parish of St Paul's where he commissioned Connolly a new church. The structure was probably inspired by two Roman churches: the Papal Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura, and the Basilica of San Clemente, the church of the Irish Dominicans. [260] Both were widely popular at the time. San Paolo fuori le mura was reconstructed and consecrated in 1854 by Pius IX after a fire caused serious damages in 1823, while at San Clemente, Fr Mullooly had commenced archaeological excavations in 1857 discovering two complexes of buildings underneath the present structure. O'Mahony was particularly fond of Rome, and he shared this passion with his bishop, Lynch, who was a staunch Roman churchman. As a matter of fact, in 1884, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of his consecration, Lynch commissioned the new Church of Our Lady of Lourdes to be remodelled after the basilica of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome.[261] The classicising connections at Our Lady of Lourdes include a narthex inspired by San Lorenzo fuori le mura, a campanile, and a ribbed dome on a drum, all elements proclaiming affinity with Roman aesthetics.[262] These two Baroque churches, Our Lady of Lourdes and St Paul, marked a clear association with the Eternal city which was not unknown among the circles of Ultramontane bishops. Even in England, homeland of the Gothic Revival, John Henry

[260] Thomas, 1986; Thurlby 2004.

[261] A plaque attached to the church by the Toronto Historical Board for the centennial clearly states the connection between the two buildings. See also Thurlby, 2004.

[262] Thurlby 2004.

Newman was not convinced that Gothic Revival was the only style suitable for Catholic buildings.[263]

Joseph Connolly in Ontario was able to provide his patrons with churches that were distinctly Catholic connecting them directly with their religious heritage. This was done by either modelling his buildings on Roman examples, or on other significant symbols of religious tradition, or by referencing to Irish ecclesiastical architecture, either mediaeval or contemporary. Differently from, Lynch, O'Mahony and Connolly, Goold and Wardell never created a church that was not Gothic Revival in style despite the bishop's appreciation of the Roman Baroque and Wardell's versatility with architectural styles.[264] Goold's library and his painting collection testify to his passion for the Papal city and Baroque art. The diary pages that account for his travels in Italy show his admiration for Roman monuments, and it is somehow surprising that the Roman aesthetics never found space in any of the dozens of churches he commissioned. Despite his personal passion, Goold consistently built churches that could be easily associated to the mediaeval examples that the members of his Irish congregation had known for all their lives.

St Ignatius' was the last church Wardell designed for the diocese of Melbourne. His commitment as Chief Architect for the government, his involvement in several boards and Royal Commissions eventually led him to reduce his

[263] Patrick, 1981.

[264] See De Jong, 1988, in particular Chapter 16, which describes Wardell's Italianate design for Melbourne Government House.

workload in the private sector.[265] In addition to this, Wardell suffered a health breakdown in 1870, and took some time to travel to Europe while recovering.[266] This meant that from the late 1860s, several architects took over church building in the diocese of Melbourne. Trained either in England or Victoria, they were commissioned to realise Catholic churches in the same spirit of the buildings built in previous years to both Hansom's and Wardell's designs. As was customary, Goold maintained an active interest in all the architectural projects of the diocese.[267] His firm control over the finances forced all the parishes to consult him before commencing a new church. The substantial churches built from the second half of the 1850s displayed several of the bishop's favourite characteristics, being accurate recreations of mediaeval aesthetic forms and ideals theorised by Pugin. Stone remained the preferred building material, even if more red brick buildings commenced to appear. All the new churches were placed in prominent locations, and the bishop continued to travel extensively to lay foundation stones, enhance collections and to officiate at the solemn ceremonies connected with each church's consecration.

Hansom's scholarly Gothic designs influenced architects and builders as they were realised in several locations throughout Victoria. The design of the Church of St Peter's, Daylesford, was based on Hansom's design built at Port Fairy, but the local newspaper mentioned that plans and specification had been prepared

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[265] See Evans, 2010.

[266] *Ibid.*

[267] See, for example, Backhaus to Fitzpatrick, 5 June 1868, MDHC, discussing the churches at Kangaroo Point and Eaglehawk; Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 18 September 1868, MDHC, mentioning the contracts for Terang church; Goold to Fitzpatrick, 14 September 1871, Transcript and Copies, MDHC, where Goold tells Fitzpatrick to forward church designs to Inglewood.

by Wardell.[268] The foundation stone of St Peter's was laid by Goold on 29th of November 1863 after a solemn ceremony.[269] Local architect John Townshend Brophy was engaged to superintend the works. The contractors, Cummins and Wall, selected a local freestone for the main structure, while the amber stained glass for the windows was ordered from England.[270] At Daylesford the tracery of the large windows at the East and West end was in curvilinear Decorated Gothic while the nave included couplets of geometric windows surmounted by a quatrefoil. These features and the slender octagonal belltower placed at the south angle of the façade were derived from Hansom's original design.[271] In fact, the generous contributions of the local congregation allowed Fr Patrick J. Slattery to spend extra money for the delicate carvings.[272] The church had a cost of £4,000 and was completed in one year and a half.[273] At Blampied, a small town about 10 kilometres from Daylesford, the Church of St Joseph was built to the same design of St Peter's. Apparently, a local teacher, E. Shepardson, copied the designs, changing the window tracery and using a double gabled roof above the sacristy.[274] The church, constructed of bluestone in a prominent location, was built between 1869 and 1874.

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[268] *Daylesford Express*, 30 July 1862, quoted in a letter from McDonald to Welsh, 28 August 1971, Welsh Papers, Wes 33/1, RIBA. Andrews, 1989, ascribes the church to Hansom as Wardell clearly re-elaborated his design.

[269] *Mount Alexander Mail*, 3 December 1863, 3.

[270] *Ibid.*

[271] The west end and bell-tower collapsed at the opening of the 20th century. The west end was rebuilt in brick. *Advocate,* 22 February 1902, 11.

[272] The church also received several cheques from the Government grant. Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 20 August 1865, 12 January and 15 September 1866, MDHC

[273] Ebsworth, 1973, 456-7.

[274] Andrews, 1989, and Lewis, 1991, entry 247.

Architect Henry R. Caselli, a native of Cornwall who emigrated to Australia in 1853, was involved with several churches constructed to Hansom's designs. These included many buildings he derived from the Port Fairy plan: St Patrick's, Stawell, built in Grampians freestone (1871-1873), St Bernard's Church, Bacchus Marsh, built in brick (1871-1874), and the bluestone churches of St Augustine's Creswick (1870-1872) and St Patrick's, Gordon, (1872-1875) which was left with a temporary chancel (replaced by a stone one in 1901).[275] Other designs include the grand one for the church at Clunes dedicated to St Thomas Aquinas (1873-1874). Also in this case the plan is inspired by Hansom's design built at Port Fairy, but includes additions, such as the side aisles and clerestory derived from St Patrick's, Ballarat. Significantly, in 1870, a young William Tappin had entered Caselli's office for his training as an architect. Tappin was to become an important Gothic Revival architect, and the large volume of work derived to Hansom's plans he witnessed during his apprenticeship influenced his style. Andrews notes that Tappin used slender bell turrets in several designs, and overall, his work has an 'antiquated feeling' that clearly derived from his exposure to examples belonging to the early phases of archaeologically correct Gothic Revival.[276]

In later years Tappin continued working for the Roman Catholic church.[277] He and his business partners were involved in the completion of Wardell's churches

[275] VHD, 'St Patrick's Church, Stawell', Id 112550, 2004; VHD, 'Saint Bernard Church, Bacchus Marsh', Id 124249, 1995; VHD, 'St Augustine's Catholic Church, Creswick', Id 68572, 2005; Australian Christian Church Histories, 'St Patrick's Catholic Church, Gordon', 2019; and 'St Bernard's Catholic Church, Bacchus Marsh', 2019.

[276] Andrews, 2010, 67

[277] He practiced in several partnerships including Tappin, Gilbert and Dennehy (c. 1883) and Reed Smart and Tappin from 1889.

including Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Sunbury, the Infant Jesus, Koroit; St Joseph's, Warrnambool. In the 1880s, Tappin and his firm received several commissions including the Church of St Mary at Colac (1882-1883), the Church of St Mary's in West Melbourne (not realised), St Joseph's, Coleraine (c. 1887), and the Church of the Sacred Heart, Casterton (1887-1888).[278] These were all in the Gothic Revival style, and include elements derived by other architects' designs such as the Hansomian bell-tower. Tappin's foremost achievement was the Sacred Heart Cathedral at Bendigo designed at the closing of the 19th century.[279] Significantly, this was the last cathedral completed in Victoria in the Gothic Revival style.

John Bunn Denny commenced to practice as an architect in his own right sometimes in the late 1860s, and all his private commission came from the Catholic church. His buildings were characterised by the purist archaeological correctness of the early stages of the Gothic Revival style. In his designs he combined elements and details of designs he had worked on in previous years. Like Wardell's, almost all of Denny's designs were either in the Early English or in the Decorated Gothic style. Interestingly, it appears that his first design was made for the Church of St Ignatius', Richmond, indicating that he was not afraid to compete against Wardell.[280] Denny's first known project was the completion

[278] The church in West Melbourne was commenced in December 1883 to the plans of Tappin, Gilbert and Dennehy, but works stopped because of lack of funds one year later. The project was abandoned, and architect Edgar Henderson provided a new, larger design in 1891.

[279] The nave was built between 1896 and 1901, but the structure was completed only between 1954-1977.

[280] Denny offered the plans waiving his commission, but his design was considered highly impractical. *Fr Mulhall's Memoirs*, JA.

of St Patrick's Church in Ballarat.[281] In 1868 he designed additions to the church, including transepts and chancel. These harmonised with Hansom's original design for the nave, a project in which Denny was involved from 1860. He supervised the church's completion between 1869-71, and provided the design for the high altar.[282] Andrews notes that the large transepts' windows are derived from Pugin's design for the east window in St Giles', Cheadle, while a precedent of the tracery of the east window of Ballarat church can be found in the transept windows of St Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne.[283] Other churches built to Denny's designs include the same tracery, such as St Ambrose's Church, Brunswick (1870), and St John the Baptist's in Clifton Hill (1876), Denny's largest project. This large town-church, with its imposing spire and its Decorated detailing, denotes the sensibility for architectural expression, composition, decoration that Denny developed after working for several years on Wardell's projects. The church was also a peculiar example as a single man, Thomas Edmund Verga, contributed generously for about half of the total building. Thanks to the steady income of money, the church proceeded quickly and was completed with stained glass from Hardman's workshop and fine furnishings.[284]

Another design by Denny, influenced by Pugin's work in the treatment of the bellcote and the statue niches, is the Mortuary Chapel built in the Melbourne

[281] *Advocate,* 12 August 1871, 5.

[282] *Advocate,* 18 November 1871, 4.

[283] Andrews, 2010, 83.

[284] *Advocate,* 11 and 25 November 1882, 16 and 15 respectively.

General Cemetery.[285] Denny envisaged a small two-compartment bluestone church with apsidal chancel, and employed the trusted contractors Young and Broadbent for its construction. The same apsidal chancel was used by Denny for the Church of the Sacred Heart at Diamond Creek (1872-1874).[286] Significantly, Fr William M. Finn was the pastor in charge for both the Mortuary Chapel and the Sacred Heart, and it is possible that he personally contacted Denny to design the church for his parish in Diamond Creek after working with him in Melbourne. In 1871, Denny provided the plans for a brick church at Brighton. This was a substantial two-compartment church built on stone foundations, with red bricks and white bricks dressings, dedicated to St Finbarr, the patron of the city of Cork in Ireland. Notably, Bishop Goold owned a summer house in Brighton, where he used to reside when recovering from illness or after long and demanding missionary tours in the diocese. The church, completed in less than two years, was opened on 29th September 1872.[287] The free-stone crosses at the top of the gables were 'carved in a superior style, the shamrock being most artistically entwined in great taste at the terminations'.[288] It is safe to assume that Goold requested Denny to add a few details enhancing Irish tradition for the church dedicated to the patron saint of his hometown. In addition to that, it is significant to note that the contractor for St Finbarr's was Young, and the

[285] The first stage of construction including the nave of the chapel was commenced in 1868 and completed in 1871. The completion of the building to Denny's design took place between 1888 and 1889. *Advocate,* 24 June 1871, 5 and 1 June 1889, 16; Andrews, 2013-2014.

[286] *Advocate,* 17 October 1874, 6. Diamond Creek parish file, MDHC.

[287] *Advocate,* 5 October 1872, 6.

[288] *Ibid.*

glass had been provided by Messrs. Ferguson, Urie and Lyon, the most renowned glazing workshop of the colony.[289]

Other architects who built Catholic churches in those years include Thomas A. Kelly and Leonard Terry.[290] Terry, who had been employed as Anglican Diocesan architect and had also prepared a design for the Anglican cathedral, was well versed in the Gothic style. He took over some of Wardell's work after his health breakdown in 1870, but these included mostly convent buildings, schools and extensions to the orphanage at Emerald Hill. In the late 1860s, Kelly had prepared a design for the Church of St Mary's at Williamstown, which was not realised as Wardell's plan was preferred by Goold. In 1870, Kelly took over the completion of St Mary of the Angels in Geelong, the most ambitious building Goold had commenced in the 1850s before Wardell's plans for St Patrick's were adopted. In 1871-2 Kelly completed the additions to the Church of St Joseph's in Collingwood, which was initially built as a small brick chapel church between 1860 and 1863 under Denny's superintendence.[291] He designed St Augustine's Church, Bourke Street West (1869-1870), that was completed internally following Denny's decorative program. In addition to these, he designed and superintended many other churches including Ss Peter and Paul's, South Melbourne (1869-1872) and St Brigid's, North Fitzroy (1869-1885). His churches are characterised by a particular attention to the tracery of windows, with delicate rose windows opening on several façades. Made of stone or brick,

[289] *Ibid.*

[290] Their Gothic work is discussed in Moore, 1984.

[291] *Argus,* 2 February 1863, 5; Moore, 1984, 50

completed according to the original design or built only partially, all of the churches which appeared in the settlements, towns and city suburbs of Victoria respected the architectural forms, the liturgical requirements and the mediaeval spirit that Pugin revived in England in the first half of the 19th century.

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Conclusion

For almost forty years Goold guided the destiny of the Catholic church in Victoria. During his episcopacy the Port Phillip district had become the colony of Victoria, with a population that increased from the 50,000 of 1848, year of Goold's installation, to 1,000,000 inhabitants at the time of his death in 1886. The bishop started his mission with two churches and three clergymen. Under his guidance the diocese of Melbourne was elevated to archdiocese in 1874, encompassing twenty parishes, seventy-five churches, forty-eight priests, and religious orders such as the Sisters of Mercy, the Christian Brothers and the Jesuit fathers. In the following years, he opened forty-six more ecclesiastical structures, including both simple and unpretentious schools and impressive parish churches. In addition to these he laid the foundation stone of thirty more churches and chapels.[1] One of his clergymen asserted that Goold had 'blessed more foundations and corner stones than, perhaps, any prelate since the days of St Patrick'.[2]

It all began in the city of Campbelltown, where Goold actively participated in the realisation of Polding's architectural projects since his first days the colony. First with the erection of Regency and Gothick churches at Campbelltown and Appin, then with the preparations for the church at Berrima to Pugin's design, Goold witnessed the evolution of colonial Australia architectural taste, which retraced the development of the Gothic Revival movement in England in the

[1] Bourke, 1988, 144-5.

[2] Fr Fitzgerald's address, quoted in *Advocate*, 12 December 1885, 16.

first half of the 19th century. From Polding's example, Goold also learned of the need of strict financial supervision for his grand projects. During all of his episcopacy he exerted an autocratic control of diocesan finances allowing only his trusted vicar and friend, John Fitzpatrick, to manage his accounts. Goold was aware that in addition to 'the diffusion of sound taste and a love of the fine Arts', Polding's cultural patronage, his commission of churches, the acquisition of books and the collection of artworks had the practical aim of advancing the church and creating a Christian world.[3] Thanks to Archbishop Polding, Goold saw the possibilities of propagating the religious aesthetics of the Gothic Revival from England to the fringes of the Empire. During his episcopacy, Goold combined his Italian classical education and the example Polding's cultural patronage to pursue the creation in Melbourne of a diocese enriched by European culture. In fact, soon after his arrival in Melbourne, he dedicated himself to build ecclesiastical structures that met the latest developments in Europe. Already during his first *ad limina* visit, Goold acquired some of Pugin's books, and he made contact with Charles Hansom, who later provided the bishop with several architectural drawings.

Pugin saw the use of Gothic revival architecture as a mean to restore the society of the Middle Ages, that he idealised as a cohesive, ordered paternalistic and essentially benevolent society. Despite reading Pugin, Goold had a very practical approach to architecture, and there is no testimony that he was ever interested in recreating the mediaeval society Pugin discussed in his publications. In

[3] Polding to Heptonstall, 20 May 1839; and Polding to King Ludvig of Bavaria, 10 April 1842, Polding et al., 1994-7, vol. 1, 137-9 and 201.

Europe Goold acquired paintings, vestments and metalwork to enrich the Catholic buildings of the diocese. The bishop's taste however, did not fully conform to the Gothic Revival aesthetics introduced by Pugin. Even if several of Pugin's designed metalwork made it to Melbourne over the years, Goold's appreciation for Baroque paintings was clearly demonstrated since his first acquisitions, thus showing his indifference towards the creation of Pugin's total design ideal. Another aspect worth of consideration is that the bishop expressed his appreciation for other architectural styles - especially the Baroque churches of Rome - but approved only of the use of Gothic Revival in Victorian Catholic churches. This was due to several reasons. Gothic was fashionable and cost effective, but most of all the bishop appreciated the powerful connection to the English isles these building were to inspire for the settlers of the Antipodes.

The bishop was committed to maintaining control over several aspects of church building. Not only did he provide architectural plans, but he selected the site on which the church was to be erected, discussed the use of suitable materials, and oversaw all the contracts entered by the local parish priests. The magnitude of the project of St Mary of the Angels Church in Geelong commenced in 1854 testifies to Goold’s growing ambitions in the wake of the gold rush. Still, he had to be very pragmatic. The many substantial buildings commenced after receiving church plans from England testify to the bishop’s eagerness to promote archaeologically correct Gothic architecture in Victoria. The Hansom brothers provided Goold with a varied range of designs suitable for different financial and environmental conditions. Their work was clearly inspired by Pugin’s writing, respecting the planning and liturgical arrangements of

mediaeval examples. The widespread use of Hansom's plans between 1856 and 1858, the engagement of architects and contractors who had completed their training in Europe and the purchase of furnishings and metalwork from renowned European workshops proves the bishop's determination to build up high standard, archaeologically correct Gothic Revival churches in Victoria. The churches built to Hansom's designs had a distinguished character and imposing dimensions. The prominent location and the axed bluestone of which almost all of these structures were made emphasised their imposing and permanent presence.

Goold built his churches in the Gothic Revival idiom soundly rooted in the archaeological correctness that distinguished the style development in England in the first half of the 1850s. He demanded that the Catholic churches realised under his episcopacy fulfilled his expectations not only in terms of style and material suitability, but also decorum and internal decoration. All these factors served the purpose of having sound buildings where the celebration of mass could be carried out with solemnity. The intense building activity that characterised the years after the arrival of the Hansom's drawings continued after the arrival of William Wardell to Melbourne and throughout the 1860s. A shift in Gothic Revival design philosophies developed in England just before Wardell's relocation to Australia, but it took several years for it to arrive to Victoria.[4] When Wardell met Fitzpatrick in October 1858 and saw the plans of

[4] The new tendencies, which included a much freer interpretation of Gothic forms, the use of constructional polychromy, and a more sculptural formal vocabulary associated with early French Gothic, is best exemplified by Butterfield's All Saint's Church on Margaret Street, London (1859). For further details see Muthesius, 1972 and Hersey, 1972.

the buildings that Goold was realising, he attuned his designs to the bishop's taste.[5]

Wardell's dedication to Puginian Gothic Revival, his deep Catholic faith and his ability to respond to the sensibilities of the Irish settlers in his designs drove him to establish a fruitful relationship with Bishop Goold. This led to the creation of some of the finest examples of Gothic Revival architecture in Australia. Goold fully confided in Wardell's abilities, sure that he had found a most prominent architect devoted to the cause of building Catholic Victoria. Wardell's Australian parish churches embodied Goold's favourite characteristics, they reminded colonial settlers of Irish Gothic forms, recalling the ancient origins of Catholic religious tradition. Goold and Wardell were productively associated for two decades, and they employed a shared network of masons, carpenters, gilders, decorators to realise their ambitious buildings. When the highest standard of colonial workmanship was still not enough, they worked with European workshops such as Hardman's, Mayer's, and Farmer and Brindley's.

In laying the foundations of the Catholic church in Victoria the bishop and his priests dealt with the fast-evolving conditions of the colonial society, and the buildings Wardell designed embodied the strength and endurance required. Many of the churches were closed by temporary walls for years, but they were built to such an impressive scale that their incompleteness did not detract from the attention and praise of the community. At the same time, they were

[5] Wardell was certainly shown some, if not all, of the plans acquired from the Hansom brothers as he took over several of the projects in course of erection and was given charge of St Patrick's Cathedral in the weeks immediately after his arrival.

remarkable structures emphasising solidity and strength, dominating the landscape.

Goold's patronage and his insistent attention to church architecture meant that from the 1860s Catholics could practice their faith in buildings that recaptured the mediaeval tradition of the Gothic parish church. The traditional liturgical arrangements of plan and forms were visible from a distance thanks to the prominent locations selected by the bishop. Wardell's Victorian parish churches are rooted in an established Catholic tradition thanks to the architect's Gothic expression that pays tribute to Pugin's principles, alludes to Irish churches, and incorporates continental examples. Internally, furnishings, fittings and decorations recalling the spirit of the Middle Ages combined with the Baroque display of religiousness portrayed in the paintings acquired by the bishop, that added to the feeling of sacredness.

Thanks to his experiences in New South Wales as a young missionary and his friendship with Bishop Willson of Hobart, Goold discovered Gothic revival architecture and remained convinced throughout his life of its appropriateness for the diocese of Melbourne. Looked upon from a distance Wardell's churches, but also the ones built to Hansom's designs in previous years presented a clear stylistic ideal following closely the European mediaeval example. High standards were superimposed by Bishop Goold, and stone churches characterised by simple lines and solid appearance became a canon of Catholic church architecture in Victoria as they were in Ireland.

The Gothic churches built under the bishop's patronage in Victoria influenced the large community of Catholic, often Irish, settlers that found in these buildings a reminder of their homeland, and a clear statement of the position of the Catholic faith in their new society. Hansom's churches in the Decorated Gothic style, built with the superintendence of local architects, responded well to the Victorian climate thanks to their thick bluestone walls. Wardell experienced the intense sunlight and the heat of Australian summer, he had a clearer understanding of the skillset of local masons and stone carvers, and of the financial difficulties of several parishes. Thus, he decided to design his buildings predominantly in the Early English style, an architectural expression he had already developed in England and that reasoned well with the Irish settlers' community. The addition of Geometric Gothic detailing and decoration concentrated in certain areas, such as the chancel of the church, had the symbolic effect of enhancing its solemnity while also capturing the eyes of the congregation attending mass.

The ceremonies and devotions connected to the church aspired to give the building and the faith it represented a central place in society. In addition to that, the Gothic forms appealed to the collective imaginary of an evocative past, a mediaeval tradition that was not lost despite the distance in time and space of Middle Ages Europe. The bishop consistently chose to build Gothic Revival churches, he facilitated the acquisition of metalwork, furnishings and stained glass windows from the most renowned workshops of the time, and provided valuable gifts for every parish. For example, for St Patrick's, Kilmore, he made

sure Wardell prepared a design for the high altar.[6] This was commissioned to Wardell's favourite firm of Farmer and Brindley in London and had a cost of £550 excluding shipping costs.[7] To Kyneton church, Goold gifted a whole set of stations of the cross in 1867, while in his will Goold left several of his paintings to Victorian parishes.[8]

The bishop's own taste was reflected in virtually every church realised in the diocese. In later years, new churches commissioned to architects such as Henry Caselli, William Tappin, and Thomas Kelly continued to show the bishop's preference for archeologically correct Gothic Revival, which displayed the rich heritage of mediaeval Catholic tradition. With his commitment to realise buildings with a total fidelity to the examples of European Gothic architecture, Goold had a significant role in shaping the colonial built environment.

St Patrick's Cathedral, with its bold lines and imposing bulk towering above the growing city of Melbourne, is the highest achievement of the productive partnership between bishop Goold and architect Wardell. When Goold decided to build the grand cathedral only ten years after the creation of the diocese he was considered extravagant. Despite the bishop's prolonged absences and the impossibility for Wardell to personally superintend the works, thanks to Fitzpatrick and Denny's attentive management, St Patrick's was realised according to the bishop's expectations and the architect's vision. In one decade,

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[6] Goold to Fitzpatrick, 14 September 1871, Transcript and Copies, MDHC.

[7] *Advocate,* 6 September 1873, 6. The drawings for the altar were prepared in 1871, and it seems that Bernard Wardell contributed to his father's design. In fact, on the drawings appears the handwriting of both.

[8] Geoghegan to Fitzpatrick, 23 October 1867, MDHC. Goold's Will, VPRS 28/P2, unit 209, item 33/132, Public Record Office Victoria.

the rising structure attracted support from people of different denominations, becoming a symbol of pride for the young colony. In 1880, *The Argus* described St Patrick's as 'the most substantial and honestly put up building in Melbourne, besides being by far the grandest church in the colony' adding that it was to remain 'for all time a conspicuous monument of religious zeal and generosity. We say 'for all time' because it is built so as to last for ages. Nothing has been sacrificed to haste or an injudicious economy. [...] Every detail throughout the building, from the encaustic tiles in the pavement to the lead on the roof ridge, displays good designing skill and first-class workmanship applied to the very best materials'.[9] Goold's ambition, considered excessive in the 1850s, was loudly praised in subsequent years, inasmuch as: 'the very first the Roman Catholic authorities appear to have formed an intelligent forecast of future possibilities. With prophetic vision they appear to have seen in the original village of Melbourne not only the metropolis of today, but the far greater city of a coming time. For assuredly the selection of their cathedral site in what must then have almost appeared the bush could only have been made by the eye of faith'.[10]

Wardell designed St Patrick's only a few weeks after his arrival in Melbourne, and the design is in line with the development of his architectural expression and with the latest developments of the Gothic Revival. The basilica plan with the prominent apsidal east end with radiating chapels clearly marked the difference from the Anglican Gothic Revival idiom, highlighting the Catholic

[9] *Argus*, 22 June 1880, 4-5.
[10] *Ibid.*

tradition of Gothic architecture.[11] Wardell looked at continental examples when conceiving St Patrick's as it was to serve an Irish bishop and a predominantly Irish community in need of establishing their position and identity within the English colony. A clear reminder of mediaeval examples, the building was a symbol of continuity with ancient traditions.

Goold was ruthless in his decision to adopt Wardell's plan, but his decision eventually won the praise of the colonial society. Still today, when entering the grand structure, one is welcomed by the mellow amber light that characterises the nave, before finding the impressive colours of the chancel and side chapels, where stencilling, stained glass, mosaics and marble altars express the magnificence of the mediaeval tradition. A local reporter stated already in 1868: 'There is no place where it is harder to believe Melbourne but twenty-five years old than in St. Patrick's Church. The scene presented there on Wednesday made one feel as if suddenly transported to where antique cathedral towers are flinging their long shadows on the winding Rhine'.[12]

St Patrick's Cathedral, one of largest Gothic Revival cathedrals completed anywhere in the world in the nineteenth century, is arguably the most impressive proof of the bishop's labours, his vision and his achievements. In William Wardell, Goold found an architect whose vision matched his own. Wardell's architectural legacy in Australia is extraordinary. After St Patrick's he

[11] Before 1858, the apsidal east end with radiating chapels was used in a few major Gothic Revival projects: the completion of the mediaeval Cathedral of Cologne (1842), for two churches in Paris: Sainte-Clothilde (1846) and Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Belleville (1854); and for the Votivkirche in Vienna (1856).

[12] *Advocate*, 28 November 1868, 8.

provided the architectural drawings for the two Roman Catholic Cathedrals of St Mary's in Sydney and Hobart, and he submitted a proposal for the Anglican cathedral in Perth. Among his secular buildings, Government House, Melbourne and the E. S. and A. Gothic banks in Adelaide and Melbourne are among his most remarkable designs.[13] In Goold, Wardell found a patron with clear ideas on religious aesthetics, and one can only imagine their conversations regarding the Gothic Revival churches they were building. The magnitude of structures and the opulence of their interiors heightened the claim to the new position of Catholics in Victoria. Their churches are tributes both to the architect's genius and to the bishop's vision for the future of the colony.

Bishop Goold's single-mindedness in pursuing the highest standards of Gothic architecture in the Puginian tradition was fostered by a number of felicitous circumstances that make it difficult to find a comparison. The gold rush and the consequent influx of migrants and riches created a unique situation in Victoria. Goold made the most out of it. His diaries and correspondence, together with the several boots he bought according to his ledger of expenditure, testify to his incessant travels to overview the development of every parish in his extensive diocese.[14] The bishop's architectural commissions, and in particular St Patrick's Cathedral, shows how, in Victoria, Goold was determined to realise his Gothic vision.

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[13] On Government House see De Jong, 1988, Chapter 16. On the Gothic Bank see De Jong, 1988, Chapter 15; Cash, 1989; and Lovell, 2019

[14] *Goold Expenditure Ledger 1870-1886*, MDHC.

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DAA: Downside Abbey Archive, Stratton-on-the-Fosse.

JA: Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives, Melbourne.

MDHC: Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission Archive.

ML, SLNSW: Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

PFHA: Propaganda Fide Historical Archive, Rome.

RIBA: Royal institute of British Architects Archives and Drawings collection, London.

SAA: Sydney Archdiocesan Archive.

SJCA: St John's College Archives, Sydney.

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Appendix 1: Extracts from relevant correspondence

Geoghegan to Goold, 12 May 1848.

Melb., St Francis'
12 May 1848

Your letter, My Dear Lord, duly received on 25th April, Easter Sunday.

[...] The second parish collection gives me much embarrassment - the time of the year being so dull - I have commenced begging literally from door to door - it is most fatiguing, most painful, most slow. Please God slow and sure. Perry has applied for a third parish - this to your self - it opens new ground for us if our Sydney friends will not have already engrossed all the surplus funds before we can be in condition to apply. [...]

Most Affectionately,
P. M. B. Geoghegan

MDHC

Geoghegan to Goold, 30 May 1848.

Melb., St Francis'
30 May 1848

My dear Lord,

I have looked with longing every post delivery for a letter - no doubt the Jubilee occupations have deprived me of the favour. I write full of though - apprehensive thought for the future. I directed a Herald newspaper to be addressed to you, containing Dr Perry's succinct statement of his plans for the extensions of ministers and churches through his diocese. He is no ordinary man, untiring in exertion, even for the humblest kind amongst is order - you may judge better when I inform you that he has gone over nearly all the ground at Port Fairy, which I traversed with much labour and inconvenience last year - the only difference being in his having had the advantage of a dry season. I speak from experience in stating, that where a minister of the Anglican church is placed, he succeed, in the absence of a priest, in obtaining the Baptisms of Catholic children - the marriage of Catholics as well as mixed parties, and much injury ensues to the faith - but what is to be deplored is the reluctance created by this means , in the minds of the young to Confession. This I hace too often found unconquerable.

What is to be done for priests? It appears to me that I cannot commend this question to Your Lordship in too earnest a manner, now when you have not yet left the place where priests can be obtained. So soon as you have acquired a knowledge of the true state of spiritual requirements of Port Phillip, I feel satisfied you will agree with me, that it was most advantageous to have the want of priests pressed on your attention most forcibly before you have left Sydney [...]

Believe me my dear Lord,
Your ever affectionate,
P. M. B. Geoghegan

MDHC

Geoghegan to Goold, 20 June 1848.

Melbourne, St Francis'
20 June 1848

My Dear Lord,

The necessary documents for the erection of he second parish are already, as you are aware, in the hands of Dr Polding. It is out of my power to convey to you a notion of the labour, mental and bodily and of the painful mortification I underwent to raise the requisite sum. It is the third of the kind collected by my own hands during the last twelve months - this last has been so painfully trying as to resolve me against undertakings of such a nature, if not always, for some time to come. Nothing has been left neglected to entitle you to the proper and immediate aid. I send you two descriptions of allotments to be applied for:

-"Williamstown, vacant ground between No. 3 and No. 4, two acres, upon which a R. C. chapel is erected by permission."

-"Warnambool No. 3-4-5-6 of block 6. Two acres."

The latter application is necessary, lest hereafter Atkinson's title should tour out defective, and supply excuse against the grant of £1000 towards buildings. Of course the motive should for present remain in silence.

The delay consequent on the application for two acres in Melbourne appears to me extraordinary - more extraordinary is till the reduction of the grant to one acre.

Your Lordship cannot procure too many priests. Add if possible those you mention to those suggested in a former note. When in reality is it determined to consecrate? However any delay in the consecration will give you the immense advantage of being present at head-quartes to settle the several applications before Govt. and the several proposals already designed, or that may suggest themselves in favour of the greatest but most destitute mission in all Australasia.[...]

Affectionately Yours,
P. M. B. Geoghegan

MDHC

Murphy to Goold, 29 November 1848.

Adelaide
November 29th. 1848

My dear Lord,

I need not say how happy I have been to learn your Lordship's safe arrival in Melbourne. All my fears about break downs and snapping of poles and losing of screws have, thank God, proved groundless. I hope that your journey through your Episcopal career in Melbourne may prove equally fortunate, but I do think that we can hardly hope to get through the duties of the Episcopacy without feeling now and then sudden jerks which would often unseat us, if not supported by the goodness of God towards all those in particular who are labouring for the salvation of his people.

I hope that Dr Fitzpatrick has arrived in Melbourne and that his limping days are now over - I am delighted to find that you have found every thing to your satisfaction upon your arrival in your diocese. You have certainly most worthy and zealous assistants in Messrs. Coffee and Geoghegan. [...] Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to assist you, but as I have now four churches erected, I must supply each of them with a priest. Our numbers are daily increasing. One hundred female orphans from the age of fourteen to sixteen have just arrived in this province. One hundred orphan boys are daily expected, and the government has recommended the home government to send out five hundred more girls. The harvest is therefore becoming great and shortly the labourers will be very few. I mentioned to you when in Sydney that I had received some Catholic Books from Duffy and that I could spare you a few. I send you a list with the prices

12 Vol. Lives of Saints, gilt backs £220

1 Copy, Dr Wiselman On Sience £130

Reeves His. of Church £30

Sacred Heart, bound and gilt neatly

Garden of Soul, ditto ditto ditto £36

Missals for Laity, neatly gilt etc. £36

Italian works second hand belonging to Revd. Mr. Louis, about to go to England:

Stolberg, 6 vols Religion of Ch. upon the Old Testament

Turlot 2 vols, Large explanations of Ch. doctrine

Liguori's History of Heresies 1 vol.

Seedorfs, letters on various points of controversy 2 vol

Theorems upon Christian politics 2 vol

Apology of Christian religion against Deism 1 vol.

Price for the above works £2100

Should you wish to have any of these works you can write to me on the subject.[...]

No money from our South Australian government for our clergy or churches, no dividend money from Burra shares this quarter or the next, no money from Lyons - all these put together have compelled me to get into debt by borrowing money at interest - I was not prepared for these disappointments in money matters, otherwise I shd. not have embarked on the building of a school and a church, which must be paid for.

Believe me, my dear Lord,

Yrs. most affect'ly in Christ

+Francis Murphy of Adelaide

MDHC

Goold to Monsieur Choiselat, Paris, 1 June 1852.

Paris,

1st June1852

My Dear Lord,

I beg to acknowledge, with my grateful thanks, the aid afforded by the 'Propagation de la Foi' [...]. Though it will not enable me to procure the number of priests required at present by the mission, and which I had hoped to be able to provide, it is, nevertheless, an assistance towards the progress of religion [...]. The wealth lately discovered in the gold mines of the Diocese has rather embarrassed than improved the resources of the Church. It has given an increase to the population without affording the means of increasing in proportion the number of missionaries. It has caused a considerable rise to take place in the price of provisions whilst the resources of the mission continue unchanged [...].

P.S. The building of churches, schools and providing accommodation for the missionaries, almost exceed the present efforts of the Diocese.

Your most devoted servant,

+J. A. Goold

Bishop of Melbourne

Quoted in Moran, 1890

Hynes to Goold, 28 October 1852

Clifton

28th October 1852

My dear James,

I have had some difficulty in chasing the cheque as the bank was closed on my arrival here. Mr Hansom very kindly exerted himself to get the needful done. I enclose £35 which however you will not receive before 8 OC tomorrow morng. as no mail leaves here till 9 OC to night.

Mr Hansom undertakes to furnish you with plans for three or four churches, a steeple, and episcopal residence for 100 pounds, which I think reasonable. He will also send you out few fonts, statues and altars on his own responsibility, and with the understanding of course that you will do your outmost to dispose of them.

With fervent wishes for your safe and quick passage to your important and interesting destination I remain,

My dear James, Ever affectly yours

J T. Hayes.

MHDC

Murphy to Goold, 9 March 1853, MDHC

Adelaide, March 9th 1853

My Dear Lord,

I sincerely congratulate you on your safe arrival in Melbourne. Most extraordinary events have taken place during your absence. We are as yet in dark as to the wise designs of an all ruling providence in this extraordinary discovery of the precious metals. From everything that I witness in Adelaide, and from what I learn from every quarter of the colonies, religion and morality are the sad losers by this gold mania. I am glad to find that you have bought an organ and a peal of bells you can now ring in the ears of the superintendent of the district of Melbourne [...]

Believe me, my dear Lord,

Yrs. most affectionate brother in Christ

+Francis Murphy of Adelaide

MHDC

Heptonstall to Hardman, 23 September 1857

Stanbrook, Worchester

Sepbr 23 1857

Dear Sir,

I am prepared to pay your Bill envoyed to Dr Goold for altar-bread irons [...] However before paying [...] I hope you will not think I am giving you unnecessary trouble, by asking if there be any mistake in the prices. [...] His Lordship will think these altar bread irons very dear. His orders were they should be plain, good and cheap. [...] I may add that in a Bill of Bishop Willson [...] two pairs of altar Bread Irons are charged £6-10.

I am dear sir

Yours very truly

Tho Heptonstall.

HA BCCLA

Fitzpatrick to Goold, 10 November 1857

Melbourne Nov. 10th 1857

My dear Lord,

There has been another disappointment which will I fear further delay the opening of St Patrick's Church. The contractor for the plastering, I suppose, finding that he had taken the contract at too low a price has bolted taking with him the last week's wages of the poor workmen. I have Mr Macoby's [sic] opinion as to what should be done and he says we cannot safely re-let the work for 48 hours after legal notice of our intention to do so, had been left at lodgings of the contractor. I sent the notice yesterday and had tenders called for this morning if we can get parties to tender on reasonable terms the delay will

not be great, but few like to tender for abandoned works. The workmen who have been on the job are willing to continue if they can be employed by the day. If we had a competent clerk of works this might be the best plan, but Mr Schneider's inspection would not be sufficient. There are only ten or twelve days work to be done on the ceiling.

The modeller called yesterday. He has all the small and one of the large bosses cast. In the original design each of the large bosses is different from the others. This involves the expense of different moulds. If Your Lordship has no objections to having all the bosses alike, some expenses may be saved. The modeller says that the crest will not look as well as the boss. I have heard one Italian say that it would suit better as a medallion. It could be inserted over the doorway to the vestry if you wish the change to be made.

Mr Blair men are at work at last. The foundations are nearly all dug out. They have found rock about five to seven feet from the surface except under the spot where the first column is to stand. The excavation there is about thirteen feet. The soil appears to be getting worse as they go down. Mr Schneider thinks he will be obliged to use concrete – the rock appears to end just at the edge of the site for the column. There is no likelihood of their finding it soon.

Fr McEvery preached last Sunday at Prahran he says the collection was about £30. It has not come in yet. Fr Shiel was disappointed by his friends at Keilor. He got only 17.1. […] Fr Shiel expects to succeed better a Kyneton. There was a misunderstanding regarding the time for the Sermon at Richmond and Pentridge, but it has been arranged that Fr McEvery will be at Pentridge on the 4th at Richmond on the 5th Sunday of this month.

The debentures go off slowly I got £ 600 from the Convent and £90 in two sums. I shall want more money very soon. The gallery is quite finished

The doors are all finished. They are very massive but the exterior is very plain. The decorator is working away - the figures are painted. I don't like them. Fr McEvery praises them. Mr Guerard brought the small painting yesterday, it is a gem. […]

Your Lordship's most devd Servt.

J. Fitzpatrick

MDHC

<u>Wareing to Wardell, 5 May 1858</u>

St Mary's Abbey

Bergholt May 5. 1858

Dear Mr Wardell,

It grieves me to hear that we are about to lose you, at least for some time, and that the state of your health is such as to compel you to search in a distant clime that strength and vigour which has so long been declining here. […] The edifying discharge of your religious duties, your spirited exertions for the Catholic cause, and the numerous specimens you are leaving behind you in this country, of Architectural skill and Ecclesiastical decoration make me feel, that we shall not easily supply your place and that your absence will be a subject of grief to all who know you and a loss to the Catholic body. […] I need not say how happy I shall be if it comes in my way, to further your views and efforts by promising you the patronage and support of my valued and

inviable friends the Archbishop of Sydney and the Bishop of Hobart Town, and of others you may ask to me for testimonials of competencies.

With every kind wish, and a very sincere prayer for your safety and successful progress I am

Dear Mr Wardell,

Yours ever in Xst

+ M. Wareing

MLMSS 3278 1-2, SLNSW

Hayes to Goold, 15 May 1858

Saint Mary's Geelong

May 15. 1859

My Dear Lord,

[...]For all I could learn the people are now pleased with the present state and future prospects of St Patrick's. You will be glad to hear that [illegible] acc.t against S. Mary's has just been settled. He was up hill work, but now that this mission is out of debt and in a good healthy condition I can more easily propose to any collection [...] Mr Goolding has just acknowledged the recipt of the £ 20. It was thoughtless of me to have given Your Lordship so much trouble, for I can well understand that many affairs of importance that claim all your time and attention. [...] I did not mean that your Lordship s.d have paid cash for any of the goods I require over the £100 – the manufacturers may on Your assurance that I was a good monk, have waited for payment until the arrival of the bill of landing. Cheap all-colours vestments for deacon and subdeacon wd answer our purpose but a good chasuble wd bee desirable. [...]

On Pentecost Sunday- the twentieth anniversary since man has [arrived?] in Victoria, I am to preach at the blessing of the first stone of Dr Geoghegan's church at Williamstown. I hope to have a charity sermon for orphanage at Ballarat on Trinity Sunday. We have now 40 children in our Asylum. Messrs O'Shannassy, Duffy and all visitors are well pleased with its arrangements and efficiency. Perhaps your Lordship may hit upon a suitable church for Ashby? We Cd not now safely go beyond 4 or 5,000 £. Apologising for intruding so long on yr. time and with [illegible] and kind regards to Dr Hynes, Bartolomei, all friends at Rome and in the dear old home. I remain My dear Lord

Your very troublesome, but devoted and respectful

Dean Hayes

MDHC

Ullathorne to Wardell 13 June 1858

Clifton, June 13 1858

Dear Mr Wardell,

I sent you letters for the Bps of Australia which I hope may be of service to you, and I sincerely hope that you and Mrs Wardell will find wealth and happiness in Australia

and that in your profession and career and you will have, as I do not doubt but that you will have a good field for your abilities and genius. To those who know your architectural works in England you need no introduction as a professional man, to those who know your character, you need no recommendation.

My affection and respect you will always have, and I hope and pray that God may bess you and your excellent wife and give you prosperity both spiritual and temporal.

Your faithful friend

+W. B. Ullathorne

ML SLNSW

Wiseman to Goold, 28 June 1858

My dear Lord,

I have much pleasure in introducing to your Lordship W. W. Wardell, Esq., one of the most respected Church architects whose name is probably not unknown to you. Mr Wardell has supplied the designs for many Catholic churches in this country, especially in this diocese where he has resided for many years and he has displayed diligence and talent in the revival of our traditional church architecture. He has been induced to seek another field of labour and his departure from amongst us has called forth many expressions of regret. I can commend him to the kind offices of your Lordship and the Australian clergy with the utmost confidence.

I am ever my dear sir,

Yr obedient servt

Wiseman

MDHC

Fitzpatrick to Goold, 16 August 1858

Melbourne August 16th 1858

My Dear Lord,

[…] Everything goes on as well as one could expect. We are in a slight difficulty about the payments to the contractor for St Patrick's but is not worth speaking of.

Dr Geoghegan is greatly alarmed at the danger of being called on to pay up. No doubt we shall have to raise as loans about ten or twelve hundred pounds, but these loans will I trust be paid back within twelve months. It is just now hard to raise money by collections. I called on the manager of the Colonial Bank and secured a cash Cr to the amount of £1,000. I shall not avail myself of this cr. If I can avoid it by borrowing P. Notes having less interest than that charged by the Bank, in 10 per cent.[…]

Your Servt.

J. Fitzpatrick

MDHC

Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 September 1858

Melbourne, Sep 15th 1858

My Dear Lord,

[...] The church at Ballarat is progressing rapidly the first construction most complete. Fr Madden hopes to pay the balance due to the contractor very soon. The church at Belfast goes on well. I had the pleasure of sending Fr Mahony the balance due so long by the treasury and which I could not draw until the work had advanced further than the 1st contract left it. The ew contractors so far have given satisfaction. The good nuns have already taken possession of their new buildings and are quite pleased with them. The school room is a very spacious apartment. The room over it will make a first rate dormitory. Yr Lordship will hardly know the convent at your return. The church at Portland will, I hope, be ready for consecration soon after your return. Fr Birch has built his cottage and received his share of the Government grant. An architect named Wardell has sent Your Lordship and all the priests here testimonials of a very high character. The bishop of Hobart appears to know him. From his letter to me Mr Wardell appears to be just the man we want. The honour of Mr G[eorge] and Mr S[chneider] is now called in question a few days ago. Mr Blair [builder] presented me with a certificate stating he was entitled to £900. Mr Schneider denies having signed it. Mr G. states that Mr S. filled in the body of the certificate and authorised him to sign for both. It is hard to know which one to believe. [...] I shall try to get as much done as I can and then let Mr McCoby settle the matter. It would not be well to go to law with such witness to defend in as our architects. I hope your lordship will see Mr Wardell before he leaves England.

[not signed]

MDHC

Willson to Wardell, 12 October 1858

HobartTown

12 Oct 1858

My dear Sir,

your kind letter of the 30th also duly reached me. On the receipt of your letter sent from England and that sent by our mutual friend Mrs Bagshawe- I lost no time in writing to my clerical friends in Melbourne and to Mr O'Shanassy, begging of them to do all they could to forward the interest of one who so kindly deserved their kind offices and who would, I was sure, prove so valuable an acquisition to their Colony.

I have also addressed a letter to Mr. Bagshawe telling him that I felt certain of your success in Victoria. Be assured, dear Sir, I am speaking the sentiments of my heart when I say you have my earnest wishes for health and success. Of course some time will be required before you find your proper position, but that that day will come, I have not the least doubt. And some time will have to pass over before you feel at home in this hemisphere - but Divine Providence will arrange, no doubt, all for the best, and give you his blessed aid in a change so important.

Believe me to be dear Sir your most faithful servant

+R. C. William Bishop of Hobart Town

ML SLNSW

Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 October 1858.

Melbourne Oct. 15th 1858

My Dear Lord, I have had the pleasure of receiving your notes from King George sounds, Point de Galle, Aden and Alexandria. We had no overland mail in September and were in consequence two months without hearing from Your Lordship.

I have settled with Mr Blair and got his receipt in full of demands. We have not yet succeeded in collecting the amount which I paid him but I hope that before Yr Lordship returns there will be little of that debt unpaid. The railway constructors send me £85 per month in ready cash. Since the works at St Patrick's were stopped we do not get many donations from other parties. Fr Bleasdale knew one of the contractors for the Railway [...] succeeded in getting £15 per month to be used for St Patrick's until your lordship return. He also promises to visit the workmen on the line of railway and collect weekly donations for St Patrick's from them. I think a large amount may be got in sums of £1 per week. The contractors have promised to deduct the subscriptions from the men's wages and give it to us in one sum every fortnight. So that we have good hopes of soon paying off the debt for cash borrowed to pay Blair - I have not yet settled with the architects - they have done their best to betray our cause - they last week sent the nuns a lawyer's letter demanding payment of £ 480 as commission for plans etc. supplied by them. The nuns of course will not pay this exorbitant demand. Fr Hoyne as I mentioned to Yr Lordship had employed G.&S. to prepare plans for a church in Heidelberg. I have advised, with Dr Geoghegan's consent not to commence his building. Fr Hoyne is cross and impetuous wishes to commence immediately. I have notified to him the rule forbidding clergymen to contract debts for building churches. He replies that he is sorry he ever saw Heidelberg etc. Dr G[eoghegan] and I have directed him not to commence his building until the affair between George & Sch. and the nuns has been settled.

Fr Madden of Ballarat has also got a lawyer's letter from Schneider for payment for work not executed. I have heard that Schneider is addicted to drunkenness - this explains his neglect which we so often noticed during the progress of the work a St Patrick's, and the many mistakes in his plans & specifications. The church at Portland progresses rapidly towards completion - The church at Belfast is likely to be finished nearly as soon as the one at Portland. The contractors are giving great satisfaction. Fr Mahony has resumed the collection towards the completion of the masonry and succeeded very well. I received last month the bal. due to that Church since last year and a few days ago I had the pleasure of drawing the £400 granted towards this building. The work done is balanced at £1350. I hope the building will be roofed on Yr Lordship's arrival. Dean Slattery has called for tenders for the building of his house. I hope to be able to go to Belfast and the neighbourhood places next week. But it is at present doubtful if I can be spared. Poor Fr Power is not able to celebrate mass yet. He is a complete invalid. Fr Brannigan is also very ill. We were obliged to ask Dean Hayes to send a priest from Geelong to help us on last Sunday, as Fr Shiel was engaged to preach for St Patrick's C. at Brighton and Fr Mac Every at Pentridge. We have had sermons for St Patrick's at nearly all the missions - the result of the sermons were on the whole very satisfactory. Fr Shiel tries St Kilda on next Sunday, I don't expect much from them. [...] Fr Farrelly has commenced his church on Mr Hanson's plans. The walls are up to the surface of the ground at present. Fr Niall is very slow. It appears that he has only £200 collected for the building. Fr Downing of Keilor has not commenced building yet, but I believe he will soon begin.

I am sorry to see St Patrick's so long without workmen, but I thought it right to let the people see and feel that we cannot build without money. The architect Wardell who is very highly recommended by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster & several of the English bishops has arrived in Melbourne. He has not called on me. I met him per accident at WilliamsTown. He has rather unfortunately fallen in with the parties who are the leaders of those people who are trying to divide the Catholics in the hope of getting the spending of our money. I think Mr Wardell will not join any hostile attempt against the Church. It is clearly his interest not to fall out with the clergy - besides he appears to be a good Catholic. I asked him to call on me and see the cathedral a fortnight ago - he has not done so as yet - In fact it is not of much consequence as we must wait for some time before we could prudently resume the work. We have no money and all we can get is little enough to pay off the borrowed cash. Yr Lordship will be able to learn all about Mr Wardell ability as an architect. I have got a print of the new Dominican church in Dublin built from the design of Mr McCarthy. If the building is as pretty in execution as it is on paper it is a credit to the architect and the founders. […]

Fr Madden of Ballarat has got the exterior walls of the nave of the Church finished. There is a debt of about £900 remaining unpaid. Mr Madden wishes to proceed with the second part of the contract, but I have advised him to wait until he has cleared off the first debt. Fr Geoghegan has the exterior walls of the church at Kyneton completed and he is preparing to take a new contract. Mr O'Rourke has taken a contract for the roof of the church at Kilmore. It is likely that a Bill will be introduced this session to enable trustees to dispose of Church lands and applu the proceeds to building purposes. I wish we could build portions of good churches in all the sites in Melbourne. We cannot have the Deeds without having the sites occupied. Shall I reserve some portion of this Govt grant for next year for the sites in and about Melbourne?

It will be easy to collect for each as much as will enable us to make an application for a small grant. I should like to commence a portion of Mr Handsom's [sic] plan at Carlton. I think the site a very suitable one for the Church.

When may we expect your Lordship's return? Is a question often asked, I say about Easter. U shall not send any money [unreadable] unless specially directed to do so. I think Mr Hardman or any other silversmith ought to send supplies of altar plate on credit and wait payment until the priests here require the articles and collect the cash to pay for them. There is now a good supply in our hands and no great demand for them. Chalices can be had in May off shops in the city. […]

Your Lordship's obedient servant

J. FitzPatrick

MDHC

Fitzpatrick to Goold, 15 November 1858.

Melbourne Nov. 15th 1858

My Dear Lord,

[…] Mr Wardell the architect has been with us frequently since I wrote last. He requested me to let him take the measurement of the five acres with the present building in order that he might prepare a ground plan of the cathedral, episcopal

residence & the other buildings. He has made a present of the sketch which I enclose to yr Lordship. I think Mr Wardell is competent to carry on any building which may be required in Melbourne.

I have talked to George & Schneider and got their receipts in full of all demands. The nuns are not so fortunate. G and S demand £480 we have not resumed the works at St Patrick's yet but I hope during this month to get something done. Mr Wardell has called for tenders for ceiling the portion of the aisle which is roofed. The churches at Portland, Belfast, Kilmore, Mt Moriac are progressing rapidly. Tenders for building the church at Kyneton will be offered on the 17th inst. I expect that the church at Kilmore will be roofed at Christmas. The church at Ballarat is not advancing towards completion. A rush of the diggings to the Moreton Bay district drew off many from our gold fields. Fr Madden says he finds it hard to collect money now. It is expected that the diggers will soon return, they were disappointed at the new diggings. Fr Downing has commenced the church at Keilor. Fr Niall has called for tenders for building at St Kilda the nave of Mr Handsom's church same plan as Kilmore. On yr lordship's return there will be several grand openings of churches. We are already looking out for your letter notifying to us your being about to return.

[not signed]

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 25 November 1858.

Santa Maria in Posterula, Roma

25th Nov 1858

My dear Fitzpatrick,

[…] George and Schneider are not the persons to be trusted by us - I was long of this opinion. I have already written to you about Mr Wardell - By all means engage him and dismiss - if you have not already done so - G.Schneider. […] I have sent in my report - it is full and I trust satisfactory. But few Bps could furnish such an instance of progress in their diocese as that we have witnessed in Victoria. […]

In great haste,

+J. A. Goold

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 28 November 1858.

Sta Maria in Posterula, Roma

28th Nov 1858

My dear Fitzpatrick,

[…]

I was thinking of buying albs, amices and altar linen - if to be had cheaper than England. I have not as yet purchased anything for the mission. - I am looking out for a good remonstrance for St Patrick's.

I have been speaking to several persons of Mr Wardell and they are all loud in his praise. The plans I alluded to in one of my former letters will be in your possession long before this reaches you. I hope you will like them.

Yours affectionately

J. A. Goold

MDHC

Willson to Goold, 11 December 1858

HobartTown

11 Dec 1858

My Dear Lord,

[…] I hear you have placed St Patrick's in the hands of Mr Wardell. You never did a wiser thing in your life. The first loss will be the least. You will have a cathedral in the true sense of the word to leave to those who shall succeed you, which, I hope, will be a long time first. […]

Your most affectionate friend,

+R. Willson

Bp of Hobartown

MDHC

Fitzpatrick to Goold, 14 December 1858.

Dec 14, 1858

My dear Lord,

I have had the great pleasure of receiving your notes of the 8th and 9th of Sept last bearing news of your safe arrival in England. […]

Mr Wardell whom you desire try to engage id, I think a first rate architect. His health is not good but I think he is improving fortunately. I Have been able to pay Blair and the architects George and Schneider of which conduct I write no more than I have already written.

I have of course engaged Mr W. but I being afraid to commence the expensive works required for building the western facade of St Patrick's and being also unwilling to decide on the plan of the principal features of the building without submitting it to your lordship inspection. I have come on to adopting the plan which we saw carried out in Adelaide I hope mainly to complete a portion of the least expensive part of the church,

I have proposed to Mr Wardell to call for tenders for building some portion of the nave and omitting the towers and western entrances and closing in the North and west end with rough temporary walls. He approved of my suggestion to prepare drawings (very beautiful ones). We received tenders for removing the present walls rebuilding about 100 feet of the north aisle wall and building six pillars with the clerestory wall to the height of crown and arches. As I did not expect to be able to take a contract for as large an amount of work I had three sets of tenders called for one for all the work named above, one for the aisle wall and temporary cross walls, and [one] for the six pillars to the height only of the capitals of the pillars and the arches over the pillars. The highest tender for all the works was £6715 the lowest £4370. The highest tender for the aisle wall, cross walls and pillars only was £6115 and the lowest £3670. The highest for the

aisle wall and temporary cross walls to height of present north aisle i.e. the springing of window arches is £4815 and the lowest £2700. In all these tenders the total removal of the walls which must be removed in order to carry out the building is included.

I accepted the lowest tender for all the works I tendered for but I thought it prudent to reserve to your lordship and to myself in your absence the right to stop the works if we cannot find cash to pay the contractor. The removal of the wall is an awful affair. It makes me sick to look at it. I am glad your lordship is away. Some of the people are of course horrified at seeing this destruction of the works but when I explain matters to them they go away pleased. If no priest takes part against me I shall get on well.

One letter has been written in the Age evidently I think the production of a priest in condemning me! I believe for removing work which your Lordship promised not to remove. But the letter has not yet done any harm. If I succeed in begging and borrowing and raising as much cash as needed for the work of the last tender in all it will not be difficult to build the one hundred feet of the wall. […]

[not signed]

MDHC

Fitzpatrick to Goold, 17 December 1858.

Melbourne, Dec 17th 1858

My dear Lord,

[…]

Mr Wardell the architect whom you desire me to try to engage is hard at work for St Patrick's. Before this note can reach you the wall which was to be removed before the plan of the church could be carried out will be removed - it is partly down already- I have taken a contract to take down the condemned wall and rebuild a portion of the nave including the one hundred feet of the whole width of the building [unreadable] of the church the whole width of the building. On estimating the cost of building the western facade I found it utterly beyond our means at present. I therefore proposed Mr Wardell to omit the expensive works of the lower and principal entrances and prepare drawings for the portion named above. We called for tenders for the building of the aisle wall and six of the new columns with the arches to the height of key stone. The highest tender was for £6,715 the lowest £4,370. I have accepted the latter but I have for safety reserved to Yr Lordship and in Yr absence to myself the right to stop the works at a certain fixed point when I must pay in cash or P.note £2,700.

As the debt due to Blair is now quite cleared off, I do not foresee any insurmountable difficulty in carrying on the whole of the contract. Of course the bold attempt of pulling down the wall has excited the greatest astonishment and drawn me the greatest blame particularly from parties who gave least for the erection of the wall. But if I succeed as I think I shall in building the aisle wall to the height of the wall which I had removed - the blame will be forgotten. And a good meeting had by yr lordship soon after yr return will bring in means for roofing a church which will not be surpassed in size and style by many modern churches. Mr Wardell appears devoted to his professional studies. He will I hope, give you great satisfaction. Somebody as annoyed him by sending him an extract from a Cork paper in which is stated that your lordship had engaged an architect in Cork to draw plans for yr church. I told Mr W. that such could not be the case as you had directed me to engage him. Mr Wardell plans for the Western front are

not yet finished but they will be ready before your return to Melbourne. I write in great haste for the post.

Most obedient yours,
J. FitzPatrick

P.S. I shall leave nothing to be pulled down on your arrival. It is horrid work to pull down what cost so much - but there is no remedy!

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 26 December 1858.

St Maria in Posterula
26 Decr, 1858

My dear FitzPatrick,

[...] Who would have thought that George and Schneider were such villains. I never thought much of the former. Such ingratitude and dishonesty are rarely combined. [...] I have already written to you about Mr Wardell. His friends in London will be writing to him to counsel him not to mix himself up the clique. He is a convert. The news conveyed in your letter is most encouraging. [...] Hansom's large plan would answer the Carlton gardens very well. The plan for Kilmore church would be taken for St Augustine site. Whilst the one you will receive from Dublin - I mean the large one - would answer for St Mary's. Mr Wardell would be able to give you one for Collingwood. Set all the sited recopied. [...] I hope G&Sch will not give you any trouble. [...]

Believe me most affectionately and sincerely yours,
+J. A. Goold
Bp of Melbourne

MDHC

Fitzpatrick to Goold, 28 December 1858.

Dec. 28th 1858

My Dear Lord,

I enclose tracings of Mr Wardell's design for the Western Facade of St Patrick's Cathedral. I think the proposed front rather too plain. I believe Mr Wardell was afraid to make his design appear too costly. I have requested him to prepare another design of a more ornamental class. I shall send it to your Lordship if possible by next overland mail.

The contractor is working away at St Patrick's new aisle with great vigour. I have got a good share of abuse for pulling down the walls, but the appearance of the new wall has already produced a good effect. We got an excellent foundation, solid rock at only four feet from the surface. The aisle wall is now built up to the surface. As we have saved two feet of masonry by finding the rock at four feet instead of six feet of the surface we shall have enough material to put in at least the foundations of the western front. But I fear

the want of cash will prevent us from building much of it above the surface. If you approve of Mr Wardell first design and if I can collect the cash I shall get on building one of the towers. A sailor who visits Melbourne occasionally happened to be in the Church in October 1857 when it was announced that loans of cash would be received to help the building. He called on me after mass and lent me £50. I gave your Lordship's P. note for £53 payable in 12 months. The note was due since October las but was not presented for payment till today, when the good sailor told me he would not take back more than (£10) ten pounds. He would not take interest for the loan, but entered his name as a subscriber for £40. I hope others will follow his example.

The wall of the church at Duneed is several feet above the plinth. Fr R. Downing has taken a contract for building a portion of the tower of the Church at Portland. The walls of the Church at Belfast are nearly ready for the roof. The Church at Kilmore is roofed. Dr Geoghegan has commenced a grand church at Williamstown. Fr M. Dowry has the walls of the Church at Keilor half built.

Fr Niall has not begun to build yet. He could not induce his people to build on Mr Hanson plan. A deputation of them waited on me with a copy of the plan drawn by Scanlan and condemned last year by Your Lordship. I gave a good scolding and told it would be better to burn their money than expend it on such an horrid building. I advised Fr Niall to engage Mr Wardell to prepare a suitable plan. I think your Lordship will like the Church which he has designed, it is plain but in good taste. Fr H. Geoghegan has commenced the chancels and chapels of the church at Kyneton.

I believe I have now given you all the architectural news. Most of those whose opinions are worth much highly approve of the removal of the old wall. But as yet money comes in slowly. We have not made any great effort to collect for the Church as it was necessary to give the nuns an opportunity of collecting the £2000 due to the convent. They have collected nearly the whole as loans which will never be called for.

I have good hopes of being able before Your Lordship's return to have the walls of St Patrick's rebuilt to the height of the old ones without making the debt greater than it was at your departure. The carpenters are working at the groining of the remainder of the southern aisle. There are over fifty men working away at the various jobs about the building. The Christmas dues were paid generously though times are said to be bad here. I would have enclosed herewith a draft of Your Lordship's share, nearly £90, but the banks have kept extra holidays this year. I shall send it by overland mail I write by 'Royal Bride' steam ship. [...]

Yours Affectionately,

J. FitzPatrick

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 29 December 1858

Bracciano

2th Dec 1858

My dear Dr Fitzpatrick

[...] I hope Fr Power is well. How is our good friend Fr Dan.? I hope he had got the windows from Hardman. This said Hardman is most extravagant in his prices. I shall have nothing more to do with him. [...] It would be a pity if Mr Wardell had to leave

Melbourne under evil counsel. It is to be hoped that I shall find him busily engaged at St Patrick's on my return. [...]

+ J. A. Goold

P.S. I have ordered a copy of Guido's Crucifixion which is in St Lorenzo di Lucina for St Patrick's it will cost upwards of a 100 scudi. I wish I could get a marble altar for the nave. That is to be.

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 12 January 1859.

Sa Maria in Posterula,

12th January 1859

My dear Fitzpatrick,

Your letter with enclosure came to hand this morning. I am surprised that none of my letters dated Ireland and England had reached previous to the date of the 14th nov. when the last mail left Melbourne. However you must have them by this. The steamers belonging to the Mail Company have turned out perfect failures. Better ones will soon put on the line now that the Indian Company has obtained the contract. [...]

As yet I cannot say precisely when I will commence my trip back. I shall D. V. leave here early next month. I was glad to learn from your letter the progress made in church building. The rush to P. Curtis must have tried you. The crisis thank God is passed. It is to be hoped our people will be more cautious and prudent for the future.

I feel confident that Mr Wardell, from all I have heard of him, will give satisfaction. He is an able and good man - at least he is reputed such in England. [...]

Ever yours affectionately

+J. A. Goold

MDHC

Willson to Goold, 12 February 1859

Hobart Town, 12 Feby 1859

My dear Lord,

I rejoice exceedingly in the fact that Mr Wardell has St Patrick's entirely in his hands. The state of that church was the only draw back to my pleasures when in Melbourne. But all will be right now. There will, no doubt, be some gathering of a party "but why all this waste?" - but now resistance, a proof of the improvement made by Mr Wardell, and the good sense of many will overcome much noisy opposition. The noise may be for few month, the improvements for centuries.[...]

Your faithful and affectionate friend

+ R. Willson

Bp of HobartTown

MDHC

Fitzpatrick to Goold, 14 February 1859.

Feb., 14th 1859

My Dear Lord,

[…] Religious progresses: Your Lordship will have many new churches to visit on yr return. Some I hope will be ready for dedication. The Kilmore Church is roofed. That at St Kilda has been commenced on plans prepared by Mr Wardell. The work goes on rapidly. Dr Geoghegan has employed Mr Wardell to produce a Grand Church at WmTown. Dr G. intended to build a poor affair at WmTown but fortunately he has been induced to commence a grand Church with nave and aisles, tower, etc. Mr W. has also got the work at Heidelberg. I hope you will have the pleasure of seeing a good portion of a fine building there on yr return. Fr Geoghegan is building the chancel of the Church at Kyneton. It will soon be ready for the roof. Fr Smyth was here last week. He is an oddity but can be managed quietly, he will build an addition to the Church at Castlemaine. The outer walls of the Church at Ballarat are finished for some time. I hope Fr Madden will soon be able to assume the work. Fr Downing is still engaged in finishing the masonry of the prettiest Church in the world. He is quite astonished at the imprudence of the priests in Belfast who have actually finished the masonry of the nave and turret of the Church at Belfast. Fr Mahony and McCarthy have got on right well – the Church at Belfast is now ready for the roof. It will be quite ready for dedication on your return home. Fr Downing has built at Keilor on the same plan as that at Belfast, the walls are at twelve feet above the surface, the building looks well. Fr Farrelly is also building at Mt Moriac. The wall of the Church there are about eight feet high.

St Patrick's cathedral - it begins to deserve the name of a cathedral; it is raising and displaying its great proportions. Every hostile tongue is silent about the destruction of the old wall - subscriptions begin to come in - the prospects are cheering. I hope to have the second half of the South aisle opened on St Patrick's day. The plasterers are at work on the ceiling. I sent to Mr Hardman for a small supply of cathedral glass for the windows. The colour and quantity were described by Mr Wardell. If your lordship be the Hardmans I wish you could call and order a large quantity of cathedral glass. We want it for many churches in progress of erection. […] Mr Wardell has been invited by the ArchBp to Sydney I hope he will not desert Melbourne. We expect him back tomorrow. I think you will be pleased with Mr W. plans.

[not signed]

MDHC

Fitzpatrick to Goold, 16 March 1859.

Melbourne,

March 16th 1859

My Dear Lord,

[…] Mr Wardell has got an appointment of Colonial architect with a salary of £1000 per annum. I have engaged a Clerk of Works at St Patrick's. I found that I could not get on without one. The work at St Patrick's progresses rapidly. The new wall of the north side is now sixteen feet high - it looks very well. I shall try to build at least one or two columns in the hope of inducing the people to subscribe liberally towards the competition of the work. We are engaged today in making preparation for grand High Mass tomorrow though we cannot have the second half of the aisle quite ready for use.

The plasterers are not yet quite finished. There is however little more than the bosses wanting. The wooden portion has been removed and the floor of the second half of the aisle is levelled for temporary use on the Feast. In less than a month I hope to have it in a very good state. Dr Geoghegan will preach on Sunday next at St Francis' I hope he will succeed in collecting a good sum to help me to pay the contractor. Next week a general collection will be commenced for the building. I hope and believe that it will be a successful one. Every one that I hear speaking of the Church says that the people will now assist us to finish it. Owing to our not having yet got the grants from Govmt for '59 the buildings in the country places are stopped -except St Kilda and Heidelberg.

[not signed]

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 31 March 1859.

Sa Maria in Posterula

31st March 1859

My Dear Fitzpatrick,

I have this moment read your highly esteemed and interesting notes of 28th Decr. and 4th Febry. with the draft for £300. It is the greatest of my consolations to receive your letters, they are so full of hope and pleasing promises and such gratifying assurances of your honest and sincere friendship, which I trust I shall ever deserve.

Your measures with regard to St Patrick's have my entire approval. I think Mr Wardell is right in giving the solid mass a plain exterior. On a large building such as St Patrick's, outward ornament, at least much of it, is not desirable. The tracings have been much admired here. You could not have a better man as Architect as Mr Wardell. [...]

I will surprise you with my purchases here for St Patrick's on my return, all the money I could spare from my traveller's allowance I have spent in providing what I considered necessary for the mission. My last purchase was a marble altar, plainly rich and handsome. But I am letting you into my secrets. You may depend on my return very soon. [...]

Ever affectionately yours

+J A Goold

MDHC

Backhaus to Goold, 15 April 1859

St Kilian's Presbytery, Sandhurst

April 15 1859

My dear Lord,

[...] My church is pretty much in statu [sic] quo, except that, what Mr Stombucco [sic] one of the contractors mentioned to your Lordship long ago, happens but too truly; the stones (especially the cut-stone work) decays and splits up in every direction. On Christmas day a large piece of the cornice fell down suddenly and nearly killed a couple of the congregation. One part of it struck a man on the instep of his foot, and laid him up for some time.

The lawsuit about the building went partly for and partly against me. Nearly all the 'extras' were struck off. By this I saved so much that the costs will be met and I will have a few hundreds to spare. The only vexation I have now, is, that I must pay full price for bad work. [...]

I remain, my dear Lord
your most obedient servant
H. Backhaus

MDHC

Fitzpatrick to Goold, 16 April 1859

April 16th 1859

My Dear Lord,

The church at Belfast looks most beautiful. I had not before seen any building which gave me greater pleasure, the walls of the nave are quite complete and ready for the roof. There was some hesitation about calling for tenders for the roof, down windows, floor etc. but by urging MR Mahony and Mr Carthy and promising as large a share from the Govt. grant as I could secure for them I succeeded in inducing them to run the risk of incurring some debt for at last the roof, doors and windows. In fact it is a matter of necessity now to have those works done. The gable is high and the site exposed. If the building were left as it is during the winter it would probably be blown down. I could not manage to get to Portland. The walls of the church there are not yet finished but will be so soon. I have also seen the church at Kyneton. The outer walls of the nave, aisles, chancel and chapels are very much completed. The chancel window is by far the most beautiful of Victoria. The appearance of the church now is very fine. Fr Geoghegan will immediately call for tenders for the columns of the nave. I hope the building will be ready for solemn opening soon after your Lordship return. The church at St Kilda is advancing rapidly. The outer walls are nearly the full height, some of the pillars are cut and ready for erection. A newly discovered stone from a quarry near Bacchus Marsh has been used in windows and doors. It looks very well. The church at Heidelberg gets on very fast - the remainder of the aisle at St Patrick's is very nearly ready for opening indeed we have been using it for some time - the congregation is now so large that we could not keep them out. The floor is not laid. The scaffolding is down. I have good hopes of getting on with the second aisle. Money is scarce but I hope to get some after Easter. I have already paid off £2300 for the new work. I think you will like the work that has been done under Mr Wardell. It would I think be well to give a larger grant to a church in the state in which Belfast church now is (very ready for roofing) than to those which are merely commenced Portland, Belfast and perhaps St Kilda may with the help of a good large grant be secured from the effects of the weather within this year. [...]

I hope we shall soon have the pleasure of receiving your note informing us of your intended return. We want you badly just now for St Patrick's. The new wall is as high now as the old one was when you left. In fact that portion of the contract is finished. The people are pleased with it. Mr Guerard met me at the works last evening and expresses his great delight at seeing the improvements. Mr Wardell is anxious to have a view of the Church published if your Lordship approves of the plan. I fear I shall not be able to keep the works going on much longer - necessity alone shall compel me to stop. If you were here now or in two months even, and held a meeting I think we would get as much as would build two pillars. I am persuading Fr Mc Every to visit to the Western

districts in order to collect as much as will pay for one column. He will go after Easter. Fr Shiel will preach for some same purpose at Sandhurst and Dr Barry is doing his best to help him. I hope I shall not have to stop before your return.

Your most obedient servant,

J. FitzPatrick

MDHC

Hayes to Goold, 15 May 1859

St Mary's Geelong May 15. 59

My Dear Lord,

[...] From all I could learn the people are ow pleased with the present state and future prospects of St Patrick's. You will be glad to hear that Jennis' acct. against St Mary's has just been settled. It was up hill work; but now that the mission is out of debt and in a quite healthy condition, I can more easily be prepared to any collection [...]

I am to preach at the blessing of Dr Geoghegan church at Williamstown. I hope to have a charity sermon for the orphanage at Ballarat on Trinity Sunday. We have now 40 children in our Asylum. Messrs. O'Shannassy, Duffy and all visited us are well pleased with the arrangements and efficiency. Perhaps Yr Lordship may hit upon a suitable church for Ashby? We cd not now safely go beyond 4 or 5000£. [...]

I remain my dear Lord

Your very troublesome, but devoted and respectful servant

J. B. H.

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 18 May 1859.

London,

18 May 1859

My dear Fitzpatrick,

[...] It is not in the power of language, at least such as I can command, to express my thankfulness to you and the clergy for the zeal which has distinguished your efforts for the welfare of the mission during my absence. May God, who alone can reward you, bless you and all your noble fellow labourers' I shall see Hardman before I go to Ireland (this week). [...] It gave me great pleasure to learn from your letter of March that Mr Wardell had received an appointment from the Government. He is a good and able man. Your account of the progress of St Patrick's is indeed most satisfactory. [...]

Yours ever affectionately

+J A Goold

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 8 June 1859.

Dublin,

8 June 1859

My Dear Fitzpatrick,

[…] Your account of the progress of St Patrick's church is wonderful. I wish, indeed, I were back to help in pushing it on. […]

If the means of the Catholics of Victoria and their generosity are equal to my expectations we might safely adopt Mr Wardell's plan. I should like very much to see it carried out - but there is the great outlay of our present unhappy divisions to be considered before we commit ourselves to it. I shall strive to be ready to return in October. […]

Affectionately yours,

+ J A Goold

MHDC

Willson to Goold 13 June 1859

Hobart Town, 13 June 1859

My dear and honourable Lord,

[…] How I long for your return. It will be a jolly day when I see you again.

I am delighted to hear the doings by Mr Wardell at St Patrick's. God be praised for it! I look out each post to hear from you – pray write fully.

We are all well but if gold be not found, we shall all sink. My fears expressed to you in 1858 will be verified too soon. I really begin to be anxious […] We are getting poorer every day – the people have nothing at all. […]

Your affectionate, faithful and obedient servant in our Lord

R.W. Willson

Bp of HobartTown

MDHC

Wardell to Hardman 17 June 1859

Melbourne Victoria, Australia,

June 17 1859

My Dear Sir,

Mr Young – a contractor in Melbourne is very anxious to establish an 'Emporium' (to borrow a word from the Tailors) for Mediaeval art and metal work, glass etc etc. I have recommended him to apply to you, and my object in writing this is to say that I believe I indeed know he is a man of unexceptionable character and respectability, and that I conscientiously believe you may have every confidence in him.

I would suggest that if you arrange to supply him it would be well that you should know that nothing but the very best of every thing is likely to take here. I do not mean the

most costly, but the best in workmanship and solidity. Richer things would sell I think occasionally and well.

It would be for you to consider whatever it would be judicious to send beside these and other articles of proper design of course, but of less value worth materials and workmanship, so that those who wish to buy cheap things can.

They could then make their selection either for good things that could be recommended and warranted at a fair price, and other things that would perhaps look as well but be not so desirable though cheaper.

There is another thing it could be well that you should remember. English prices are current here in almost every thing, except stone, rent and servants, but especially in metal work and hardware and therefore it could never do to speculate in very large profit. We have no place here where mediaeval metal … can be obtained, and I have no doubt when Mr Young establishes his, it bot be a disadvantageous venture – though we are not much gives to Church building in this country. I am sure I need not tell you that as I told you in leaving I shall be very glad and happy if I can be of any service to you in this hemisphere.

Believe me

Yours Faithfully

W. W. Wardell.

HA BCCLA

Fitzpatrick to Goold, 26 July 1859

Melbourne, July 26th 1859

My Dear Lord,

[…] The churches are progressing towards completion as fast as the scarcity of money permits. Fr Niall has stopped his work – the people help him well but he is engaged in getting a house built for his sister, the people of course suspect that he is paying for it himself.

Fr Hoyne is working hard to have a large portion of his church built. He is the best collector we have. Fr Shiel has not yet resumed the building of the church at Ballarat – he is engaged in building of a few decent rooms for the priests to live in. Fr Farrelly is engaged in endeavoring to have the walls od the Church at Duneed raised a few feet more. The tender for the roofing of the Church at Belfast was accepted last month. The work will be completed before the end of winter. Fr Smith is about to commence building a house. Poor Fennelly has had a serious accident -his horse fell under and crushed his hand so severely that the doctors were obliged to cut off a portion of his fingers – the index. He will require a dispensation for the irregularity.

Your most faithful servant

J. Fitzpatrick

MDHC

Hayes Goold, 18 August 1859

Saint Mary's Geelong,
Aug 18 1859

My Dear Lord,

[…] The people of Geelong and of this district now see who are their true friends and pastors. I must not lay myself often to the charge of egotism, but facts speak for themselves and their debts are liquidated – the church has been newly secured, precinted and improved and a splendid organ has been erected. An orphanage is flourishing and handsome school-chapels have been built – all the church reserves fenced- there is nothing due, and what is still better, the services of religion are regularly conducted and now a catholic feeling pervades all classes of the people. I am happy to know that the same religious progress is being made in many other parts of the diocese. I think that on the whole, I think your Lordship ought to be proud of the missionaries of Victoria. It was not easy to make the first selection in all times, and it was difficult to refuse the applications that were occasionally made from priests who had landed on our shores, but it is evident that your Lordship made the most of the materials in hand. […]

Your most obedient Servant,
J.B. Hayes

MDHC

Willson to Goold, 16 September 1859.

The Bishop's house,
Eastern Hill, Melbourne
16 Sept 1859

My dear and much loved friend,

[…] All seems to go well and prosperously here - What a comfort to witness it! You will now have a really fine church, a Cathedral in the true sense, and no mistake. With Mr O'Shannassy I am much delighted, he is a noble creature! Mr Wardell is indeed a treasure as well as Dr Brownless. How I envy you such men. […]

Ever your most affectionate friend and brother and servant,
+R. Willson
Bishop of Hobarton

MDHC

Goold to Powell (Hardman and Co.), 28 September 1859

London,
28th Septr 59.

Dear Sir

I hope the chalice cross etc will be ready by the time we fixed on the last day of this month. I shall leave 'en route' to Melbourne early next month.

Be so good as to forward the chalice etc. to the care of Mr Jones – 13 Pater noster Row. I shall expect them to be at his place on the 1st of next month.

Yours very truly,

+J. A. Goold

HA BCCLA

Powell (Hardman & Co.) to Goold, 10 November 1859

Birmingham, Nov 10th 1859

My dear Lord,

We duly received your Lordship's letter written immediately before your departure from England in which you desired us not to send the order for Tabernacles and other articles. In the same letter your Lordship remarks that the cost of making the Gold chalice has exceeded your expectations and was more than we had told you we thought it would be.

We trust that this matter has not created an unfavourable impression on your Lordship's mind regarding ourselves and we wish to offer a few observations on the subject. When your Lordship gave us the order to make the Chalice we said that the thought it would cost about £20, but we told you that it was so unusual a thing to make a Gold chalice that we could not tell for certain what the cost would be. Your Lordship will easily conceive that to work up Gold required a great degree of care. We had in order to insure against waste and preferring to devote a chop entirely to making up your Gold articles and to place in it three of our best men during the process this was very expensive but we deemed it necessary on account of the responsibility we had undertaken for you. The Chalice cost as much as labour and would have made five chalices just like it in silver and we assure your Lordship that a much larger amount than we have charged would not have repaid us for the trouble and hindrance to regular business which the arrangement we speak of necessarily caused us. However we faithfully discharged our duty to your Lordship in the matter and we feel that we have provided a chalice which there are few in existence well compared with. […] We only desire to get a fair living profit by our work and feel it a matter of conscience to ask for no more. […]

We wish to inform your Lordship that we have made an arrangement to send our Goods out to Mr Young the person we spoke about as having been introduced to our notice by Mr Wardell […] we shall be most happy to attend to any orders your Lordship may be pleased to give us either through Mr Young or direct. […]

We have the honour to be Your Lordships most obt servants

John Hardman & Co.

Edward Powell

HA BCCLA

Fitzpatrick to Heptonstall, 17 November 1859

Melbourne

November 17. 1859

Dear Fr Heptonstall,

[...] Mr Wardell is quite dissatisfied with the glass sent out by Messrs Hardman. The color is most unsuitable. Mr Wardell wishes to have glass of the tint described in my letter to Messr Hardman. I think I shall be able to dispose of the packages of glass, so as to save Messr Hardman from loss – but it is a great disappointment not to have the suitable glass ready for the windows.

Yours faithfully

J. Fitzpatrick

Memorandum/1

[1000 feet supl.(more or less)]

Melbourne, December 15 1858

Dear Sir,

You will quite oblige me by sending me by the very earliest opportunity not less than 500 superficial feet of glass described in Mr Wardell's memo, together with the instruments for making the lead heights. I enclose a draft for thirty pounds endorsed in your favour. I shall be most anxiously expecting the arrival of the glass as the portion of the Cathedral for which it is intended is nearly complete

Yours,

J. Fitzpatrick

P. S.

If the bishop of Melbourne be near Birmingham he may call to select the glass – but do not delay waiting for him as I am sure he will approve of Mr Wardell's choice

Memorandum/2

The best lot metal glass of the darkest amber colour such as that Mr Wardell applied to Messr Hardman for the Church at Galashiels N. B. It will be leaded up in quarrel squares in the usual way but it is important that it should be the darkest possible tint of amber as nothing short of that would be sufficient to dilute the power of the sun rays here. It should be 1/8 of an inch at the very least. And be otherwise like the ordinary cathedral glass

To send a die or mould of the sufficient size for drawing the lead lights to fir this glass and also another die or mould of drawing lead to contain two of the glass.

Keep a specimen of the glass batch that can be ordered to match when required

Yours,

W Wardell

MHDC

MacEvery to Fitzpatrick, 8 June 1860

Belfast June 8 / 60

My Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

[...] I have Written to Mr Young about the glass and the tiling, no holy oils as yet and they so much wanted. I wish from my heart that week with half are you sufficient accommodation and entertainment for a tour in the west karma such as we have you are heartly welcome to it. I am endeavouring to make garden but it is so hard to get yeah I'm the trees or cuttings here. it must be at home for you to have stirred St Patrick's so far from debt, I confess that I did not expect so much of success.

I remain my dear Dr Fitzpatrick yours respectful and truly,

MacEvery

MDHC

MacEvery to Fitzpatrick, 22 June 1860

Belfast June 22/ 60

My dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I sincerely thank you for the cheque [...].

I am most anxious to have the Belfast church finished, what obstacles arise to put it back, anti-understanding them, or rather change, take place, the difficulties must exert for along time. I wish I had an opportunity of speaking to you about them. I would ask it and deem it a Great favour from you if someone more advantageous agreement would be make;[...] do you think it's wrong to ask, can it be divided? For the benefit of religion. I would be most glad Head happy to have Tower Hill. Belfast has his church and Presbytery already prepared; I have not claim upon them as they had nothing to do with their erection, but if His Lordship thought fit to give me Tower Hill to myself, I have reason to believe that I would soon build there a handsome Church, ad a becoming presbytery. I would soon do my best to make things better. They are, I assure you , bad enough: 400 persons every Sunday at mass and not one at Holy Communion - all of them independent and well able and willing to build a church for themselves; I am sure they ought to be looked to, and as I find myself in an humbled position, I am most anxious to show that even in it I am sincere and true to my profession, my companion is very good, but a natural indolence, arising from the inexperience of youth, assisted by a strong feeling of jealousy (he being an old resident, and I a new comer), place me in an unknown position with him, and if some quiet arrangement be not made, the mission must suffer very much. I mention this in confidence to you as I have reason to believe you a sincere friend. On account of his intimacy with Fr Slattery, if the latter know anything of this communication, I fear all peace would be at an end.

I am afraid to promise anything for your St Patrick's until ours is finished.

I remain Dr Fitzpatrick yours affectly and respectfully

MacEvery

P.S. When you come to see us you want know the place; I am making a garden out of a savage wilderness with plenty of flowers and trees from Melbourne.

MDHC

Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 25 August 1860

Melbourne, 25 August 1860

My Dear Fitzpatrick,

With reference to the engagement of Mr Denny by his lordship the Bishop, as a superintendent of works for within the Diocese of Melbourne, I write to say that it is quite understood, between yourself as his Lordship attorney and me, that for the future I am only to receive a commission for my services in designing works and buildings of 2 ½ percent on the value of all such works designed by me from this date forward, on the understanding that I receive from Mr Denny such assistance as I may require in taking plans and levels of sites, and preparation or copying of working plans specifications and for such works, and that Mr Denny is to superintend such works and to be alone responsible for such supervision, and for the proper execution of such works.

And as there are buildings actually in progress it may be better how far I consider this arrangement will apply to them. With respect to St Patrick's cathedral, though I always hoped to be able to reserve this as a specialty for myself, yet under the circumstances I propose that after the completion of the contracts now actually entered into with Mr Young, all future contracts should form part of this arrangement.

For the works at Heidelberg, Prahran, Williamstown, Kyneton, Kilmore, I propose that as (within an unimportant sum) I consider myself paid for what I have done for those five churches. I shall receive only in future 2 ½ per cent on the amounts of future contracts towards their completion; the superintendence of what remains to be carried out of the existing contract with Mr Fortune, at Prahran devolving upon Mr Denny, and any sum which would have become due to me for such superintendence reverting to the Bishop.

I hope all this will meet your wishes and those of His Lordship.

Your obedient servant,

W Wardell

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT/1

Memorandum of agreement made this 25th day of August 1860 between the Right Reverend J. A. Goold, D. D. Lord Bishop of Melbourne, of the one part and J. B. Denny of the other part.

Mr Denny is to give his services to Bishop Goold, as the Bishop may require in the superintendence usually given by an architect, of all the new Buildings, and repairs and addition to Buildings undertaken for the service of the Catholic Church within the Diocese of Melbourne, including all Churches Chapels, Schools Presbyteries Colleges, Convents and all and every other work which Bishop Goold may require him to supervise or direct.

Mr Denny is to act under Mr Wardell's direction, and is also to render all the assistance Mr Wardell may require in taking Plans and Levels of sites, and in the preparation or copying of all working drawings and Specifications etc. for all such works herein before enumerated: but Mr Denny is to be solely and entirely responsible to Bishop Goold and all whom it may concern for the careful and proper superintendence and execution of all such works.

For the above services Bishop Goold agrees to pay to Mr Denny a salary of Five Pounds per week, and will also repay him all travelling expenses which he, Mr

Denny, may justly and reasonably incur in the performance of the duties specified by this agreement. Bishop Goold will also provide an office for Mr Denny's use in the Cathedral ground. This agreement is to be terminable by three months notice from either party, and is not intended to preclude Mr Denny's being employed on any other works provided they do not interfere with his duties to Bishop Goold.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT/2

Mr Denny is to make working drawings and specifications etc from Mr Wardell's designs for such Catholic Churches Chapels convents and Schools within the Diocese of Melbourne as Bishop Goold may desire him to do and to superintend the works by such an inspection as is usually given by an architect. Bishop Goold will pay Mr Denny for these services a Salary of Five pounds per week and will repay him all expenses he may incur in travelling for the purpose of inspecting these works. Bishop Goold will also provide an office or room for Mr Denny's use. This agreement to be terminable by either party at three months notice, and in not to interfere with Mr Denny's doing any other work

MDHC

Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 25 February 1861

Melbourne, February 25 1861

My Dear Fitzpatrick

In reply to the note you have forwarded me from Dean Hayes dated 18 Feb I can only say that the drawings I have already furnished comply with the conditions laid down in it, and as I feel unable to amend that design for the description of church required, I must offer that again for consideration. I would also wish to say that unless by the special desire of the Bishop I would prefer not to design any church to be erected within a reasonable distance of Melbourne, that is not superintended by Mr Denny, the bishop's surveyor: for although I undertake as you know no charge superintendence or any responsibility for the execution of the works mistakes may be committed in execution which (however unjustly) would be attributed to the designer. I would also ask that in these and all the future cases I may be considered, according to the terms of my letter of the 25th of August last, as employed directly by the Bishop and yourself, from one of whom I should therefore receive any instruction and to one of whom I should direct my correspondence.

I am very dear Dr Fitzpatrick

Your obedient servant,

W Wardell

MDHC

Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 4 March 1861

Melbourne, March 4 1861

My dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I am quite ready to accede to the wishes and views of his Lordship the Bishop, as conveyed to me by your letter of the 2nd instant in reply to mine of the 25 of February, so far as they regard myself personally.

But as to any arrangement you may propose to enter into with Mr Denny I think it would be entirely unconnected with it.

With respect to the existing understanding between Mr Denny and yourself founded in his memorandum of the 25 August last and in reply to the query you put regarding it, I am clearly of opinion that he is entitled to the three months' notice it stipulates, if your intention of terminating it; because you have practically accepted it, by acting on it without protest.

To prevent however any difficulty in this – though I cannot quite agree with you that the payment made for Ballarat, Kyneton and Portland were all and entirely on his account – I now resign any interest in whatever I may have in them, and also in all other payments that may be made to you on account of the works already contracted for at Ballarat Kyneton Heidelberg and Windsor; and I am glad to know that this will protect you from any loss that might arise to you from the termination you propose of the arrangement with Mr Denny of the 25th of August last.

With respect to the Cathedral I understand it to be your wish that I should go on as at present until the termination of the Contracts already made with Mr Young; receiving my commission of 5 per cent on them. After the completion of these I should however prefer to be engaged to furnish the Plans etc. only, and to have no charge whatever of the superintendence of their execution – and so receive only the 2 ½ per cent commission payable in such cases.

I beg the favour of your reply, and remain my dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

Very faithfully yours

W. W. Wardell

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 31 October 1861

St Francis Xavier's Presbytery

Carisbrook Oct 31st 1861

My dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I would wish Mr O'Farrell to draw up with as little delay as possible an authority to be signed by the trustees giving you the necessary power to sign leases and receive rents for the church reserve at Daylesford. The rents, should they allow of it, will go towards the erection of a school church and presbytery at Daylesford, and when these works shall be completed, the rents, should they continue, will be applied to the support of the Ecclesiastical Seminary, the completion of the Cathedral and other church purposes. Let this written authority be at once forwarded to me and I will return it signed. I am afraid harm will come of any further delay in giving the leases. […]

I think Fr Madden has accepted a tender for the roofing of his church. At least such was the impression left on my mind when I had conversed with him. It wd be well if you say him -shd he postpone his claim until next year I see no objection to the money being applied as you recommend. Fr Niall will never do much in the way of obtaining the necessary means to finish his church and pay his debts. I wish I could place an active clergyman at Prahran. Has Fr Hayes taken up the money for Ashby? Weather cold but healthy. […]

Yours Affectly
+J.A. Goold

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick, 18 November 1861

18/11/1861
Wangaratta

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick

I thankfully acknowledge the receipt of cheque for £50 for the Euroa Church. I do not intend at any future time applying for an additional grant for that Church. Therefore, if you have no objection, I should feel oblidged if you would apply for as large a sum as the outlay will entitle it to from the state aid fund. As I have previously informed you, I only intend devoting £50 to Euroa – the balance to Wangaratta as I fear I will have difficulty in having vouchers in, in time, although the contract for all the masonry will be let on the 30th inst. and I expect this contract will exceed £2,000. This heavy outlay will necessitate my applying all the available state aid fund for this district to Wangaratta – with the exception of the £50 to Euroa. I shall send in Vouchers from Benalla at an early date so that if any note or sum reserved should lapse on account of conditions not being complied with I should have a chance for Benalla. This will also secure the grant for my own district in case the vouchers in Wangaratta would not be forwarded in time. The Wangaratta vouchers cannot be in sooner than the 20th prox.

I have not any Marriage license forms.

Most obedt servant
George Galen

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 22 May 1862

Warrnambool May 22nd 1862

Very Rev and Dear Sir,

Please do send me my salary for the last month. How do you think can a man live these times? I shall give no more donations to St Patrick's Cathedral.

Yours Truly,
Tho. Slattery

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick, 19 July 1864

Wangaratta

July 19th 1864

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick, I shall use every endeavour to instigate the people of Chiltern to procure the property mentioned in former letter. It is a much better house than mine and will want comparatively little repair. Mine had neither stable, nor any offices built, nor garden formed nor can I say it was even fenced. The whole house required a thorough repair. I have above an acre of a garden deeply trenched and stocked with a vast variety of fruit trees. The garden alone has a cost over £50. The repairs of house and building dine substantial brick office houses has cost me over £230. When everything is in good order the whole cost will not be less than £670. However it is the most respectable and best finished place in Wangaratta, and excites the jealous attention of the brotherly loving sects around me. I have collected about £130 since I came here and rec.d £188 from Fr Tierney being the accnt. formerly collected. This together with £200 you kindly promise me will have a debt of about £230.

Now, I can have £200 form Fr Tierney for a couple of years at six per cent per annum. And as I very much need a Church w[oul]d you not advice to take it, and turn my whole attention for the time being to procure funds for the erection of a Church. I have a drawing on the principle of the Art Union on fort, which I am confident will realize over £200 for my new Church. I am also promised a large donation by a charitable old lady. If I waive for the present this presbytery debt, I will have everything in readiness for His Lordship to lay the foundation stone, when he visits the Oven in spring.

Your obed.t servant

George Galen

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 8 October 1864

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I have consulted with Mr Wall, the contractor about the tiles. The carriage from Malmsbury to here is so high that it would cost about £500 – five hundred pounds to lay such a floor. It would require 270 square yards of tiles and the carriage would be more than the original cost. Hence we cannot attempt it. Please present my respects to the Bishop.

And believe me very sincerely yours,

P. J. Slattery

Oct 8 64

MDHC

Bonham to Denny, 10 December 1864

81 Wellington Street

Collingwood Decr 10th 1864

Sir,

I herby offer to make the pieces of church furniture as described in drawings and specification and stained and varnished in the best manner for the sum of twenty-nine pounds thirteen shillings and four pence £29-13-4

I am sir

Your obedient servt

James Bonham

MDHC

Heptonstall to Hardman, 19 December 1864

The convent Stanbrook Worchester

Decbr 19 1864

Dear Sir,

By the mail lately arrived from Australia I have recd: letters from Very Revd Dr Fitzpatrick Vicar General to Bish Goold of Melbourne. They say 'Messr Hardman has sent the Bishop a beautiful design for the West Window of the Cathedral. But unfortunately we are not yet ready for the Window. We have only a temporary roof over part of the nave, I hope the Bishop will be able to order the Window in about eighteen months.'

I know that you are sometimes very pressed for time and I also know by experience that orders from Australia are sometimes much delayed; hence I have been thinking it would be well for you to inform the Bishop what time you would like to have for completing the Window- and in that respect do not pinch yourself but take fully as much time as you would like to have

I am Dear sir yours very faithfully

Thos Heptonstall.

[Note : Should like 2 years from time of having recd templets. Cd do it in less time.]

HA BCCLA

Galen to Fitzpatrick, 3 March 1865

Wangaratta

March 3rd 1865

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I have rec.d the plan, it will suit Wangaratta very well. [...]

I am satisfied to remain in Wangaratta, and I am confident if these trying years on the poor farmers had passed by, they would be more generous. Even now they have

promised me £10 each to my new church and go to their little huts, and you would not give £10 for it and all that is in it.

G. Galen

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 26 March 1865

26 March 1865

My dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

[…] Stack it seems is bent on making money to the neglect of the interests of the Missions. Sic prosit – I have not as yet seen him – he has I am told a very abusive tongue for his brother priests!

Next Sunday D. V. I will be in Hamilton. You may on the receipt of this address your letters to that place – I hope to be in Melbourne about the end of Passion Week.

I hope you wrote to Kavanagh. The roads and weather are most favourable, Health excellent – Thank God.

Yours affectionately,

+J. A. Goold

Did you get plans for Koroit Church – I should like to lay the corner stone now that I am here.

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 30 March 1865

Hamilton

30 March 1865

My dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I have arrived here about two hours ago – yesterday was a day of laborious travelling owing to this continuous rain that fell from the time we started until we arrived where we were to stop for the night. […] On Monday I can commence my journey back. Fr Farrelly is not ready just now to commence his church.

In haste,

Yours affectionately

+ J. A. Goold

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 2 April 1865

Hamilton, 2nd April 1865

My dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

Merely acknowledge the receipt of Mr Fairlie's letter and inform him that it has been sent to Fr Farrelly for his report upon it. These gentlemen of Inglewood seem disposed to manage matters their own way. The Committee of whose meetings Mr Fairlie was chairman is not of my appointment and consequently it does not exist. To this irregularity and that of nominating trustees without my permission I have called Fr Farrelly's attention. I spoke to Dean Slattery and Fr Farrelly about the Cathedral collection – it will have to be made after Easter.

The Church at Koroit is to be built of stone. They can only erect a part of a plain church providing a temporary addition for the accommodation of those who may not find room in the portion built. Dowden would I think for a small consideration prepare plans and specifications. A church is needed there very much – and here also. Both will have to be deferred till Spring. I hope Fr England is better. Kind regards to all. I expect to be in Melbourne on Wednesday

Yours affectionately

+J. A. Goold

MDHC

Farrelly to Fitzpatrick, 12 April 1865

Hamilton, 12 April 1865

Dear Doctor Fitzpatrick,

There were no marriages las yr in this district. I promised to pay my subscription to the Cathedral towards the end of this year and I intend faithfully to do so. I have debated myself with £3 for Cath. Ass. that is one pound per month for Jany, Feby and March and to make things more easy you can, in future, deduct one pound per month for Catholic Association from this district. I have not collected even so much this year yet from the fact of having mass but seldom in any given place and on these occasions I was trying, I am sorry to say, with little success, to raise funds for the New Church. With the exception of three families, all here are working men or very poor farmers who really haven't a shilling to spare from one end of the year to the other. The largest congregation that ever was seen in Hamilton was here when the Bishop was up and yet the collection at the first mass was but 9/ - at second mass 21/.

I don't mention these things by way of complaining of my lot here, to wish I must be resigned, but to show you that the mass of the people here can't spare anything – three or four, who know how to keep their money, have given a good name to the district – a good name that dreadfully disappointed me – for I thought I could build a handsome church within a year but I now find my mistake. I am collecting for the last 4 months and the total collected now is about £250. Mrs While gave £50, Mr Sheehy 15. Grant to all the rest ranging from 5/ to 20/.

Yours faithfully,

M. Farrelly

MDHC

Fennelly to Fitzpatrick, 8 May 1865

St Francis Xavier's Carisbrook

May 8th 1865

My dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

May I take the liberty of asking you to discharge a little commission for me – indeed I would not make so bold as to trouble but I am not acquainted with anybody in Melbourne capable of doing it for me. Ferguson and Urie of Curzon Street near the Benevolent asylum charge for lead lights with coloured borders 2/6 for foot and as you know Mr Young perhaps you could persuade him to do them cheaper and better for me according to specifications and description herewith enclosed I should like to have each of the three large windows in one length instead of two as mentioned in the specifications because it is not easy to find a person to join them. By not refusing to do this much for me, I shall feel very much obliged as I am fully confident that Mr Young will do them for 2 shil. A foot on yr account.

Yours truly,

F. Fennelly

MDHC

Farrelly to Fitzpatrick, 13 May 1865

Hamilton,

13 May 1865

Dear Doctor Fitzpatrick,

Many thanks for the cheque (£27) just come to hand the receipt for which I enclose you.

With regard to Fr. Finn's visit here, I will be glad to assist him in every way I can, but I fear his prospects in this mission will be fount much behind the mark. The house of worship here is the most unsightly (and has been for years) in the whole colony – in fact, it is not as comfortable or even as presentable as the stables at respectable houses and yet they have never been able to get a better. Many of them express inability to subscribe to weal wants and when they do, they do it meagrely. Hence I anticipate they will be very unwilling to assist external wants, yet, with all my heart, let trial be made.

Although you don't complain of the £1 per month for C. A. yet you appear dissatisfied. I'm sorry for that, for you may rely upon the truth of the character given of the mission in former note. The mass of the people are scotch and the few Catholics are miserably poor. I do solemnly declare more so than any I ever met in Victoria and I have been many places. The boasted name of Hamilton wealth arose from the fact that there [are] numbers and numbers of rich squatters but for all these only three are Cath. Tuomey, Reely, and While) the others under this land act of /62 bought land for the last shilling they had =. Their crops failed year after year and hence their poverty.

I'd give you an instance of my financial position veritable and real. The Easter dues in Hamilton were exactly £31, in Coleraine 15 - in other places they hardly covered my travel expenses – but I have myself to blame for this small collection – out of over anxiety to start my Church before winter set in I made the Church collection through the district up to the 2nd Sunday before Easter and this militated against e in most laughable form. Meantime I hope to be better off next time – now for St Patrick's I am

willing you take ten pounds as first instalment form next batch of Govt salaries – or at once keep 39£, £30 for Cathedral, £9 for Cath. Association and send me cheque for balance of salary to end of 1865, the latter would oblige me at present as I want to send a few pounds home to pay for education of my cousin who is at Dr Brown's seminary and whose parents are unable to pay for him.

Yours Very respectfully

M. Farrelly

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 26 May 1865

Castlemaine

26th May 1865

My Dear Fitzpatrick,

I fortunately arrived here yesterday in time for the home mail. […] Last night I opened the mission here it was well attended though the notice was short. They have funds in hand for the completion of the church. They purpose calling for tenders next week. I shd. Like Young to be the successful tenderer. Let him try for it. Some part of the plan is missing.

In haste,

Yours affectionately

+J.A. Goold

Dean Hayes has improved the presbytery – it is now more comfortable than it was.

MDHC

Riordan to Fitzpatrick, 31 August 1865

Portland,

31st August 1865

Very Reverend dear Sir

By all means send me the hundred pounds, as the work-people are clamouring for their money. The roofing is already partly done. I'm sorry I did not commence by raking down the walls and building the whole on a larger scale. Now when completed, it looks like a little Guard House or Sentry Box tho' sufficiently large at the same time to accommodate three times the Catholics likely to frequent it.

It will take still a goodly sum to provide doors, windows, flooring, seats and equipment of the Sanctuary besides fencing in the ground with post-and-rail and six foot paling to keep out cattle and the kangaroo which abound there. I wonder might I invite the Bishop to have an 'opening'? the little affair is so small it might be derogatory to the dignity of his Lordship's high position. Still it is of the same dimensions as the little church of Merino and His Lordship I believe went there.

I should be glad of any chance of seeing his Lordship among us for a few days in the fine weather, but for mercy's sake let Him not come while it is raining. I remain,

Very Rev dear Sir,

Yours very truly

P. Riordan

MDHC

Tierney to Fitzpatrick, 5 September 1865

Beechworth, 5th September 1865

Dear Revd Sir,

We are building the foundations of the new Church according to the plan furnished by the Bishop. The contracts have been given. The principal just some time ago, but all before the receipt of your last letter. Please let me know by return if convenient will get the £300 from Govt this year.

Yours faithfully

Fr Tierney

MDHC

Tierney to Fitzpatrick, 9 September 1865

Beechworth, 9/9/65

Dear Revd Sir,

[...] We are building foundations to suit the plans which you sent us to me (stone [illegible]) It will be a matter of after consideration within a modification of style with the windows etc. and with sanction by the Bishop. [...] You would oblige me very much if if you could let me know once for all if in case we comply with the Bishop's wish in every procedure and have sufficient work done in the line, whether then we shall get government grant this year, and how much? It is in use for us to stain every else [?] to get the grant this year, if we are to find out in the end that we would not get in way [illegible]

I remain yours faithfully

W. Tierney

MDHC

Goold to Hardman, 26 September 1865

Bishop's office, Melbourne

26th sept 1865

My dear Mr Hardman,

You may at once commence to prepare the stain glass window for the Melbourne Cathedral according to the design furnished some time ago by you and for the sum then specified – about £700.

Yours Faithly

+J.A. G. Bp of Melbourne.

HA BCCLA

Stack to Fitzpatrick, 27 September 1865

Catholic presbytery Belfast

Sept 27th 1865

Very Rev Sir,

I beg to forward you enclosed memo signed as you order. The people of Tower Hill would be glad to get from His Lordship a plan of a Church to see what they could do towards building.In my last not I told you we had collected L410 pounds. They are anxious to know what amount of state aid they may expect.

There is no use in sending an expensive plan as I would only discourage them from doing anything.

I beg to remain Very Rev Sir

Your obedient servant

M Stack

MDHC

Shanahan to Fitzpatrick, 4 November 1865

Inglewood

Nov 4th

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I was in Dunolly on yesterday and called a meeting of the people at which we accorded not to commence until after Xmas the building of the Church. We are to call for tenders at once so that the contractor can place some of the material on the ground before Xmas and be ready to go on with the work immediately after, [...]

Pay the £5 coming to me for the month of October towards His Holiness' collection.

The next two months' salary I will leave to pay £10 of the £20 promised for the altar. I have been fortunate in getting the school in connection with the Bazaar.

I remain your humble servant.

M. J. Shanahan

MDHC

Tierney to Fitzpatrick, 9 November 1865

Beechworth, 9/11/65

Very Rev Dear Sir,

Enclosed I return your Treasury voucher signed. The entry crossed out was made by Mr Pickersgill in mistake, as it is not necessary to commence to build anew to get the gran this year. There is no necessity for plans before I go down to retreat in January. It will take all we can collect this year to pay for what is built. [...]

I remain very Revd sir,

Yours faithfully

W Tierney

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 15 November 1865

Sale

15th November 1865

My Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

As I was about to start for Port Albert I got your short note and Fr Farrelly's. [...] The priest for Mortlake can travel with me when I go to lay the foundation stone of the Hamilton Church. Next week, please God, I will commence my journey back to Melbourne.

Yours affc.ty

+J. A. Goold

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 17 November 1865

Tarraville

November 17, 1865

My Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

Don't send my English letters to Gippsland. At an early hour on Monday, I expect, D. V., to be on my way back to Melbourne. [...] Another clergyman is badly needed here. The house in Tarraville, with a little outlay, may be made very comfortable. It has been, I am sorry to say, badly neglected since Fr O'Kean left, tho' a man is paid for taking care of it. [...]

Yours affectionately,

J. A. Goold

P.S. I have promised Fr Farrelly to be with him on the 10th of December. He must send horses to meet me at Colac as I fear my horses will be too tired after this trip to go any distance. Write to him to have the horses ready.

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick, 27 November 1865

Catholic Presbytery
Wangaratta
Novr 27th 1865

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the plans & specifications for the Wangaratta Church. I fear very much funds could not be collected to erect a stone Church. I will call a meeting of the Church Committee on Sunday and if they give me any encouragement I will attempt it.

The people of Benalla have nearly 100.000 bricks burnt for their new Church and farmers are willing to cart-in the stone for the foundations. The committee desired me to ask his lordship for a plan so that they might know which kind of stone to quarry.

I suppose about two hundred attend mass there on Sunday. I was at Euroa a Saturday and I am pleased to say they are doing something there too in the way of building. They have 20.000 bricks burnt for a chapel school.

I am very Rev.d Sir
Your most obed. Servnt
George D. Galen

P.S. I suppose the grant of land has not been obtained at Boorhaman. The people are most anxious about a school.

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 9 December 1865

Hamilton
9th December 1865

My dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I wrote to Fr Stack when forwarding the plans informing him that earl next year I wd be ready to lay the corner stone of the new Church. This could not be now done so as to serve the funds Xmas being close at hand and to enable me to keep my arrangements for this month.

On Tuesday I expect to bless and open the church at Haywood, after which I will return to Hamilton en route to Ballaarat and Melbourne.

I suppose it will be Saturday before I reach the latter place. If the English mail arrives before Friday be so good as to forward my letters to Ballarat. The foundations of the church here are high over ground and seemingly well built.

Yours affectionately,
J. A. Goold

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick 13 December 1865

Catholic Presbytery
Wangaratta
Decr 13th 1865

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I enclose you a report of the engineer who is about to take charge of the works – your Architect can see what he thinks of it.

It certainly makes the works more suitable to our means. The committee, seeing the cost of stone foundations totally set aside the idea of building a stone Church. Of course as the superstructure will be brick a less expensive and massive foundation will suit equally well. Perhaps with this knowledge your architect could make them as cheap as possible. We are sadly in want of a Church, and I must confess seeing the depressed state of affairs, that I would recommend building a part of a Church now that would not cost more than £1500. This would be finished in less than two years, and accommodation is immediately required.

Your most obedt servt
George Galen

P.S. I think a church the same as Wangaratta will suit Benalla, thereby save Architects fees. The ground is a perfect level, with good brick clay soil.

MDHC

Stack to Fitzpatrick, 24 December 1865

Tower Hill Decem 24/1865

Very Rev Sir,

I had no opportunity of showing the Catholics of Tower Hill the plan and specification of the Koroit Church sent by His Lordship from Hamilton till today.

With only the ground plan to go on we are quite in the dark as to its probable cost of course could not invite tenders without an elevation plan and full specifications of the works.

The parties here who take an interest in the matter, after seeing the plan, asked me to write to you - Very Rev Sir - and to request you to have the goodness to send down an elevation plan of the church and full specifications of the works required for its completion. With only the ground plan we can't know what the church would be like nor what might be its probable cost. If you could send them before New Year's day, it would be very convenient, as on that day we are to have a meeting fr the purpose of making some beginning and I promised to have the required information by that day. Under those circumstances I trust - very Rev Sir - you will have the goodness to send them at your earliest convenience. I hope you will excuse this, as where I am writing I could not get any paper and ink.

I beg to remain, Very Rev Sir, Your obedient servant
M Stack

MDHC

Farrelly to Fitzpatrick, 23 February 1866

Hamilton

23rd Feby 1866

Dear Doctor Fitzpatrick,

I return very many sincere thanks for the cheque (£ 27). [...]

The building is going on rapidly and in a very satisfactory manner, the Dunkeld freestone looks very handsome in the dressing. I'm truly heartbroken at the prospects I have of paying my debts and I now fully see my imprudence n contracting so much at the same time. The Bishop told me to remind you that my second Church at Penshurst was to get a share – I wish to know at your convenience how much that share is to be.

I remain Dear Doctor Fitzpatrick,

Yours respectfully

M. Farrelly

MDHC

Miskelly to Goold, 12 March 1866

Dunolly 12 March 1866

My Lord

On the 3rd Saturday last a meeting was called by myself and a few others for the purpose of discussing the necessity of raising funds for the building of a chapel here.

A committee was therefore formed for that object and since that time a sum of L 300has been raised towards the building.

I did myself the honour while in town in January last to call upon your Lordship in reference to this matter, and especially in respect to the manner of application for State aid, and the procuring of plans for the building; and your Lordship then expressed yourself much pleased that the Catholic people of Dunolly were endeavouring to get up a place for Public Worship and that you Wd be glad to give them every assistance in your power.

By direction of the Committee therefore I have the honour to forward through the resident Clergyman – the Revd R. Fennelly- three tracings for your approval of plans of the building proposed to be erected. Your Lordship being fully conversant with the subject I need not discuss the plans further than to say:

The body of the house is 60 feet by 23 feet in the clear.

The Tower is 6 feet square in the clear

The walls of the body of the building are 2 feet thick and 20 feet high to the top of Hammer Beam

The walls of the tower are 36 feet high to rood and 3 feet thick

The walls around altar and vesting rooms are 18 inches thick

All the flanks of the windows and doors are to have granite facings outside and the mullions of the East and West windows to be also of granite

The caps of the buttresses to be made of granite

All the walls are to be of what is called rubble masonry and built of the hard stone found in the vicinity

The roofs to the main and tower roof to be slated – the slates to be laid on ¾ in branding

All roof timbers to be of Battie timber all other timbers yellow pine

The tower rood shall be straight as shown by the dotted red line, or curved as may be agreed upon

The seats to be open and of the ordinary description.

The floor to be of Castlemaine or Dunolly flags[tone]

The total cost will be about £1,200

Should your Lordship approve of the plans a detailed specifications will be made out for the instruction of those who may tender for the work.

I have also the honour to inform your Lordship that the cash collections now is in the London Chartered Bank in Dunolly and (should the plan be approved of) the committee shall on receipt of your reply forward the lish (schedule and regulations) together with the Bank manager's receipt for the cash, and your Lordship's will please to direct in the usual manner how it shall be held and disposed of.

At present it stands to the credit of the '<u>Dunolly Catholic Church fund</u>' and <u>no</u> person can sign cheques for the withdrawal of any part of it except by a special vote of the Committee.

We respectfully requested that your Lordship will reply at your earliest convenience.

I have the honour to be My Lord

Your Lordship's most obt. servant

John Miskelly

MDHC

<u>Farrelly to Fitzpatrick, 27 March 1866</u>

Hamilton

27 March 1866

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick

I duly recevd the £300 cheque for which accept my best thanks. It was sadly wanted indeed. Is there any chance of a supplementary grant towards the end of the year? If so, don't forget my claim.

I made a most egregious mistake in attempting two churches at same time – it has completely divided the strength of the mission and alienated from me the sympathy of those on whom I principally relied.

It is true that I give twice as much time and attention to collecting for Hamilton as to Penshurst hence first cause if losing the sympathy of the community there. The second cause is their getting no Govt aid up to present, a fact which, with other things, is set down to my credit – so much so that I am truly sick and tired of the place and people and my responsible position and I would wish in my heart that his Lordship would find it convenient to place me in some other mission where I would hold merely second or third place and where therefore I would always act upon the prudent advice of my

seniors. The mason work of Hamilton Church is almost nearly complete. The poly sided chancel does not look near so well as the rectangular.

Enclosed receipts for the two Govt Grants received up to date

Yours truly respectfully
M. Farrelly

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 17 April 1866

Warrnambool,
April 17th 1866

My Lord,

I have been this day at Belfast to see Father Stack, I was sorry to find him, on my arrival, very unwell and unable to do any duty. [...] I asked him whether he called or invited tenders for building any portion of the Koroit Church this year according to the Bishop's intention, he told me distinctly that he would not take the responsibility of so important a work in himself without an assistant clergyman. It is clear to me that he does not like the Mission of Belfast or Tower Hill; otherwise he would make some efforts even for his own comfort and respect, to improve the Presbytery and garden and so on.

The plan looks [illegible] and usable for a respectable independent mission.

Yours Faithfully
Tho. Slattery

MDHC

Fennelly to Fitzpatrick, 17 April 1866

St Francis Xaviers' Carisbrook
April 17th 1866

My Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I have been about at the out missions for some days and did not receive your letter until last night together with Mr Miskelly's garbled report of our meeting in Dunolly.

Indeed I have already received enough of trouble and annoyance from that individual. He has no respect for Ecclesiastical Authority and by his eccentric letters I trembled last he might displease the Bishop and got me in trouble. His object wd seem to be that of starting a large building not at all proportionate to the very little means of the few Catholics in Dunolly and not caring whether or not it shall be completed. The carrying out of that design, which was submitted to His Lordship, would eventually cost over three thousand pounds and in my opinion it would be the bright of folly to commence such an edifice in Dunolly – a place that has not yet acquired a feature of stability of permanency.

The £200 voted by the Bishop for my District will if my voice has any weight with His Lordship be expended in Maryborough or [illegible]. I shall send down a design for an enlargement of the present building. [...]

Yours Truly

R. F. Fennelly

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick 7 May 1866

Wangaratta

7th May 1866

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I enclose an order from His Lordship being a donation towards St Joseph's church Benalla. This Church is about being commenced and His Lordship said he hoped to be able to fiva us aid towards its erection before the end of the year. Also he promised to give something towards St Muchael the Archangel's Church Euroa, which will be finished in two months. These districts are very poor, so I feel certain you will endeavour to assist us. I will send you the voucher for St Patrick's Church Wangaratta when I return home on the 13th inst.

I am making a general collection throughout the district for St Patrick's Cathedral. I will forward the proceeds in about a fortnight.

I am Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

Yours faithfully

George D. Galen

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick 21 May 1866

Cath. Presbytery Wangaratta

May 21st 1866

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I acknowledge the receipt of you letter of the 18th inst. and beg to enclose you on opposite page a statement of my accounts till 30th April.I am prepared to give £50 of the debt due me on Presbytery and St Patrick's. This I assure you is as much as the state of my finances can justify me in giving.

I endeavoured to clear the debt of it and I have only yet succeeded in getting £60 towards it. It is true I have been building 2 schools and churches and collecting for them, still I must confess is hard work to get money for them, but it is almost an impossibility to get anything for the debt due on the Presbytery. The farming classes are perhaps you may know from experience are penurious to a wonderful extent, and even when they promise, they have no principle, the violate it.

I have written to Mr Wardell for the remainder of the plans, and sent him 2 ½ per cent on the work executed. I was glad to learn the work pleased His Lordship.

I am Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,
Your most obedt servnt
George Galen

Statement of accounts from 31st December 1865 till 30th April 1866

Cath Association £4-0-0
2 marriage licenses £4-0-0
Collection for the cathedral £7-0-0
----------£15-0-0
[Fitzpatrick handwriting]
Subscription to Cathedral £50-0-0
Cheque 28/5/66 £58-6-8
----------£123-6-8
Salary at £70 per annum
For Jan. Feb March April £23-6-8
Grant in aid for the erection of clergyman Dwelling £100-0-0
----------£123-6-8

MDHC

Parle to Fitzpatrick, 14 June 1866

Belfast,
June 14. 66

Very Revd and Dear Sir,

I received your note in due course [...]

The house here is in a toes as improvements are being effected to make it tolerable. I received the plans this week from Captain Mason, in whose hands they were left by Father Stack.

With regard to Tower-Hill there is not much difficulty, as a commencement. Funds being in hands with Government allowance for a first start (first contract). The only difficulty is to keep clear of the people's anxiety to have their own committee. This will require prudence. Once the work is commenced I trust interest sufficient will be created to run on smoothly.

Belfast is a greater difficulty. I fear from the town and the people, much time will be required to collect three hundred pounds. Will you promise to secure me whatever amount shall be necessary at eight per cent, until paid off, should I fail in securing that amount here? If so I will commence both churches at once, and use every effort not to call on you.

Collection are miserable, not one half of Richmond-return. Last Sunday the amount received for Geelong industrial school was 3s 6p, tho' speaking of by two clergymen, on two successive Sundays.

I spoke twice to the people of Belfast, to pay of the debt of fencing, due to Father Stack, I received £4-5-0, one fourth the amount.

It will take considerable time to rectify things here, I think on consideration you will not object to alter the arrangement about Father Ellis' salary.

We have neither vestments, altar linens nor anything suitable to church purposes. I had to pay Dean Slattery £3.10 for Vestments in Belfast out of my own pocket; and send to Ireland by last mail for Chalice, Ciborium and remostrance. Not even a simple bread cutter nor press to make them. Under the circumstances you will consider it but just to leave the two thirds for a couple of years, until we shall have something tolerable. Dean Slattery is well, as is also Father Ellis; with all due respect to his Lordship,

I remain dear Dr Fitzpatrick

Yours most sincerely

Fr Parle

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick 5 July 1866

Catholic Presbytery

Wangaratta

July 5th 1866

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

[...]

I hope the Gov.t grant for the new church will shortly be available, as I am anxious to give a fresh contract for the walls.Can you inform me if there is any Government reserve at Winton? This place is situated about six miles from Benalla on the main Sydney Road on the way to Wangaratta. I am about establishing a school there, as there are nearly thirty poor catholic children without any means of education. Also if there is a Gover.t reserve for Catholic Church purposes at Greta, on the Fifteen Miles Creek. This place is mid-way between Wangaratta & Benalla, on what they call the Old Sydney Road.

I must make application for sites if none are reserved. Have your heard anything about the application made about ten months ago for a site at Boorhaman. I sent you the map then and marked the allotment on it. But you have never written me concerning it, nor have I seen it [...]

I am very Rev.d sir

Your obedt servant

George G. Galen

MDHC

Fennelly to Fitzpatrick, 7 July 1866

St Francis' Xaviers' Carisbrook

July 7th 1866

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I hasten to call your attention to the enclosed received this morning and to request you to induce the Bishop to allow the £200 voted to Dunolly this year stand over until the grant of 1867 so as to have the building completed without any delay as the work to be first undertaken rounded cost over £1,000

There are only about £500 available this year and the carrying of the foundation stone - the roads are now so bad- would be anything but favourable. By obtaining £300 next year in addition to the £200 voted this year the whole design can be carried out early next year.

Yours in haste,

R.F. Fennelly

MDHC

Farrelly to Fitzpatrick, 15 July 1866

Hamilton, 15 July 1866

My dear Lord,

[...] I now beg to call your attention to another matter which has made me very miserable and unhappy since my return owing to the unkind bearings of those who ought to be my best supporters in my present pecuniary difficulties.

The Penshurst Church is now finished and on my return I found bills against it to the amt of £659. Now, as it's a/c at the bank was already considerably withdrawn the manager of Bank reasonably required me security before giving the money. [...] I at once went today Mr bringing with me bills books and asking his signature to a promissory note for the above amount, he at once abused me for giving all my attention to Hamilton. A reasoned with him that I could not possibly do two things at the same time and that when a greater debt on Hamilton where are left on safe footing I I would then use due Industry for the other. He repeatedly said you didn't see his way clear, but that last signed the document. I then went to Dan Twooney for his signature - he said you would pay his subscription now and by that means reduce the Bill by 50, gave his cheque and got to draw out a bill for L 609 instead of 659. That tomorrow he and I would see his father and two brothers and get them to sign the new bill and see their share the responsibility. Next day the father and other two sons absolutely refused to sign the new bill and into the bargain I'm used me dreadfully winding up by telling me before my face that they would report me to my bishop for neglecting my business and other things to that effect. Meantime I got one more with myself to signing the bill, got the money and paid and the contractors. I designed they gave the details seriatim as they occurred and that you may see the whole facts and their unpleasant circumstances. In the face of all this, I feel really miserable at the prospect of my debts on both the churches and I don't know how to do when all the bills come due unless your lordship helps me. If there is any money from Govt available this year I ask you for gods sake to let me have it for Penshurst or if all for this year is spent, promise me t two grants next year and I will with this encouragement bear up against the burden until help comes, otherwise I cannot do so long, doe here is no more money to be go really, for are you

sure you honestly and candidly I have already gone everywhere that they could expect a pound and it would be truly useless to visit at the same of places and people again. I am not seeking idleness or holidays are my own ease in the matter and if the labour would accomplish to the task, it would done long since. My appeal is a just one and if it meets your sympathies I will double my industry to complete towards competing Hamilton church at the earliest possible period.

I remain your lordship most obedient servant

M. Farrelly

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick, 7 August 1866

ThePresbytery
Wangaratta
August 7th 1866

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

The sites at Boorhaman and Winton are required fro immediate use. The material for schools is ready, and if we lag, schools under anti-Catholic auspices will be established. Have you heard from the Grant with regard to them?

[…] I would feel obliged if you could send me now £100 of the £500 granted this year for the Wangaratta church. I will not require the remainder till the end of Oct. I am so busy endeavouring to anticipate the enemy in the establishment of schools that I have not time to collect any money, and the people will not come in voluntarily with their subscriptions.

There is kore 'uphill' work in the Wangaratta mission just now than can be readily imagined. Everything is to be done for the establishment of religion […] And experience teaches that farming classes are not the most wealthy nor by any means the most generous portion of the community

Your most obed.t Servant

George D. Galen

[note in Fitzpatrick's handwriting]

Sent cheque £300 for Wangaratta church

12/8/66 JFP

MDHC

Parle to Fitzpatrick, 8 August 1866

August 8.66

My Lord,

I received your Lordship's letter and have acted on his suggestion.

Father Riordan had gone to Melbourne.

On inspecting the sight for Koroit Church, I found that the most eligible sight in the township belongs to one of your Lordship's flock. He partly consented to exchange two acres for yours at a small remuneration. One of the principal land-holders was with me who pressed the exchange and I have since spoken to others, who are alike desirous of the change. Its position will add much to the appearance of the church and will free it from surrounding buildings and small streets. It is on the same central block, but its best position. I ask your Lordships permission to make the change, before accepting of tenders. I hope to be ready for foundations by mid-September. Lowest tenders £343-11-0. The other £ 754-10-0. I have applied for others and shall close in August.

On Friday evening we hold a meeting for Belfast, after the excitement of election is over. With due respect I have the honour to remain my Lord

Your Lordships'
Most faithful clergyman
J Parle

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick 14 August 1866

Catholic Presbytery
Wangaratta
August 14th 1866

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your cheque for £300 towards the Wangaratta Church, also your kindness in enquiring about the sites for church purposes. I shall call on Nixon and make him exert himself to perform his part of the works.

I am ready to commence the schools. I have not less than ten or twelve schools to build in poor localities where there are eight or ten Catholic families [...] I trust I may able [sic] to accomplish it and thus [illegible] my too zealous friends of other persuasions

My Dear Dr Fitzpatrick
Your most obed.t servant
George D. Galen

MDHC

Farrelly to Fitzpatrick, 23 August 1866

Balmoral
23rd August 1866

Dear Doctor Fitzpatrick

Your note came to hand here this morning. [...]

Of late I have been unfortunate in displeasing the Bishop in several ways. In opening the Penshurst Church and asking leave to open Hamilton one I gave him the Bishop mortal offence. I now solemnly declare I never meant or intended off fence and I did not see my mistake Until I received his Lordship's letter [...] I am now fully aware of

my fault and would leave the church unused until the day of my death rather then repeat the same of conduct, and the humiliation of confessing my crime and expressing sorrow for it be any mitigation I hereby truly do the one and The other.

I remain Yours truly

M Farrelly

MDHC

Parle to Fitzpatrick, 10 September 1866

Sept 10-66

Very Rev and dear Sir,

I transmitted the Koroit Schedule some time since yesterday I secured the Dean's signature to the schedule for Belfast, which I transmit by this post. It was not an easy matter to secure the necessary amount. We must hope that as the work proceeds, a spirit of generous cooperation will be enhanced. The Dean is well. Tenders for masonry for Belfast were £198 and £123 as yet neither has been accepted but I trust to have all contracts entered into before or on Monday the 17th. Mr Wardell has promised elevations and + against the 15 of September. I shall then lose no time with the tenders for Koroit; and I expect by the increased amount of the work, that we shall be able to have the sum required expended, before the end of December.

[…] I enclose a transfer to be signed by his Lordship and Father Shanahan to enable me to draw the money for improvement of house. We cannot possibly call on the people at present, as it would interfere with our church collection, but I shall let them know nothing of how improvements have been paid for, so as to have a claim for a call when I shall consider it prudent. I shall also require an order from his Lordship to meet the calls for Koroit when we commence work. Koroit funds are in the Bank of Victoria. […]

I am writing to Mr Wardell to call for tenders in Melbourne as he has specifications. With kindest respect,

I remain Yours most sincerely

J Parle

MDHC

Hardman to Heptonstall, 3 October 1866

October 3 1866

Rev and Dear Sir

Enclosed we beg to send you a numbered plan of the West window for Melbourne Cathedral to enable them to fix the portions in their proper positions. The numbers on the plan correspond with those marked on the glass. The 7 cases containing the window left last night.

We remain

Your obedient servants

John Hardman

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 18 January 1867

Warrnambool

Jany 18th 1867

Very Rev and Dear Sir,

[…] I am now preparing to collect and raise sufficient funds for the erection of or new Church the foundation of which will be laid I hope by next Easter, his Lordship has given that much time to make our necessary arrangements before his next visitation to the western district. I wish you would give an helping hand towards the building fund for all that the faithful of poor Warrnambool have done for your favourite St Pat[k] .

Send me a checque of £50 tus you will give a substantial proof of your liberality and kindness towards your friends and benefators in the far west.

Wishing you many returns of this holy season

Yours truly

Tho Slattery

MDHC

Riordan to Fitzpatrick, 6 February 1867

Williamstown

6th Febry 1867

My Rev dear Sir,

Let me have some guaranty or assurance that the screw will be tightened no further and I hereby assign over for building of St Patrick's two pounds per mensem of my salary in secula seculorum. I really cannot do mere with other charges and liabilities staring me at every point of the compass. I am still in debt in Portland for giving in for cement bluestone and improvements. People may say 'Oh, mend him' again perhaps the same remark will be made because since

I came here I found it to be an absolute necessity to repair damages or go to live in a hotel from this delapidated mansion. I have been and are still willing as any man in the diocese to contribute a respectable amount towards the metropolitan cash chest but I really cannot remain in suburban grandeur if floors are to remain untiled- roofs unslated and drains and cesspools chock full of abomination.

Let me have a margin for these contingences and what I can afford for other demands I shall give freely.

I remain Very Rev Dear Sir.

Yours truly

P. Riordan

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick 8 February 1867

Warrnambool Feby 8th 1867

V. Rev and Dear Sir,

I now enclose you the C. Association money for the month Jany last per P. Office Order £1-8-0

I shall trespass on you to let me have my salary for last month. I am sorry I cannot afford to subscribe to St Patrick's church this year in consequence of the difficulty we have here in raising funds for our own new Church, all monies available I intend apply and appropriate for our own building and Church fund this present year.So you must not expect or receive any more subscriptions from me for the time to come.

I request you will be also good enough to send me twenty five pounds (£25) which I gave you as treasurer to the Clerical fund. I have been in Belfast yesterday Father Parle is working away, hard and fast, to complete the stone-work of his church before the winter sets in. I am going to raffle my horse at the time of our bazaar for the use and benefit of the Church. Any thing to swell and increase the funds.

Yours Truly

Tho. Slattery

[Note on side] 10 Feb 1867 Received 300 in payment of the grant in 1866 for church Koroit L 300

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick 11 February 1867

Catholic Presbytery,

Wangaratta

Feb.ry 11th 1867

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I acknowledge the receipt of cheque for £48-5-11 the second grant in /66 to the Wangaratta Church. I have not accepted the tender for the further portions of the walls as yet. The only tender I could accept amounts to £1600, Architect and Surveyor fees another £600. I have not at present £300 on hands so I could not think og involving myself to such an extent.

The walls when finished of this portion of the Church will cost nearly £3000. I fear this is an expenditure far too enormous for the resources of Wangaratta. I wish you would endeavour to prevail on the Bishop to have a brick Church cemented in Wangaratta. This could be finished in a few years, and we are much in want of it.

I must confess the farming classes are not generous even in matters of Church building: numbers of them promised me subscriptions nearly ten years ago and never paid them. [...] They are penniless. Taking the present aspect of thinkgs into consideration I would recommend His Lordship to have a brick Church here, however, if it is in his wish that it should be of stone, I will ask the architect to give me plans for the amount of work I will have money to meet by the end of the year.

Your obed. Servant

George Galen

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 15 February 1867

Warrnambool

February 15th 1867

Very Rev and Dear Sir,

I enclose you a receipt for Cheque, three hundred pounds which I shall place to the credit of the Catholic Church, Koroit, on next Monday.I am sorry to tell you that there is a great deal of sickness especially among children in this town and district at present, some of our schools are deserted on account of the measles.

The Catholics of Mortlake and Terang are crying aloud for a local clergyman – a firm field for a good zealous priest.

We had some heavy showers of rain this morning which is very great blessing this time of the year.

I expect that you will give a handsome subscription to our own new church, I am doing all I can to raise sufficient funds to commence and lay the foundation-stone as soon as possible (after Easter).

The Bishop's pastoral has excited the bile of some of the Bigots of this Town, it has made them actually mad and frantic, they can't understand such opposition

Yours truly

Tho. Slattery

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 23 March 1867

Warrnambool,

March 23rd 1867

Very Rev. and Dear Sir,

I am not in a position to subscribe to any church this year in consequence of being engaged to build our own new church, all monies and means available I intend to appropriate to that building. I should be only robbing Peter to pay Paul if I subscribed to St Patrick's when the local church requires it much more.

I am glad to inform you that Our bazaar has been most successful , I think, we can realize excluding of all the expenses the sum of £300 in a small community like this I consider it a very handsome liberal sum, all denominations have stood to us very liberally and I am well pleased with the whole business connected with the Bazaar. 'I have to trouble you again to let me have my salary for I want it very badly. I have to visit Mortlake very soon in a week or fortnight hence.

Yours truly,

Tho Slattery

MDHC

Parle to Fitzpatrick, 11 April 1867

Belfast,

April 11 . 67

Very Revd and dear Sir,

[...]Broadbent is in daily expectance of the cargo of freestone. The moment it arrives I shall be able to give and approximate answer as to the time of completion.

Secure for me the £300 and the permission to authorise Father Ellis and every effort shall be made to complete Belfast [...]

J Parle

[...] I forwarded the Certificate of Expenditure for Koroit on Monday to Dean Slattery. Do my Dear Fitzpatrick, prevail on the Bishop to grant the request. It will do good and the work cannot be done otherwise.

I remain with all respect

Yours most sincerely,

J Parle

MDHC

Farrelly to Fitzpatrick 16 April 1867

Hamilton

16 April 1867

Dear Doctor Fitzpatrick,

Attached please find summary filled up.

Please pay ten pounds on my a/c to the Episcopal testimonial. I would be glad to know how much I am to get this year for Penshurst Church, as the bank bills are to be renewed on 22nd inst. I am perfectly miserable here. I can't get money from the people under any circumstances and I am not very sure that the parties who signed the bills with me before will do so now.

I may as well now reply to your last note regarding the Cathedral. I deny in toto that I refused making the collection for it. I merely said and meant that at present it would be of very little use doing so. I could if I wished, have made the collection on the day appointed and perhaps have to hand you over a mere nominal sum, say three or four pounds, but I thought it better wait a while until in full possession of my church, give long notice and get Fr Parle to preach for me and by these means do something satisfactory.

I remain

Yours very respectfully

M Farrelly

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 20 April 1867

Warrnambool,
April 20th 1867

Very Rev. and Dear Sir,

You will be food enough to give to the Bishop Testimonial sum of Ten pounds form my salary of April inst.

I am sorry I cannot avail myself of the pleasure to go to Melbourne this time and see the Bishop before his departure for Europe. The confessions and Easter season command all our own attention here these works after Easter; besides I am engaged now to collect subscribed Promises for our New Church. This is a difficult and unpleasant work.

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick, I beg now to suggest to you before his Lordship leaves, not to allow or permit any Clergyman to travel out of their or his own district to collect or beg subscriptions; but to confine each and every priest to his own cure or Mission.

Yours Faithfully
Tho. Slattery

MDHC

Parle to Fitzpatrick, 25 April 1867

Belfast, April 25.67

Very Revd and dear Sir,

[...] The freestone is just arrived and will be landed by tomorrow night. I send also with this the schedule, but it is necessarily very imperfect, as I have no data and only write from hearsay and scrap-information.

Yours most sincerely,
J Parle

MDHC

Parle to Fitzpatrick, 15 June 1867

Belfast June 15. 67

Very Revd and dear Sir,

The Dean handed me £ 300-0-0 on Wednesday for Koroit Church. Many thanks. It was most welcome and enables us to meet the demands for St Patrick's. I was from home in country district all last week for said church and shall likewise be from home the next week for some purpose, meantime Father Ellis attends to the home collection.

Belfast roofs are all boarded. The old wall clean gone. On Monday we commence the spire: all will be complete within a few weeks. Hands are slackened at Koroit fearing we should be run out of free stone as second cargo is not yet come; also I feared I could not collect in the promised contributions in time for regular payments.

Enclosed you have receipt from the Dean, who is well. With all respect and with many thanks

I remain

Yours most sincerely,

J Parle

MDHC

Parle to Fitzpatrick, 25 June 1867

Belfast, June 25-67

Very Revd and dear Sir,

I received your [illegible] on Saturday night enclosing a Treasury order for two hundred pounds for Belfast church. I have no printed form for magistrates certificate of the necessary work. Would you kindly forward a few, as I shall require them for Koroit as well as the one for Belfast.

Father Ellis and I have done everything in our power to meet the contract. The servants and Protestants have subscribed very well. Our principal people almost nothing. We have both treated them with singular forbearance, nor have we given them a particle of excuse. The Principal man his evening crowned his denial with a most blasphemous expression to Father Ellis. I am glad, even under insult and provocation he didn't say one angry word. I despair of many. Let us hope some good result from a mission. Could you make by a stretch of kindness the other hundred (promised) two hundred and fifty? This would cover the contract and pay Captain Mason for superintendence and also the small chancel windows, and those for vestries.

Broadbent is to complete the Tower (now in hands) for one hundred and fifty and includes also repairs to the old roof and all pointing with some other things omitted in specifications. This sum is not to be paid until New year day 1868. So that we shall have all the external and necessary work done, without the necessity of any scaffolding.

We are endeavouring to work up a Bazaar for Christmas. If successful the Sanctuary window, pews, rails and so may have a chance. By the present Belfast people they never will be done. I made collection for education expenses and shall remit next week.

I think you may send my twenty numbers of New. C. paper at least.

In haste for mail,

I remain

Yours most respectfully

J Parle

MDHC

Parle to Fitzpatrick, 2 July 1867

Belfast July 2.67

Very Rev and dear Sir

I enclose receipt. There is no room whatever for Clergymen to complain of Belfast receipts: the Church so long on hands and the amount so long due. The balance that shall remain to Broadbent, I shall try to meet somehow or other by bills, but I will expect the £270 as early in 68 as possible. For Koroit I will calculate only on my fair share.

You did not enclose the printed forms for magistrates voucher, for the remaining £100.

When writing to His Lordship tell him I have secured the three acres of land adjoining the Koroit Church (the land in front between Presbiterian church and our own). When here, his Lordship told me not to let it slip from the church.

The three acres cost me £55-0. [...]

I remain

Yours most sincerely

J. Parle

MDHC

Hoyne to Fitzpatrick, 15 July 1867

St Mary's Geelong

July 15th 1867

Dear Doctor Fitzpatrick,

Many thanks for your cheque for three hundred pounds. It was much wanting [sic]. [...] I hope all the clergy will warmly take up the window affair, but you will have to attend the meeting yourself, you or the Bishop are not any more interested in this affair than any other amongst the clergy.

Hence if they approve as I am sure they will of the design of purchasing an expensive an altar for the Cathedral they cannot refuse, it seems to me, then share of the responsibility of raising funds for the purpose. The only difficulty I see is to decide fairly the amount that each mission should be responsible for. No one can do that as well as yourself. I will not object to a fair proportion on the Geelong Mission although the difficulty of collection it will devolve entirely on myself.

I remain My Dear Doctor Fitzpatrick,

Yours Very Sincerely,

John Hoyne

MDHC

Parle to Fitzpatrick, 2 August 1867

Belfast August 2. 1867

Very Rev and dear Sir,

Mr Broadbent, my contractor, is pressing for Money. I had only sixty pounds I Bank this morning. He leaves by Western in a few hours and I promised I would write to ask you to hand him the £100 – 0-0 to my credit in Treasury.

Pay it for Belfast Church and send me Broadbent receipt by post.

Father Ellis left for retreat.

With kindest respects I remain
Very Revd. and dear Sir
Yours most sincerely
J Parle

MDHC

Dalton to Fitzpatrick, 31 August 1867

St James' Richmond
Augt 31st /67

My Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

At a meeting of our parishioners here some months ago to raise funds for the New Church, Mr Duffy and O'Hea present wished that I should apply to his Lordship for a share of the 'State Aid' for church building.

I beg leave to do so now, and trust you will kindly support the application.

I am My Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,
Yours most Truly
Jos Dalton SJ

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 1 October 1867

Warrnambool October 1st 1867

Very Rev and Dear Sir

I shall trouble you to pay the following sums on my a/c from my salary of Sept last - licenses £ 10.0.0 Cathedral £2.10s.

I have not heard from Mr Wardell concerning the Plans for Warrnambool Church. Will you kindly urge him on to draw them immediately. I am depending on you to see after them

Yours truly
Tho Slattery

MDHC

Geoghegan to Fitzpatrick, 23 October 1867

Kyneton

October 23/67

Very Rev Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your note of yesterday. I am quite glad to get Stations of the cross, and I wish that you may have them sent on to me by railway.

The house, I fear, is not yet quite dry for me to live in.

I have the honour to beVery Rev Sir

Your Obedient Servant

Horatio Geoghegan

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 12 November 1867

Warrnambool Nov 12th 1867

Very Rev and Dear Sir

I have now much pleasure to forward you the enclosed cheque for fifteen pounds (£15) from this mission for the use and benefit of His Holyness Pope Pius IX including Dr O'Dwywer's and my own small gifts. I will trouble you again to hasten the plans of our new Church here, the tradesman of the town will pull the eyes out of my head I am so slow at work.

Yours truly

Tho Slattery

P.S. I expect you will assist us with Terang Church say 200£. I have got a Plan from Mr O'Dowden Architect. Fr O'Dwyer hopes to have it built very early next year,

T. S.

MDHC

Shanahan to Fitzpatrick, 23 March 1868

Inglewood

March 23rd

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

So that we may commence to build the Church at Dunolly will you please say what amt of aid we are to receive this year. We have £320 in the band and another £100 or close to it promised us so if we got about £400 more we should be able to finish such portion as would answer the congregation for some time.

I remain Yours humbly,

M J Shanahan

[Note on the back by Fitzpatrick] 27/3/66

Reply: You will get 2/3 of the cost of State aid be not abolished before the amnt be paid. I cannot get more this year than £200

It will not be paid until £300 at least has been expended.

Divide the work onto three or more parts. Get tenders for walls at N. 1, Roof on N. 2, Remaining works N. 3. Don't let the fine weather pass away without commencing.

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick, 20 May 1868

St Patrick's Wangaratta 20/5/68

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

The people of Chiltern wish to commence the foundations of their Church immediately. Ftr Tierney says there is not £300 in bank. He says he submitted the plans to you and you approved of them. He has sent me the plans of the foundations. The ostensible reason for commencing the work with so little funds on hands, is that they expect to be able to realize presently a large amount by a bazaar and [illegible] auction, as other denominations are under obligation to them. Besides, they could collect their promised subscriptions. As they will be able to pay for their foundations it might as well to gratify their wishes, although I have an objection to piecemeal contracts in a small building. Yet, I suppose it is a necessity seeing the mall amount of grant aid obtainable yearly, and the small subscriptions generally given. You will please inform me what I am to do in this matter by return of post.

The walls of the Wangaratta Church will be completed in a few days; of course having entered into a contract I could not detain the contractor beyond the stipulated time. As you can only send me £200, it will necessitate me to discount another bill for £200 - I have already discounted one for £500. The total cost of this contract, commenced in January last with £200 in bank, will be £2300. I am satisfied if you could manage to send me a larger amount you would, seeing the struggle I have made to complete the masonry. If possible send me the £200 before the end of the month, as I have to square up with the contractor on the 1st prox.

I am Dear Dr Fitzpatrick

Your obedt servant

George D. Galen

MDHC

Parle to Fitzpatrick, 28 May 1868

Belfast,

May 28.68

Very Rev and dear Sir,

I find it perfectly impossible to extract money from the people at present. They have not the means I believe, under these present difficulties, to pay off what they promised. I have pressed the subject in every form.

The form I sent was for Koroit. It is hardly possible I could have made a mistake. It was sent by this same evenings post on which I wrote to yourself with the mission account, to the Dean od Warrnambool for his signature, with a request to forward it to Dr Fitzpatrick, and he told me since that it had been sent to you. It was regularly signed by Trustees and Magistrate. I cannot account for the delay.[…]

Very Revd and dear Sir

Yours most sincerely

J Parle

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick, 28 August 1868

St Patrick's

Wangaratta August 28th 1868

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

[…] I am about proceeding with the roofing of the Church at Wangaratta. I have succeeded in making the debts small. I am glad to hear of the Bishop's early return and of his good health.

Your obedt servant

George D. Galen

MDHC

Parle to Fitzpatrick, 2 September 1868

Belfast Sept 2.68.

Very Rev and dear Sir,

I signed the St Patricks fund on the district understanding of having ample time for its payment. You know I have been in difficulties which few have experienced, and nothing could have induced me to contract further liabilities but your kindness in transmitting the last generous Grant to Koroit. I have now reduced the Bank liability to £ 300-0-0. Two of the Parishioners owe me one hundred of that, but they refuse paying; others of the larger holders owe me pretty large sums but they hold back. If you promise me six-hundred for next year will call them together, tell them how they stand, and if they pay off the three hundred and assess themselves with the difference between your six hundred and amount required for finishing gables, windows, doors and roof, I will undertake having it roofed against Easter.

You are to remember that if not roofed immediately or walls cemented, what is done will suffer materially. Hoping you will give honourable reply

I remain

Yours most respectfully

J Parle

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 24 September 1868

Warnambool

September 24th 1868

Very Rev and Dear Sir,

[…] I have just returned from Terang, you will be glad to know that the Church there will be finished in a fortnight time. I am expecting to receive from you the Grant in aid every post. Could you let me have £ 200. The sum would meet the contractors claim at present.

I cannot move about to collect, the weathers is so rough and rainy in this district lately. Father Parle was here yesterday, he is as big and rough as a mountain, fit for any weather or season.

Yours very faithfully,

Tho Slattery

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 16 November 1868

Warnambool

November 16th 1868

Very Rev and Dear Sir,

[…] I will be able to forward you the Voucher for Terang Church by next week signed by the P. Magistrate. You will be glad to know that the Contractor will give up the key of the Church early next week having completed his contract by that time.

We have commenced on yesterday to excavate the foundations for our new Church. All hands at work now night and day

Yours truly

Tho Slattery

MDHC

Galen to Fitzpatrick, 23 November 1868

Wangaratta

Novr 23rd 1868

Dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

[…] I am glad to inform you however, that I am out of debt for the walls of my Church. My Art Union will realize above on £800, the £100 you are kindly obtaining for me for Benalla will free it from debt also, so that the mission, excepting the house is completely out of debt. I am sorry I could not be in Melbourne on the Bishop's arrival.

Your obd servant

George Galen

MDHC

Slattery to Fitzpatrick, 16 November 1868

Warnambool November 16th 1868

Very Rev and Dear Sir,

[…] I will be able to forward you the Voucher for Terang Church by next week signed by the P. Magistrate. You will be glad to know that the Contractor will give up the key of the Church early next week having completed his contract by that time.

We have commenced on yesterday to excavate the foundations for our new Church. All hands at work now night and day

Yours truly

Tho Slattery

MDHC

Goold to Propaganda Fide, 9 October 1869

Melbourne,

9 Oct.b 1869

Eminenza Reverendissima,

Ho ricevuto la lettera di V. Eminenza in data 23 di Luglio passato nella quale me reca notizia del desiderio di Sua Santità di vedermi in Roma per assister al Concilio ecumenico affinchè con altri Prelati di questa Provincia Ecclesistica rappresenti queste remote regioni della Chiesa Cattolica allo stesso tempo incaricandomi in nome del Sommo Pontefice di una missione Speciale nella Diocesi di Auckland nella Nova Zelanda. A tutti due questi commandi di Sua Santità obedirò con somma alacrità e conveniente prontezza. […]

Giacomo A. Goold

Bishop of Melbourne

PFHA

Wardell to Goold, 6 December 1869

My Dear Lord,

I am willing to accept one thousand pounds for the plans and details etc for the remaining portions of the fabric of St Patrick's Cathedral as the understanding that I incur no responsibility for the execution or construction of the work or exercise any superintendence. Payment to be made by five equal half yearly instalments- the first in or about Christmas 1870 and I will furnish the Plans for the tower, piers and arches and columns immediately adjoining before 31st decr 1869.

The plans to be completed by Christmas 1872.

Your Lordship most obedient servt

Wardell

Decr 6 1869

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 14 September 1871

Carisbrook Presbytery

14th Septe 1871

My dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

I think Mr Wardell forgets all about the design for the Kilmore altar. Urge him to have it ready for the departure of the next mail.

Send all letters to Inglewood. The weather is fine making travelling pleasant.

Fr O'Callaghan's Church drawings must be forwarded to Inglewood, as I purpose proceeding to Dunolly on tomorrow.

Yours affectionately,

+J.A. Goold

Hoyne to Wardell, 22 February 1872

Feby 22nd 1872,

No. 1 Little Napier Street

Fitzroy

Dear Mr Wardell,

Mr Wright informs me that you have specified freestone for windows & doors in the additions to be made in Sunbury.

I thought it was understood then, between us that cement should be used and not freestone. I told the Bishop I would not have freestone and he fully coincided with me on that matter.

You will oblige me by arranging with Mr Wright as to the deduction to be allowed on this account and the sooner the work is commenced the better

Yours

John Hoyne

MDHC

Wardell to Goold, 26 February 1872

Toorak Road opp. Christ Church

South Yarra

Febry 26th 1872

My dear Lord Bishop,

At Dr Fitzpatrick suggestion I forward herewith the Revd Father Hoyne's letter to me in reference to Cement being used for Windows & Doors of the additions to the Church at Sunbury. The portion already built is of Bluestone with freestone dressings.

I need not say Cement is only a sham material, and I do not think the saving would be a very large one.

I think yr. Lordship would be better pleased (if freestone is not to be used) that the windows and doorways should be of Malmsbury Bluestone, rather than cement, and I do not think they would cost more. Even then as the Chancel has freestone for its windows etc it seems a pity to alter the material.

I am my dear Lord Bishop
Your Lordship's
Very dutiful Servant
Bernard Wardell

MDHC

Goold to Fitzpatrick, 27 February 1872

Beechworth,
27 February 1872

My dear Dr Fitzpatrick,

Just before starting for Yackandandah I received the enclosed. Fr Hoyne seems to be trifling about this Sunbury church. He may have spoken about the freestone dressings for the windows etc. But I have no recollection of it. However I am confident I never recommended cement instead of freestone. If he intends to build the church, bluestone and not cement should be used, his own good taste and sound judgment ought to have suggested this and not cement.

In haste, Affectionately yours,
J. A. Goold

MDHC

Wardell to Fitzpatrick, 11 November 1874

Toorak Road, S. Yarra
Nov. 11 1874

My Dear Fitzpatrick,

Thanks for yr note just received.

It would not be safe for you to proceed with the Tower without a clear understanding of what is to be done and how; and it is necessary also that you should determine what the temporary finish should be. I have sketches necessary to enable you to make this decision, and I shall be at home any evening this week if you will give me a call; or between 12 and 1 on Sunday or at any other time you will name. I think it will be desirable that Mr Denny should come too, as he might thoroughly to understand what is to be done, as a mistake might be serious and there is a difficulty in avoiding it at this stage. I could not undertake to furnish at present any drawings (if you wish them) beyond what is necessary to take the tower a foot or two above the roof. [...]

I am very dear Dr Fitzpatrick
Yrs very sincerely

Wardell

MDHC

Mayer to Fitzpatrick, 1 August 1879

Mayer & Co
Munich Ecclesiastical Art and Stained Glass Establishment
70 Grosvenor Street W
London Augt. 1 1879

Very Rev and Dear Father,

We thank you very much for your kindness.

We do not consider Mr Young's Estimate at all unreasonable, and as you leave the subjects entirely with us, we will on reconsideration, represent the Last Supper in our window and Melchisedech giving Bread and Wine in the other, in each the subject going through the three lights. We think this will be more effective than to put a subject in each light, as they are rather narrow for their height. Meanwhile, we beg to remain,

Very Rev and Dear Father
Your Obd Servts
Mayer & Co.

MDHC

Moran to Propaganda Fide, 8 November 1886

St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney
8 Novembre 1886

Eminenza Reverendissima,

Nel suo pregiatissimo foglio (n.4490) sotto la data 30 Sett dell'anno corrente, V. Eminenza dimanda il mio parere riguardo alla supplica presentata alla Sacra Congrgaz.e dal Revmo Sig Fitzpatrick, amministratore della sede Melbournese, vacante sede, nella quale prega gli sia permesso di far uso delle rendite Arcivescovili durante la vacanza di quella sede per la fabbrica della chiesa Cattedrale.

Il detto Revmo Amministratore è un ottimo Sacerdote che ha lavorato nelle missioni Australiane per circa cinquanta anni e benché sia al presente ridotto in forze per la sua estrema vecchiezza si dedica tutto per condurre a termine la costruzione della bellissima chiesa Cattedrale di Melbourne che è in gran parte eretta, grazie alla sua infatigabile energia. Egli veramente merita ogni lode ed è degno di ogni considerazione.

Io vorrei suggerire che la Sacra Congregazione gli permettesse di applicare alla detta fabbrica della Cattedrale le rendite arcivescovili ricevute nol primo trimestre dopo la morte del defunto arcivescovo. Questa concessione sarà per lui una grandissima consolazione e gli darà nuovo coraggio per proseguire nell'intrapreso lavoro. Questo suggerimento io faccio più volentieri, perché questo lavoro intrapreso dal Revmo Amministratore servirà di alleggerire assai la fatica del nuovo Arcivescovo. Nella fabbrica di questa Chiesa Cattedrale di Melbourne si sono spese di già più di centoventimila liresterline, eppure finché sia terminato il Santuario non può produrre

che poco effetto. Io spero che questo lavoro sarà talmente spinto avanti prima dell'arrivo del nuovo Arcivescovo che poco gli resterà per compirlo dopo il suo arrivo.

Baciando umilmente la mano di V Eminenza Reverendissima, ho l'onore di rassegnarmi di V. Emza

umilissimo servo

Patrizio F. Cardinale Moran

Arciv.o di Sydney

Allegato

Emo e Remo Signore

L'Illmo e Remo Mgs C. S. Reynolds, vescovo di Adelaide, mi ha informato che dopo la morte dei suoi predecessori fu benignamente cncesso dalla S. C. di Propaganda agli amministratori del detto diocese, di spendere durante la vacanza della sede, l'occorrenti rendite vescovili pel bene della religione.

Chiederei umilmente il Favor da S. E. Rma di concedermi licenza, affinchè un nuovo arcivescovo sia promosso alla sede di Melbourne, di far uso delle rendite arcivescovili che vengano a mano per compier il santuario della nostra chiesa Cattedrale che adesso sta senza tetto.

Ho l'onore di trasmettere a S. E. Rma un delineamento della chiesa nel suo stato presente, e quale sarà quando finirà.

Baciando la sua Sacra Porpora

Sono di Sua E. Rma

Um.o servitore

Joannes Fitzpatrick

Administrator

San Patrizio

Melbourne, Victoria, Australia

12 di Agosto 1886

[note on the back]

si accorda per 3 mesi

[Stamp]: Segreteria della S . C. di Propaganda Fide Protocollo 5985

PFHA

Wardell to Shanahan, 7 December 1898

Dec 7 1898

Dear Father Shanahan,

[...] I am very glad to say that I have a sketch to a small scale of the completed design for the Hamilton Church, of which I will send you a tracing in a few days, and will give myself the pleasure of asking your acceptance of it.

I hope you know how shamefully the drawings and details were departed from, not I am sure with the approval or knowledge of Father Farrelly, but through the ignorance or negligence of whoever was charged to carry them out. I designed the church in 1865, and I have only seen what was done once (in 1868) and I see on my return home, I wrote, on one of the plans the following note:

Oct 1868 I have just seen the portion of this churh now built and found that it had been carried out by the Surveyor who superintended the works with the utmost carelessness in regards the details – nearly all are wrong and the effect is utterly destroyed. Among other defects and departures from drawings and specifications I observed that the pillars of the nave are of freestone instead of bluestone as specified. The freestone quoins are regular instead of irregular. The gable cross of outer sacristy is not according to design and is of freestone instead of bluestone. The string courses generally are wrong and are not as designed by me. The inner arches of windows and doorways are wrong and utterly unlike those shown on the detail drawings.

I am glad to have had the opportunity of letting you know this for I have no doubt the ludicrous blunders have not passed unobserved by any who have knowledge of the architecture adopted for the building and that I have been naturally blamed for it.

I am dear Fr Shanahan,

Yours very faithfully,

Wardell

MLMSS10-4, SLNSW

Appendix 2: Reports on the status of the Diocese of Melbourne

Goold to *Propaganda Fide*, 1851

Situazione della Vittoria o Australia Felice

Emin.za Rever.ma

chiedo rispettosamente alla Emi.za vostra Revim. di assoggettare questa breve Relazione dello Stato della Religione nella Diocesi di Melbourne e colonia di Vittoria ossia Australia Felice la cui mappa le invio.

Situazione della Vittoria o Australia Felice

L'Australia Felice, che è la parte meridionale della Colonia di New South Wales e quasi eguale in estensione al Regno unito della Gran Brettagna, è circondata al S. E. dallo stretto di Bass e Capo Howe, al Norde dal fiume Murray , all'Ovest dai confini dell'Australia Meridionale al grado 141° di longitudine orientale, avente una superficie di circa 97,000 miglia quadrate. Il Governo prese officialmente il possesso di questa terra nel 1836, sotto l'amministrazione di S.E. Sir Richard Bourke, Governatore di New South Wales, in quell anno fu scelto il luogo per fabbricare la città di Melbourne, situata sulla riva Settentrionale del fiume Yarra Yarra, e scompartita mentre che stava in visita in quel distretto. S. E. il sud.to Governatore nello stesso tempo approvò anche il piano per altre due piccole città, cioè Williams-town, porto di mare di Melbourne alla imboccatura di Yarra Yarra e Geelong sul braccio della Baja di Hobson, cinquanta miglia distante da Melbourne. Oltre di queste tre città già nominate sono stati formati dal governo e persone private varj altri Paesi dei quali i più rimarchevoli sono Portland, Belfast, Pentridge, Heidelberg, Kilmore, Taravill, Colac, Warnambool e Richmond.

Popolazione

L'Australia Felice fertile e di clima salubro è occupata da una piccola popolazione di emigranti Europei sparsi sopra ampia superficie, ove si trova in abbondanza tutto ciò che accorre ai commodi della vita dei quali anziosamente desiderano che vadano a parteciparne di loro Patriotti e confratelli. Ogni cinque anni si fa la statistica della popolazione di tutte le Colonie della Australia. La storia della Colonia di Vittoria o Australia Felice comprende il tempo di quattro di queste generali numerazioni. Nell'anno 1836 la popolazione, esclusi gli indigeni, ammontava al numero di 224 individui: nel 1841 a 11,738; nell'anno 1846 a 32,879; e al presente 1851, a 80,000.

I Cattolici formano più di una terza parte della intera popolazione della Provincia. Melbourne, capitale e sede del Governo, è la più popolata di tutte le altre città. In occasione dell'ultimo novero ammontava alla terza parte dell'intera popolazione della provincia.

Il numero degli Indigeni in tutta la Colonia di Vittoria non eccede i 5000. Il progresso è tale e sì sorprendente che fino ad ora può citarsi di una rapidità senza esempio.

Religione

I Cattolici, come si è detto, formano più di un terzo della popolazione, ma sparsi qua e la per tutto il distretto. È difficile di fare esatto computo del numero de' protestanti, ed altre sette che ogni giorno sorgono e si dichiarano indipendenti dalla setta Anglicana ed altre sette che da queste ne nascono. Il Giudaismo ha pochi seguaci nella Australia Felice. Il numero più grande dunque della popolazione unita nella loro fede e attaccamento dell'Illustre Pontefice che siede sulla cattedra di S. Pietro, Guardiano e Depositario della Sacra e vera fede, sono i Cattolici Irlandesi. In Australia felice come nelle altre colonie della Nuova Olanda non v'ha chiesa dominante, avendo il Governo disposto riguardo ai colonj in basi di eccessiva liberalità; con Bill emanato nel 1846, sotto l'amministrazione di Sir Richard Bourke, si ha "per promuovere l'edificazione delle chiese e cappelle e per provvedere ai Ministri della Religione in New South Wales" vien somministrato dal Governo un ajuto in danaro fino ad una certa quantità a seconda delle private soscrizioni e del numero delle congregazioni. Noi non abbiam potuto ampiutamente avvalerci dei vantaggi che ci accorda questo Bill perché le nostre circostanze non ci permettono di contribuire colle nostre offerte la somma dal Bill richiesta, e neppure in molti casi abbiamo il numero della congregazione, perché il gregge è troppo diffuso. La Società per la Propagazione della Fede per l'Estero stabilita a Lione ci ha abilitato di aggiovarsi di questa porzione del Bill in certi casi.

Le seguenti sono le missioni stabilite nella Australia Felice:

Melbourne

In Melbourne v'ha una Chiesa costruita in mattoni, lunga piedi 140 e larga piedi 50. più una cappella ad oratorio nella parte orientale della città. Nella prima si celebrano ogni giorno tre messe, nell'altra una messa in dì di festa. A questa missione di Melbourne sono addette due stazioni Brighton cioè e Williamstown distanti la prima nove miglia e l'altro 8 ove ogni Dominica si celebrano messa a si ascoltano le confessioni de' fedeli. In Melbourne si ascoltano quotidianamente le confessioni, sovente anche alle carceri. Si spiega il Vangelo e si fa la Dottrina ai fanciulli ogni Dominica nell'oratorio e due stazioni; e nella chiesa principale due volte nella Domenica con la Dottrina alla sera. In Melbourne vi sono anche due ospedali che vengono ogni giorno visitati dai sacerdoti.

Per questa missione non vi sono che quattro sacerdoti uno dei quali ha cura del Collegio over per ora sono solamente quattro studenti, dei quali due sono Diaconi, uno Subdiacono e l'altro non ancor iniziato nella via della Chiesa. Al mio arrivo in questa Diocesi non vi erano che tre sacerdoti, ed ora ve ne sono tredici. I bisogni della sola città richiederebbero almeno 6 sacerdoti.

Geelong

In questo luogo vi sono due sacerdoti per amministrati i S. S. Sagramenti ai fedeli della città e dintorni di quella e di più alternativamente assistono alla carcere, e due ospidali ivi eretti nel Distretto: ogni giorno vi si celebra una messa, come parimente una messa si dice ogni domenica in altro oratorio posto in altra parte della città per comodo degli indisposti che intervenire non possono alla chiesa principale, ed uno dei due a vicenda si reca ogni mese alla visita delle quattro stazioni che sono distanti dalla città 10, 15, 20 e 50 miglia - ove spiegasi il vangelo e si fa la dottrina ai fanciulli come in ogni Domenica si fa in Geelong.

Belfast

La popolazione cattolica di questa missione è sparsa in una ben vasta estensione, e questa circostanza accresce di assai il lavoro del sacerdote residente. Nella città di Belfast vi ha una cappella provvisoria costruita di legname e vi si sta costruendo una grande chiesa in materiale a spese del Governo e del Popolo. Lontano 20 miglia dalla città vi è una cappella provvisoria parimenti di legno ove si celebra la messa una Dominica si e una no. Vi sono altre stazioni più lontane che sono visitate fra settimana, vi si dice la messa, si fa Dottrina ai fanciulli.

Portland

In questo luogo i fedeli hanno costruito una bella chiesa di materiali ajutati anche dal Governo, ove dimora un sacerdote che ogni giorno vi dice la messa, spiega il Vangelo nelle Dominiche e visita la Dottrina Cristiana come nelle altre stazioni; a questa appartiene di visitare una volta al mese le tre stazioni di quel distretto lontane 20, 30 e 50 miglia.

Pentridge

Quest'anno è stato collocato da me in questa missione un Sacerdote, e prima della mia nomina era assistita da uno de' sacerdoti stanziati in Melbourne. Quivi pure si va fabbricando una bella Chiesa a spese dei fedeli e del Governo, vi sono annesse due stazioni, nelle quali una volta al mese si fanno que' pii esercizio che si fanno nelle altre stazioni.

Heidelberg

Anche in questa missione è stato da me quest'anno collocato un Sacerdote, che nei dì festivi vi dice messa, fa dottrina coll'incarico di assistere tre stazioni 6, 10, e 30 miglia distanti.

Kilmore

Il Sacerdote cui è affidata questa missione ha da faticare assai per poter dare le necessarie istruzioni a dei fedeli disgregati in un vasto territorio, dovendo visitare stazioni lontane dalla sua dimora per ben 90 e 150 miglia ove non manca di dar queste istruzioni e insegnamenti che riguardano il suo ministero.

Gipps Land

Questa vasta missione di scarsa e sparpagliata popolazione è stata da me affidata a due sacerdoti ultimamente arrivati dalla Irlanda. Gippsland è lontano da Melbourne 200 miglia.: fino all'epoca della mia partenza le notizie di quelle missioni erano favorevoli e consolanti, giacché i fedeli, che in occasione della S visita quasi tutti si erano accostati ai S. S. Sagramenti della confessione e comunione, proseguivano a frequentarli come mi avevano promesso di fare.

Finalmente non possa a meno di non render giustizia a quel clero, col farmi sommi elogi, per aver veduto nel corso delle mie due visite con indicibile piacere con quanta pietà, zelo e disinteresse assistono e si presentano per i bisogni spirituali di quella porzione di Fedeli loro affidati e che partecipano della universale vigilanza e premura

del Sommo Pontefice, che con tanta prudenza, Sapienza e paterno affetto governa; dirò anche di più, che molti figli dell'errore attratti e edificati dalla loro esemplare condotta abiurano i loro errori e si convertono alla vera Fede.

Indigeni

Per ora poco si è fatto dai missionari per questa porzione della Famiglia umana. La loro vita errante e per tinacia con che si oppongono ad ogni tentativo di comunicar loro i lumi e le grazie della vera religione, sono ostacoli che hanno ritardato la loro conversione. Parecchi fanciulli presentati in caso di malattia dai loro genitori sono stati da me e dai missionari battezzati. Costoro non hanno alcun culto fisso, se non che una idea vaga di due Esseri, uno buono e l'altro maligno: ammettono la trasmigrazione delle anime e molti tribù osservano la legge della circumcisione. Per questi figli della natura bisogna aspettare che il Signore con tratto di sua Grazia speciale li rende più docili e desiderosi di apprendere la Verità.

Ragguaglio dei battezzati, cresimati e comunicati e convertiti annualmente in tutta la missione di Vittoria o Australia Felice:

Battesimi per anno fatti in tutta la Provincia	1050
Conversione di Europei per anno	400
Cresimati per anno	1000
Comunicati o comunioni per anno	10,000

Debbo aggiungere che due volte all'anno io con altro sacerdote ci rechiamo nei distretti della Diocesi per darvi la S. Missione.

Per la istruzione de' fanciulli dell'uno e dell'altro sesso vi sono erette trenta scuole Parocchiali tutte sotto la mia assoluta direzione; al mantenimento delle quali e per le necessarie spese si provvede dal Governo e dai Popoli. Il numero de' fanciulli e fanciulle che frequentano queste scuole ascende a 2030 per ora: essendovi anche molti buoni Cattolici, che si occupano di fare scuole private, tutte però poste sotto la mia sorveglianza. Di più ho stabilito una scuola particolare vicino alla mia dimora, ove da un sacerdote alla cura del Seminario Ecclesiastico deputato, vengano istruiti per incamminarsi per la via Ecclesiastica parecchi giovani.

Colla lusinga che questi brevi cenni della missione della Australia Felice saranno graditi dalla Eminenza vostra e dalla S Congregazione resto coi sentimenti di profondo rispetto e venerazione

Della Eminenza Vostra Rema
Umili.mo Obbed.mo Servo
+Giacomo Alipius Goold
Vescovo di Melbourne

A sua eminenza Rev.ma il sigr. Cardinale Franzoni Prefetto di Propaganda

Goold to *Propaganda Fide*, 1858

Relazione Sommaria dello Stato delle cose Religiose nella Diocesi di Melbourne

Eminenza Rev.ma,

Qui appresso rassegno all'Emn.za Vostra Rv.ma una Relazione Sommaria dello Stato delle cose Religiose nella Diocesi di Melbourne per informazione del Santo Padre.

Melbourne

La Provincia ha 5000,000 abitanti dei quali 90,000 sono Cattolici. In questa Provincia è tutta la Diocesi all'epoca della mia partenza esistevano 36 sacerdoti e 6 erano in viaggio quali spero oramai giunti. In questa provincia vi sono:

Chiese n. 4, due delle quali ad uso di scuola

Battesimi annui 960

Cresime 359

Confessioni e comunioni 19,330

Matrimoni 264

Conversioni 57

Scuole numero 11

Frequentanti 822

Missioni

Chiese N. 17 ad uso di scuola

Battesimi annui 717

Cresime 386

Confessioni e comunioni: 13,500

Matrimoni 188

Conversioni 47

Scuole numero 25

Frequentanti da ambo i sessi 995.

Geelong Città

Chiese n. 1 e due ad uso di scuola

Decanato di Geelong

Chiese numero 7 ad uso di scuola

Decanato di Wannambool

Chiese numero 6 ad uso di scuola

Missioni delle Miniere

Chiese numero 14, undici delle quali ad uso di scuola

Gippsland

Chiese numero 1 ad uso di scuola

N.B. Queste chiese ad uso di scuola sono Cappelle nelle scuole istesse che si permettono fino a che edifizi appositi vengano eretti per uso esclusivo di Chiese

Meglio potrà l'Emnza Vsa Rvma rilevare dalle annesse statistiche in Stampa che preferisco inviare originalmente essendo esse sottoscritte ciascuna dal Clero stesso della Missione a loro affidata. Queste statistiche si mandano ogni anno all'Archivio della Diocesi.

Ogni anno si fanno gli esercizi religiosi in tutte le Missioni, tre giorni in ciascun luogo incluse le Domeniche. In occasione di questi tutte le mattine avvi la Messa, il Sermone e la confessione fino alla sera. Nel giorno o la sera dopo le preghiere vi ha di nuovo il Sermone. Io vi assisto generalmente in persona accompagnato da uno del Clero e da un Vicario generale. Pochi sono quelli che non intervengono in simili occasioni; quasi tutti profittano dell'opportunità che loro si offre onde accostarsi ai Santi Sacramenti.

La maggior parte di coloro che non intervengono sono liberi Muratori; però essi sono veramente pochissimi. Alle miniere questi religiosi esercizi produssero straordinario profitto. La popolazione Cattolica di queste Miniere (pochi eccettuati) è notabile per la sua fede pratica, e industria. Le scuole cola' sono molto frequentate. Per coloro che non possono attendere alla scuola nel giorno (come nelle altre missioni al di fuori di Vittoria) si provvede con le scuole notturne.

In Melbourne nelle Chiese e nelle Cappelle si predica il Sermone nell'ultima Messa. Nella prime avvi la sera Vesperi e Benedizioni e predicasi il Sermone. In tutte le Missioni della Diocesi si adempia agli stessi importanti doveri di istruzione, cioe':

La mattina nel mentre si celebra la Messa alcune volte dopo il Angelo ma generalmente dopo l'abluzione.

N. B. Due volte all'anno vi è il ritiro per il Clero[...]

Il Clero il più delle volte fa una breve lezione ai fanciulli sui capi nei quali furono esaminati. Tutte le mattine si assiste al confessionale[...]

Istruzione Religiosa delle Carceri

Un cappellano è addetto alle Carceri di Melbourne e a quelle del Circondario. [...] Ogni anno si fa' il ritiro nella gran Penitezieria posta in Pentridge, come anche nelle altre. In queste occasioni nelle due prime io stesso, e uno dei Vicari Generali assistiamo con due altri del Clero.

Il ritiro continua tre giorni. [...] Gli Ospedali ed Asili per li deboli ed i vecchi sono ripetutamente visitati. Quelli in Melbourne sono visitati quasi tutti i giorni dal Clero e dalle sorelle della Misericordia. L'Ospedale principale è sotto la cura speciale di un sacerdote, il quale vi attende giornalmente.

Orfanotrofi

Di queste caritatevoli istituti ne abbiamo due, uno in Melbourne e l'altro in Geelong [...] Questi sono grandi e comodi e furono eretti subito dopo il mio arrivo nelle Colonie dall'Europa, nel 1853. Li mezzi furono somministrati dal Popolo e dal Governo.

Educazione

Seminarii Ecclesiastici e Scuole laiche per i fanciulli delle classi rispettabili, vennero stabiliti subito dopo il mio possesso della Diocesi di Melbourne.

La Magione era umile ed inadeguata. Nel 1854 io posi la pietra fondamentale dell'attuale Collegio, che fu aperto nella Festa della Trasfigurazione 1855. Esso è annesso alla mia residenza per mezzo di una piccola Cappella. La Chiesa di San Patrizio è nello stesso Circondario dell'Ecclesiastico.

Al presente vi sono nel seminario sei studenti. Quest'anno prima della mia partenza ho ordinato un Prete e due Diaconi. Fin dalla prima apertura del Collegio quattro preti sono stati ordinati, li quali tutti ebbero per intero o in parte la loro educazione nel medesimo [...]

Sono circa alcuni anni fu fondata in Melbourne una Università dal Governo e con liberalità dotata. È governata la medesima da un senato rappresentante li diversi corpi religioni esistenti nella Colonia.

Nel suddetto tre Cattolici laici a me uniti rappresentano la Chiesa cattolica, e questi Signori sono nominati dal Governo dietro mia proposta; come in tutte le occorrenze, le Commissioni che trattano gli affari di educazione e religioni sono nominate dal Governo (1) [NOTE] per questa Regola sono esclusi quei Cattolici indifferenti, quali non sono idonei per tal disimpegno, a cagione che non frequentano li sacramenti] [...]Vi sono proibite le discussioni tanto religione che politiche.

Uno spazio di terreno è riservato nelle vicinanze dell'Università per la fondazione di Collegi affigliati per le diverse religioni. Nei quali li studenti sotto la direzione immediata del rispettivo Clero abbiano lezioni in quei rami di letteratura che sono necessariamente connessi alla propria Religione, e che per conseguenza non sono insegnati nell'Università a ragione delle differenti opinioni religiose.

Scuole Pubbliche

Le scuole Pubbliche sono incoraggiate con dei mezzi somministrati dal popolo e dal Governo [...]

Al mio ritorno in Melbourne 1853, migliori edifizi in pietra ed in mattoni furono eretti ad uso di queste Scuole. Delle molti, le più piccole di queste costarono un Mille Lire Sterline e quattro Mila e cinquecento le più grandi.

In queste spese è da lodarsi il generoso concorso del popolo e del Governo.

Questi stabilimenti non solo sono molto utili per l'istruzione pubblica, ma molto più per l'opportunità che offrono ai fedeli di ascoltare la Messa tutte le Domeniche e gli altri giorni festivi; come pure per frequentare li santi Sacramenti. Questo e il grande vantaggio che ci da il sistema Denominazionale, [...]

Beni della missione

Gli assegni di terreni fatti dal Governo consistenti in due Acri per ogni chiesa, scuola e Presbiterio complessivamente, sono affidate per legale Istromento al Vescovo e ad uno dei Vicarii Generali.

Ogni Sacerdote risponde della porzione data alla sua Missione unitamente a tre laici da me nominati. Il vescovo ed il Vicario Generale sono responsabili per tutti.

Possiedono le missioni una estensione di terreno di 216 acri, un dodici migli circa distante da Melbourne il di un acquisto fu fatto mediante soscrizioni di fedeli contribuenti affidato al Vescovo per l'erezione di Monasteri per Monache professe. Attualmente questo terreno è affittato per 70 lire sterline all'anno.

Questa rendita serve alla manutenzione e perfezionamento del luogo stesso.

Possiedono pure altra estensione di 130 acri vicino a Bendigo, una delle principali miniere d'Oro.

È questo un dono fatto dal Pastore locale alla propria Missione, ed a me affidato a tale oggetto.

Queste possessioni così investite a me per legale Istromento, sono state assicurate alle Diocesi libere da ogni rischio di alienazione per mezzo di un mio Testamento fatto in favore dei due Vicarii generali e del Decano di Geelong [...]

Un assegno annuo di 10,000 Lire sterline è stabilito dal Governo alla Chiesa Cattolica come porzione dell'assegno generale fatto per mantenere le diverse Religioni della Colonia. A seconda quanto dal Governo stesso è stato stabilito questa somma viene divisa in due porzioni, la metà per la fondazione delle Chiese a condizione che il Popolo pure vi contribuisca, l'altra per il mantenimento del Clero soggetto a queste condizioni.

Nel riparto di questa somma tutti li sacerdoti hanno il medesimo appuntamento mensile. A sola differenza è in quello del Vescovo e dei Vicarii generali.

Il vescovo ha un assegno ~~mensile~~ di lire sterline 400 all'anno

Il primo Vicario Generale Lire S. 300

Ed il Secondo Lire Sterline 250

Vi sono poi alcuni pochi Sacerdoti i quali non avendo alcuna mensualità da questo assegno governativo sono da me provveduti sopra li fondi dell'Associazione Cattolica.

Il denaro versato dai contribuenti all'oggetto di erigere Chiese, Scuole e Presbiterii è posto in un Banco al credito del vescovo e del Parroco residente. Quando poi qualche secolare si unisce in contratto col Clero per la fabbricazione di alcuno dei menzionati edifizi essi pure vengono inscritti come creditori allo stesso Banco, unitamente al Vescovo ed al Parroco, e firmano insieme ad essi le tratte sul Banco suddetto per li pagamenti. Per mezzo di questo provvedimento si assicura a ciascuna Missione il proprio Credito (nei casi di morte di qualunque degli iscritti).

Li nomi dei Contribuenti, e la somma contribuita sono pubblicati nell'Ultima Messa della Domenica. Frequentemente nei Giornali del paese, e nelle riunioni di quelle Commissioni che hanno per iscopo ajutare il Clero ad ottenere mezzi necessari a fabbricare Chiese, Scuole e Presbiterii. Li pagamenti pure si pubblicano in ragione del contratto coi Costruttori, acciò sia manifesto a tutti, quale è lo stato attivo e quale il passivo della nuova fabbrica. Quando non s'hanno Laici che vogliono assumere la responsabilità de' contratti unitamente al Clero, esso eseguisce li pagamenti solo,

osservando lo stesso metodo di pubblicazione, facendo l'iscrizione nei Banchi intestata al Vescovo e ad uno del clero.

Sette grandi Chiese sono ora in via di costruzione, tre nelle principali Miniere. Due eran già coperte prima che io partissi, le altre erano di già di molto avanzate, e saranno, spero, anch'esse coperte circa la metà del prossimo anno come dal nominato rapporto della Madre Superiora del Convento della Misericordia.

Questo è lo stato dei progressi e dei miglioramenti ottenuti da poi il mio rapporto del 15 Novembre 1851, che ebbi il distinto onore di rassegnare a Sua Emn.za Rev.ma il Cardinale Franzoni.

Intanto imploro dalla Santa Sede che mi faccia manifesta la sua mente su quanto operai, ed acciò voglia impartirmi li suoi venerati ordini a guida delle mie future operazioni al governo della Diocesi di Melbourne.

Tanto dovea in mio discarco all'Emn.za Vostra Rvma alla quale baciando umilissimamente le mani mi professo di Vostra Eminenza Rvma

Roma li 23 Novembre 1858

G. A. Goold,

Vescovo di Melbourne

ATTACHMENT

STATISTICS OF THE DIOCESE OF MELBOURNE – CHURCHES

[handwritten by parish priests]

Melbourne

St Francis', material: Brick cemented on the outside, 135 ft long 35 nave transepts to 95 capacity 3000 persons.

St Patrick's, stone 200 feet by 53 broad.

[note handwritten by Goold] The southern side of St Patrick's, 200x25 feet is almost completed and part of it being used for service

St Mary's north Melbourne: Brick 60 by 28 ft, capacity: 240-300.

St George's, blue stone 80x30 ft, capacity 400.

Kyneton

St Mary's, wood, 40x19, 200 persons, attendance 460 nota di Goold A large stone church in course of erection. Probable cost £10,000

Richmond

St James' and St Bridget's - Stone and brick, St Joseph 50x 30 ft, St Bridget 40x20ft. Capacity 500 and 150.

Pentridge

St Paul Pentridge stone 75x30.

Beveridge stone, 40x20

Epping wood 50x17

Williamstown

St Mary's Williamstown - the building of the church of the Immaculate conception will be commenced this year.

Heidelberg

St Monica's Chapel Heidelberg 56x15 ft. Weatherboard

Prahran and Brighton

St Mary's brick, 50 by 20 ft.

St Patrick's Brighton brick and timber 60 by 15 ft.

Bacchus Marsh

Bacchus Marsh - Timber and Brick 38 by 18;

Gisborne - timber 38 by 14;

Mount Blackwood - Timber 24 by 12.

Kilmore

31 December 1857

St Patrick's - Blue stone 80x50, capacity 800: the walls only of this church are completed. Funds are not on hand for roofing it

Keilor

31st May 1858

St Augustine's - Wood, 40x20, 180 capacity, A church is about being built;

St Thomass at Villanova: Wood and Iron 65x20 cap 270.

Geelong

31 May 1858

St Mary's - Stone with wooden additions - 120 by 32, the new church will be all of stone, 165 by 54 feet.

Duneed

Dec 31, 1857

Arrangements are now made for building a neat village church at Duneed

The Little River

1858

St Michael's, stone 30x16 capacity 100;

St Monica's Footscray - stone 38x23 ½, capacity: 200;

Arakies: St James's - wood 30x16; capacity:100

Portland

All Saints's temporary church Brick 75x24; capacity 400 - 31st December 1858;

New stone built church, far advanced, in the course of erection.

Belfast and Hamilton:

Belfast - Timber, 63 by 16.

Tower Hill - Timber 70x15,

Yambuk - stone 25x12;

Hamilton - timber 50 by 20.

[Note handwritten by Goold]

At Belfast a large church of stone is being built - dimensions 160 by 45

Warrnambool

31 May 1858

Warrnambool: stone 60x23 ;

Woodford: timber, 45x15 feet

Ararat

31 Dec. 1857

Being a recently discovered Gold-field no permanent Church has been erected yet.

Ballarat

May 31, 1858

St Patrick's: Stone 170x52 capacity 3000, this church not yet complete;

St Alipius', wood, 130x80, capacity 2000.

Bendigo

31 May 1858

St Kilians' Sandhurst: Freestone 120x40x60: the church is not completed and a debt of £3000 rests on it.

Castlemaine May 30 58

Holy name of Mary, stone, 51x24

Buninyong

May 31, 1858,

St Nicholas's, stone and brick, 64x26 capacity: 500

Beechworth

1st June 1858

St Joseph Beechworth, weatherboard, 56x25;

St John's, slabs, 45x18;

St Patrick's, slabs 45x18;

St Mary's slabs, 80x26

[note in pencil: Yackandandah, Woodend and Sebastopol have been almost deserted lately].

Gipps Land

Wood, 30x25 feet, capacity: 180

Goold to *Propaganda Fide*, 1867

Relazione dello Stato attuale della Religione ed educazione della Diocesi di Melbourne

Col massimo dovuto rispetto prego la Eminza Vostra Revma a compiacersi di umiliare alla Santità di Nostro Signore il seguente rapporto dello stato attuale della Religione ed educazione della Diocesi di Melbourne.

L'ultima relazione la presentai nel 23 Novembre dell'anno 1858. Ancora si tiene l'ordine, che allora si seguiva, in ogni Chiesa e Cappella rapporto alla celebrazione della messa, alla predicazione e all'amministrazione dei Sagramenti. Ogni anno si da ai Sacerdoti una relazione in stampa su lo spirituale e materiale progresso della Religione, come anche della educazione e missioni affidate alla loro cura. Qui annetto le relazioni e messe nel dicembre 1866 per lo stesso anno, pregando la Eminza Vostra di respingermele a tutto suo comodo essendo originali che appartengono agli Archivi della Diocesi. Queste relazioni suppliscono alla mancanza di informazioni rapporto al numero delle Chiese, delle scuole già erette e attualmente in uso, nonché di quelle che si stanno costruendo: indicano il materiale e il costo di esse, l'amministrazione dei Sagramenti e la frequenza, incirca alle Chiese e alle Scuole. Alcune di queste seconda l'opportunità servono al culto nelle Domeniche e, altri gioni festivi, e in altre si fa la scuola sinché convenienti locali siano eretti.

Ma prima di ogni altra cosa, prego Eminza Vostra di render noto alla Santa Sede, la regolare disciplina e gli esercizi spirituali che si danno al clero due volte all'anno, in Gennaro cioè, e in Luglio. Quest'Ordine è stato adottato affinché niuna missione rimanga senza l'assistenza di un sacerdote.

Da pochi anni si sono introdotte le conferenze sacre; prima si tennero in Melbourne soltanto; ma per risparmiare ai Sacerdoti la spesa e l'incomodo di lunghi viaggi, ho stabilito che si tenghino simultaneamente nei grandi centri e principali missioni, cioè Melbourne, Sandhurst, Geelong etc.

Io presiedo alla conferenza di Melbourne e in mia assenza vi assiste il Vicario Generale o il sacerdote più anziano. I sacerdoti che accudiscono alle missioni ove si tengono le altre conferenze vi presiedono essi stessi.

Quasi in tutte le Missioni della Diocesi si danno ogni anno ai Secolari li spirituali esercizi, e io stesso assisto in quantum possum alla santa opea, che produce ottimi risultati. Unisco gli specchi stampati dello spirituale e materiale progresso di ciascheduna Missione, pregando la Eminza Vostra di osservarli nei loro dettagli.

Melbourne

In Melbourne vi ha la Cattedrale e altre quattro Chiese, in tre delle quali si fa la scuola, e otto Sacerdoti compreso il Vescovo.

[…] Gli infermi che si trovano nelle vicinanze della Cattedrale sono visitati dai Sacerdoti che meco convivono.

Chiesa di San Francesco

Chiesa di S. Maria

Chiesa di S. Giorgio

Chiesa di S. Giuseppe

Chiesa di S. Giovanni

Cappella S. Agostino

Missione di Pentridge

[...] Vi è una chiesa di pietra e un'alra a Epping distante 12 miglia.

Missione di Heidelberg

[...] In questa missione vi sono due Chiese, una in Heidelberg ove risiede il Pastore ed è dedicata a S. Giovanni, l'altra 9 miglia distante in un paese che si chiama Eltham.

Missione di Emerald Hill

[...] Vi ha una Chiesa, e alla distanza di un miglio e mezzo v'è altra chiesa ad uso di scuola.

Williamstown

[...] Vi ha una grade scuola ad uso di Chiesa, e vi si è cominciata a fabbricare una Chiesa molto grande in pietra.

St Kilda e Prahran

[...] Vi è una nuova Chiesa dedicata a Maria SSma già finita

Richmond

[...] Parrocchia servita dai padri gesuiti. vi sono tre chiese Richmond, Hawthorn e Nunawandding.

Decanato Sandhurst

[...] Vi ha una grande chiesa dedicata a S. Kiliano Mart. e un'altra dedicata a S. Agostino con altre 4 cappelle che servono anche come scuola. Più un'altra chiesa dedicata alla madonna.

Geelong

[...] In questa città vi sono tre Chiese: S. Maria, SS. Pietro e Paolo e S. Agostino. Poi vi è un'altra chiesa a Queenscliff distante 20 miglia dedicata a S. Maria

Ballarat

[...] In questa città vi sono due Chiese, una dedicata a S. Patrizio e l'altra a S. Alipio

Daylesford.

[...] V'ha una chiesa dedicata a S. Pietro

Poco si è fatto per questi stranieri. Il P. Ly che dimora nel Presbiterio di Ballarat sebbene fornito di buona volontà non sembra molto adatto a promuovere il progresso di questa missione, ove esistono in gran numero i suoi paesani. Però sotto la direzione di un Sacerdote Irlandese che bene conoscesse la lingua e che fosse stato qualche tempo in Cina, potrebbe ottenersi dal P. Revmo Generale dei Gesuiti per mezzo di una recommendazione di V. Eminza. Tale abile soggetto è in Cina, ne conosce bene la lingua ed ha la necessaria esperienza da sperarne un buon successo. Si è comprato un terreno e vi si è costruita una cappella esclusivamente per questa missione cinese, e serve anche di scuola nei giorni feriali

[...]

G. A. Goold Vescovo di Melbourne

Roma, Giugno 1867

Images

Figure 1: Unknown artist, *Portrait of Bishop Goold OSA*, oil on canvas, 1859, Institute of the Sisters of Mercy of Australia and Papua New Guinea.

Figure 2: Michele Gordigiani, *Portrait of Bishop Hynes, Order of Preachers*, oil on canvas, 1859, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 3: Unknown artist (after Carlo Maratta), *The Flight into Egypt*, oil on canvas, 18th century, Sacristy of St Patrick's Cathedral.

Figure 4: Unknown artist (after Guido Reni), *Crucifixion*, oil on canvas, 19th century, St Mary of the Angels Church, Geelong.

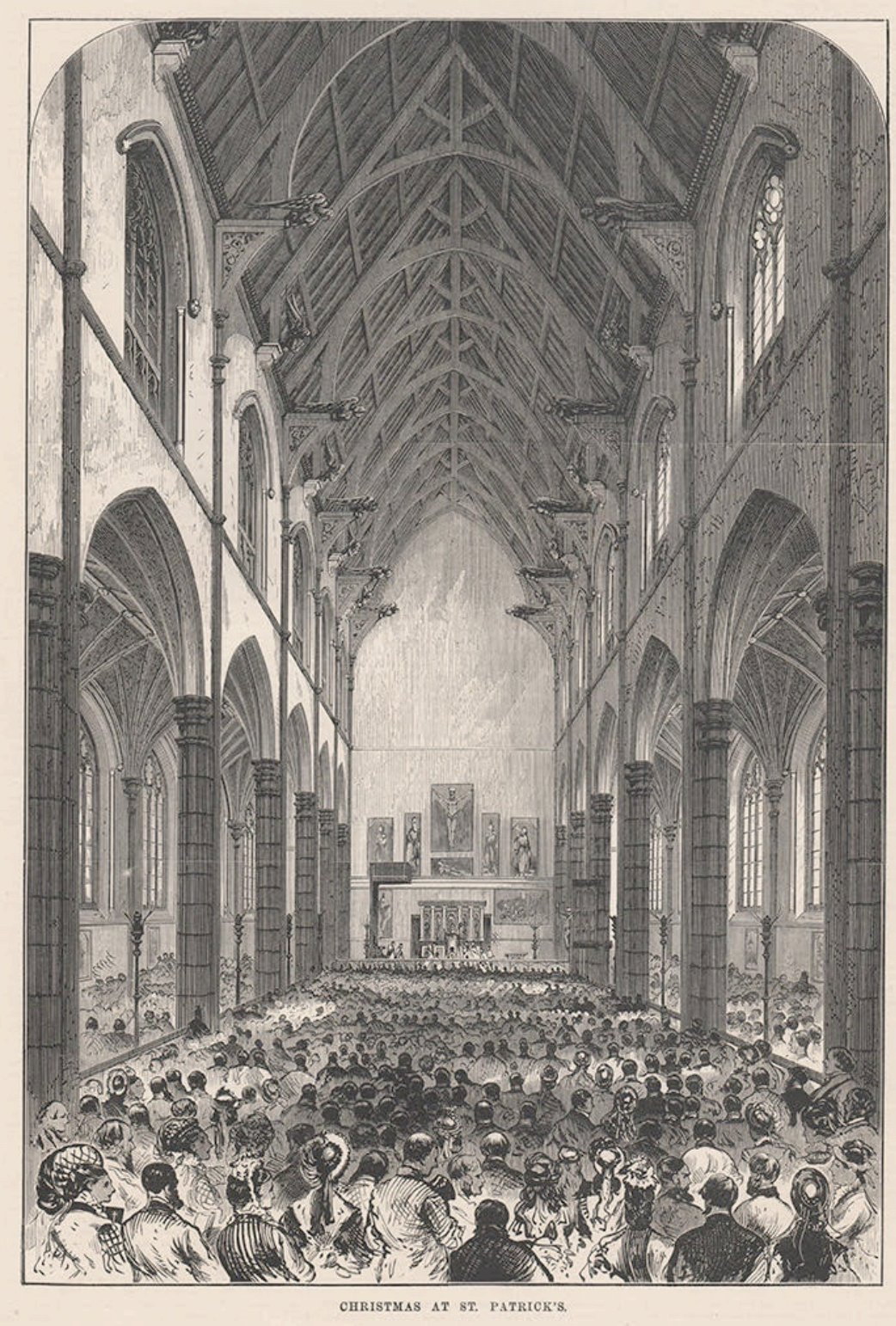


Figure 5: Unknown artist, *Christmas at St Patrick's*, wood engraving, 1875, published in *the Australasian Sketcher*, 28 December 1875, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 6: Jacques Stella, *Jesus in the temple found by his parents*, oil on canvas, 1642, Baptistry of St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne.

Figure 7: John B. Waring and Vincent Brooks, *Portion of vaulting from the Baptistry Siena*, plate 16, published in J. B. Waring, *Arts Connected with Architecture Illustrated by examples in Central Italy*, 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 8: A.W.N. Pugin, *Contrasts, or A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day shewing the present decay of taste*, frontispiece, 1841, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 9: James G. Graham, R. Hutton, G. M. Grieg and F. Schenk, *Interior looking east*, plate IV, published in J. G. Graham, *The Chapel of St. Anthony the Eremite: At Murthly, Perthshire, the Seat of Sir William Drummond Stewart of Grandtully, Bart.*, 1850, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 10: Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Veduta di Campo Vaccino*, etching, 1807, published in Giovanni Battista e Francesco Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma*, Baillieu library. The University of Melbourne.

Figure 11: Nathaniel Whittock, *The city of Melbourne, Australia*, colour lithograph, 1855, State Library Victoria.

Figure 12: Unknown artist, *William Wardell*, photograph, c. 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

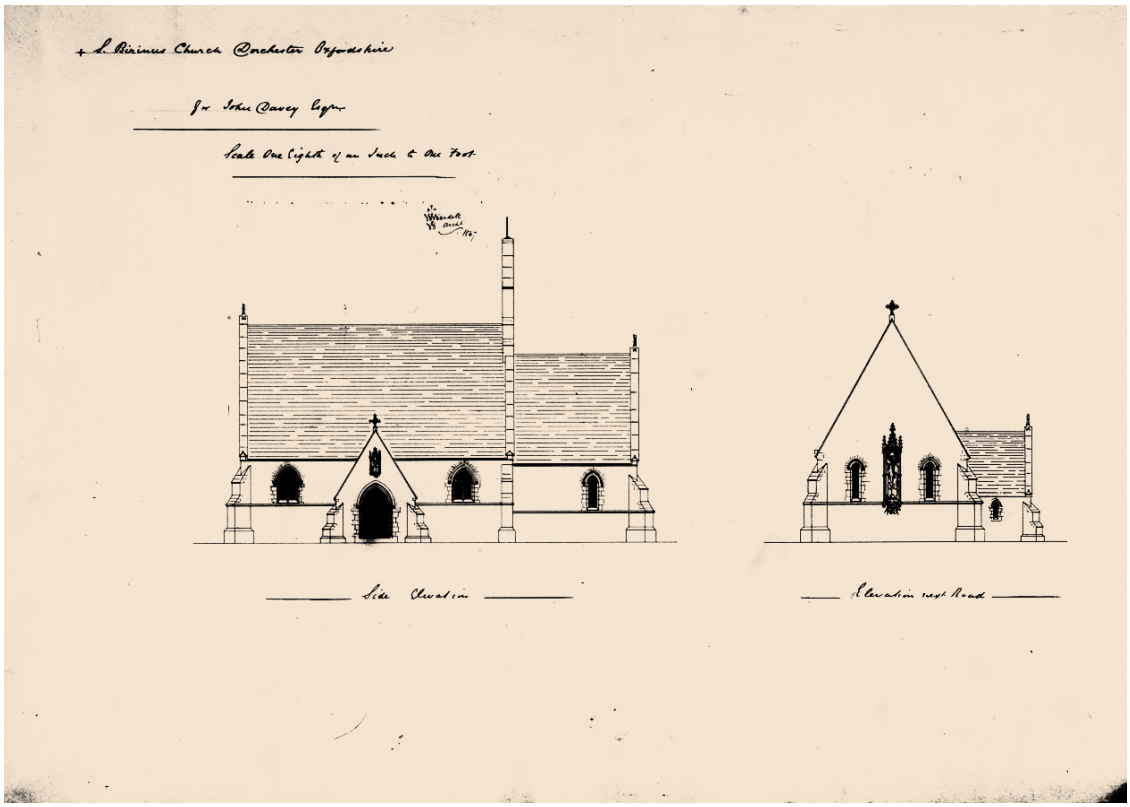


Figure 13: William Wardell, *St Birinus Church Dorchester Oxfordshire, Side elevation and elevation near road*, ink on paper, 1847, PXD 379, f.105, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

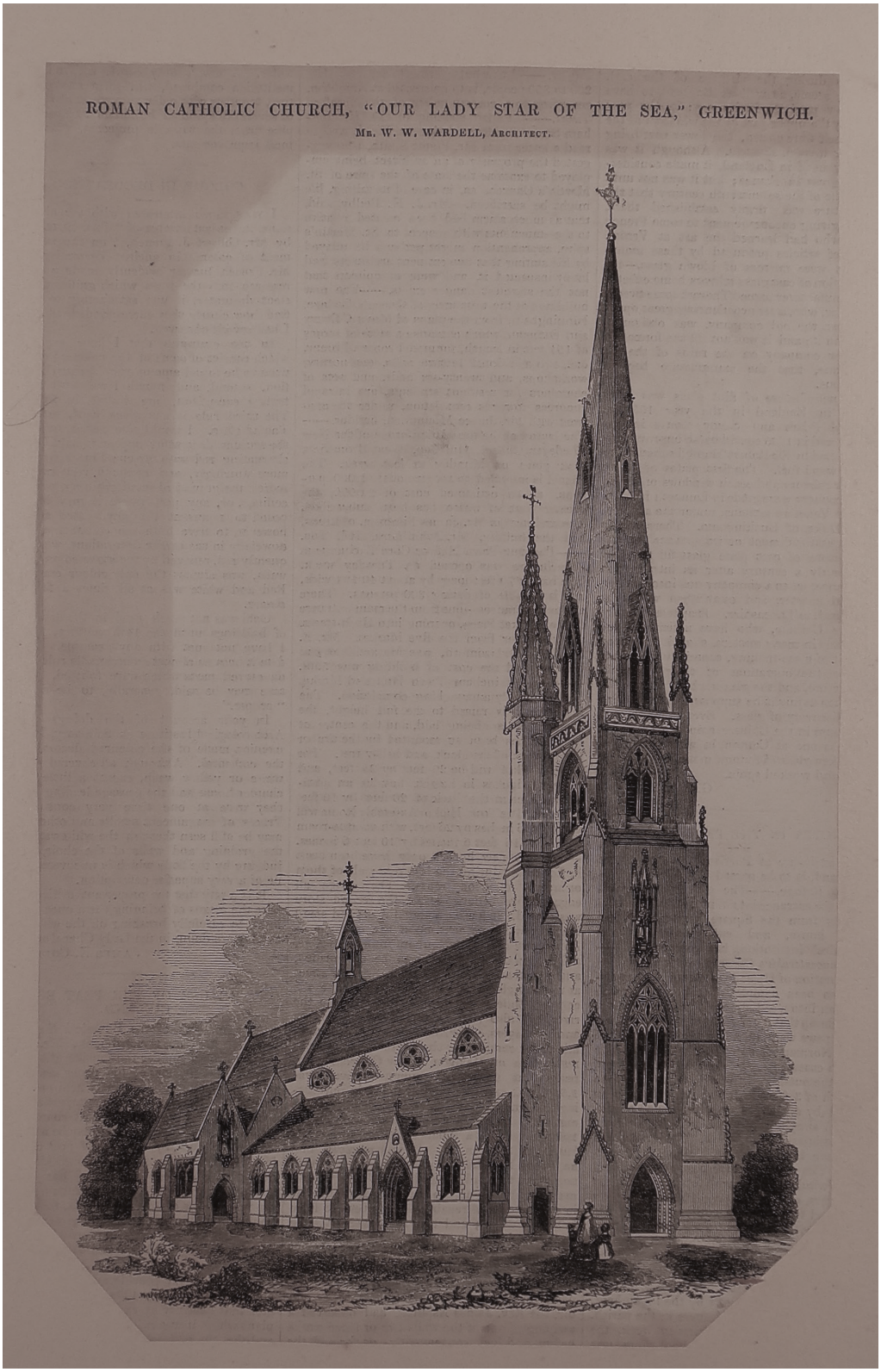


Figure 14: Unknown artist, *Roman Catholic Church 'Our Lady Star of the Sea', Greenwich, Mr W. W. Wardell, Architect*, lithography attached to a scrapbook, ca. 1847, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

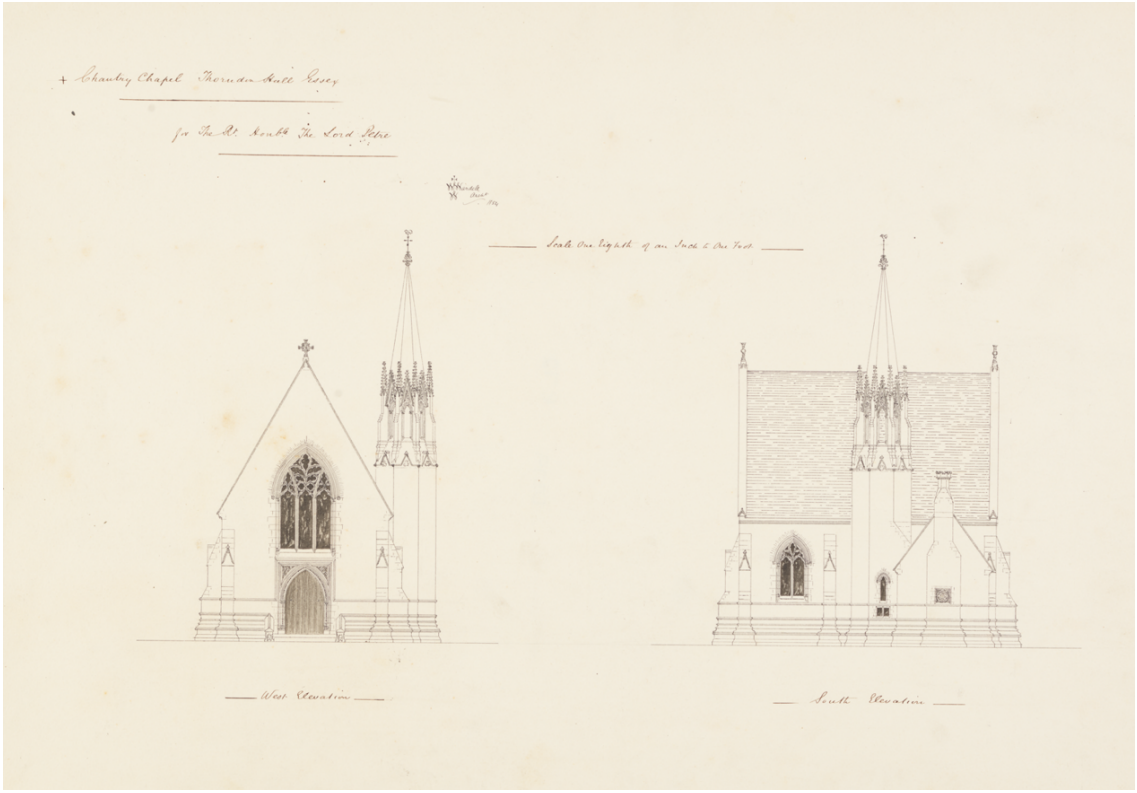


Figure 15: William Wardell, *Chantry Chapel, Thorndon Hall, Brentwood, Essex, West and South Elevations*, 1854, PDX 379, f. 72, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 16: William Wardell, *Exterior view of the Church of Ss Mary and Michael, Commercial road, London*, ink on paper, ca. 1852, PXD 381, f. 120, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 17: Unknown artist, *Exterior view of the Church of Ss Mary and Joseph, Poplar, London*, lithography attached to a scrapbook, 19th century, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 18: Unknown artist, *St Richard's Church, Chichester*, photograph, c.1900, online location.

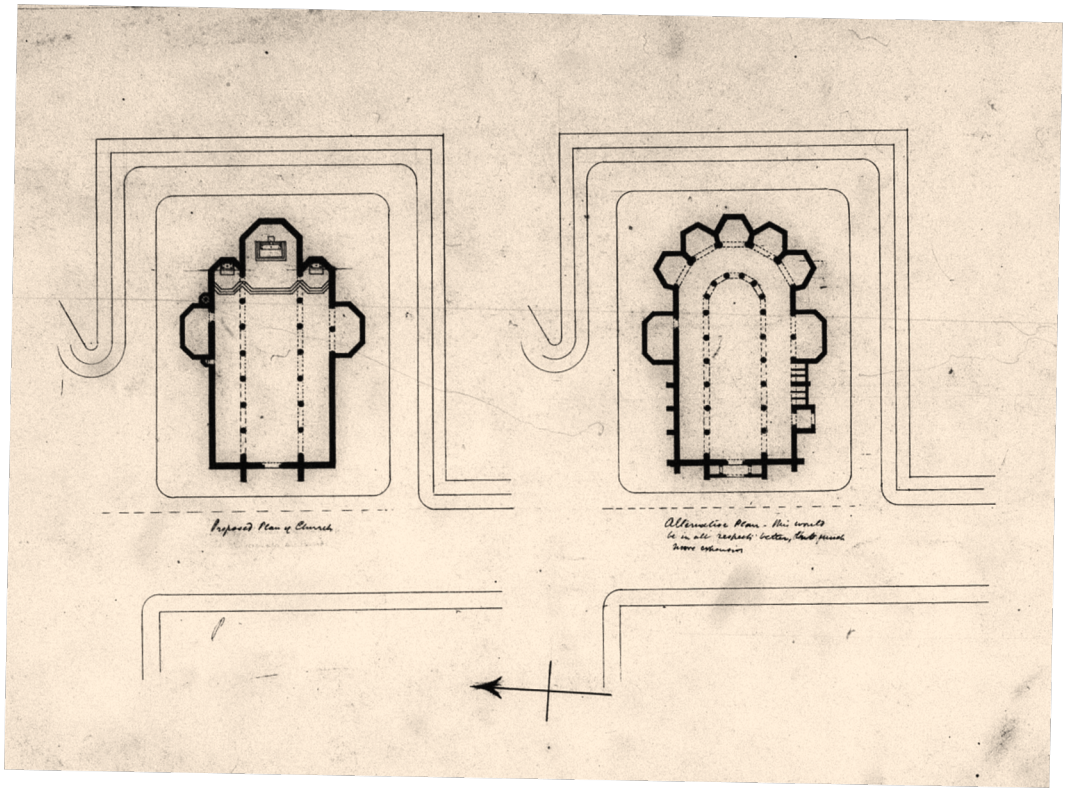


Figure 19: William Wardell, *Miscellaneous [Ground plan of the proposed church at Primrose Hill],* ink on paper, 1857, PXD 382, f. 118, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 20: O'Shannessy & Co., *Portrait John Fitzpatrick*, photograph, ca. 1870s, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 21: A. McDonald, *Rt Revd. Jas. A. Goold, Lord Bishop of Melbourne,* photograph, 1870, H96.160/1457, State Library Victoria.

Figure 22: Troedel & Co., *Victoria*, lithograph, 1880-1900, H2009.161/18a, State Library Victoria.

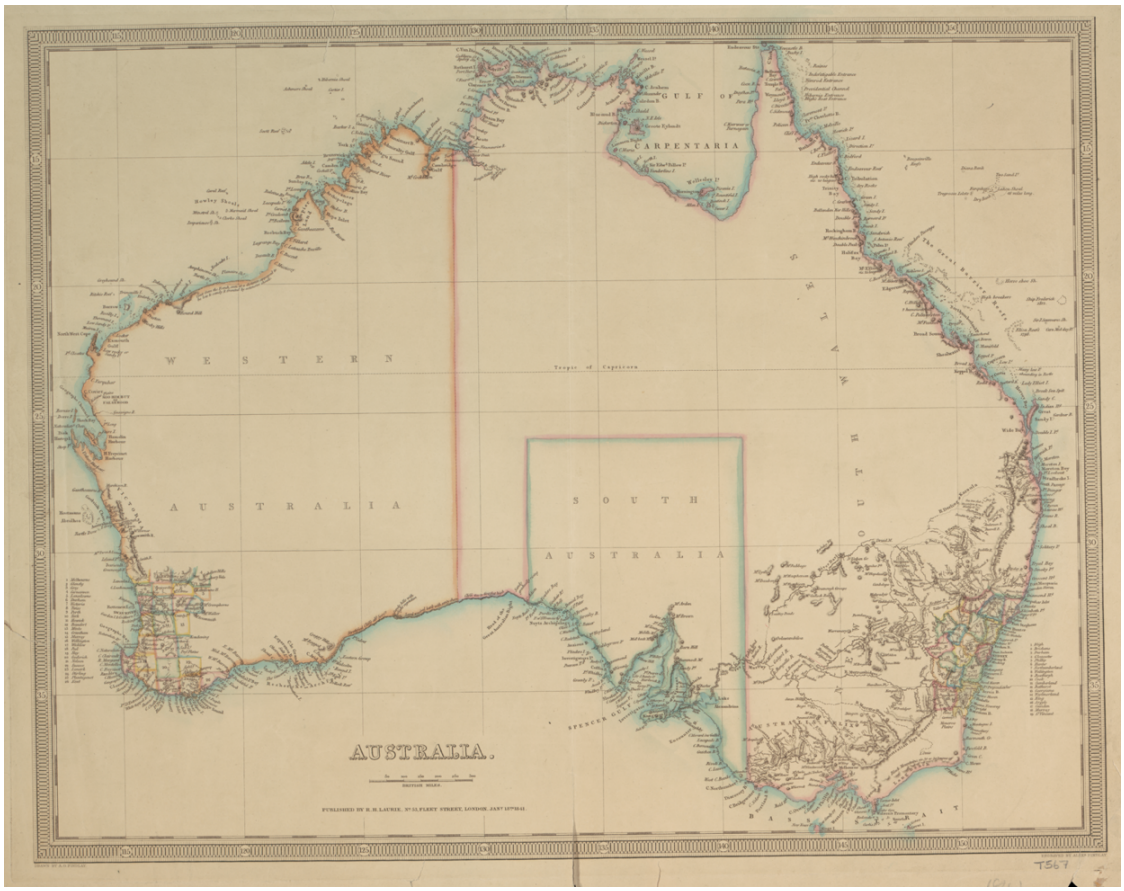


Figure 23: Alexr. Findlay, *Australia*, cartographic map, 1841, MAP T567, National Library of Australia.

Figure 24: Unknown artist (possibly Joseph Fowles), *Roman Catholic Church, Hyde Park*, watercolour drawing, 1840-1850, PXD 123/2c, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 25: Unknown artist, *Old St John's Church, Campbellton, N.S.W.,* photograph, c. 2010, online source.

Figure 26: Unknown artist, *St Bede's Church, Appin, N.S.W.*, photograph, c. 2016, online source.

Figure 27: William Hetzer, *The belltower and Pugin extensions of St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, under construction*, stereoview photograph, c. 1855, 87/1019-6, Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, Sydney.

Figure 28: F. C. Terry, *St Mary's Sydney, [showing the façade according to Pugin's plans],* pencil on paper, c. 1855, SV/300, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 29: Brian Andrews, *St Francis Xavier's Church, Berrima, N. S. W.*, photograph, c. 2005.

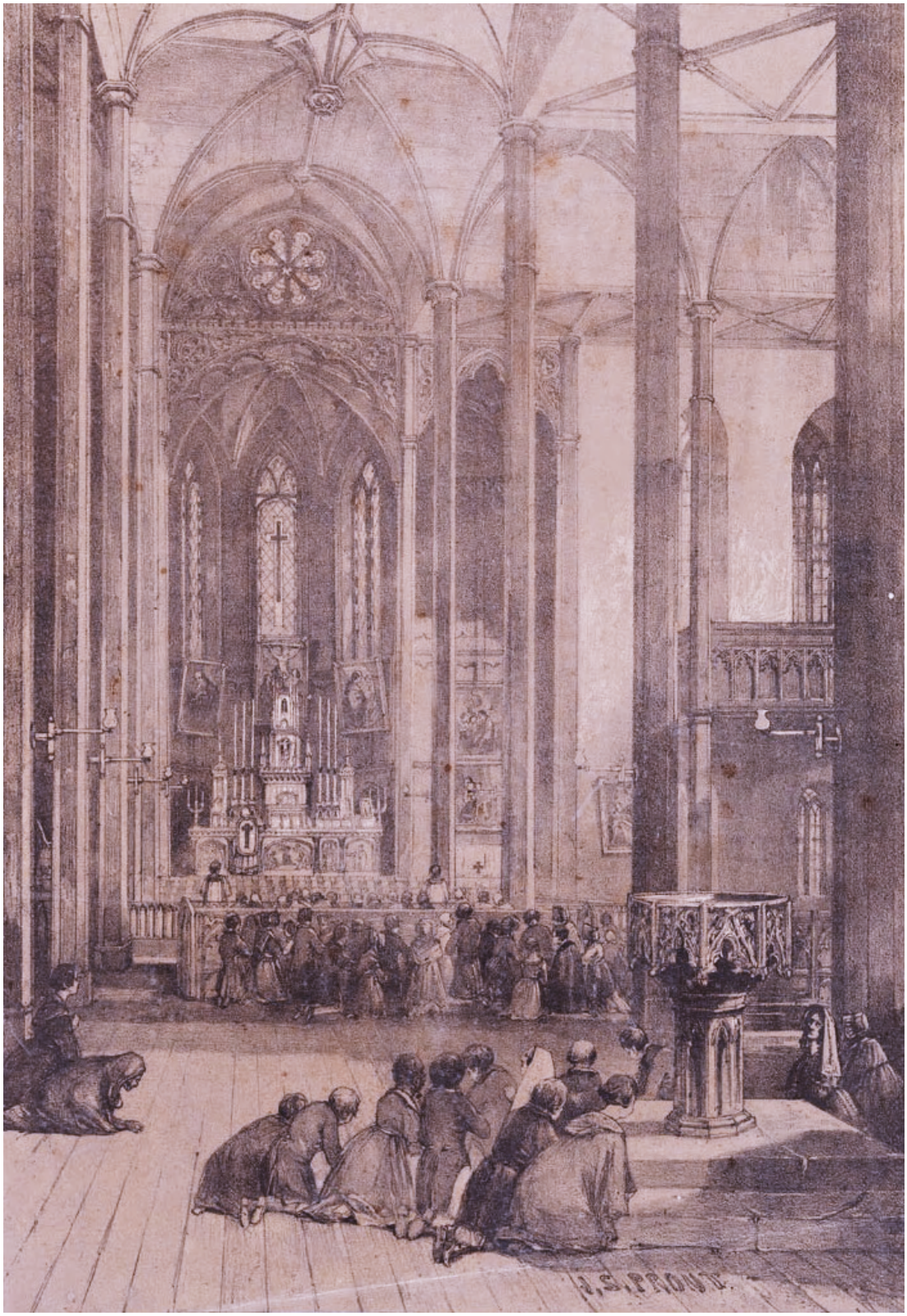


Figure 30: John S. Prout, *Cathedral Church of St Mary's, interior view*, tinted lithograph, c. 1842-1843, V1/Chu/St Ma/2, State Library New South Wales.

Figure 31: W. and A. K. Johnson, *Australia Felix or District of Port Phillip*, engraving, 1847, file 1612885, City of Melbourne Art and Heritage Collection.

Figure 32: Thomas Ham and Joseph Pittman, *St Francis Church, Melbourne*, lithograph, 1845, H990, State Library Victoria.

Figure 33: Lucy Powell and Misses L. and W. Brown (after A.W. Pugin's design), *Cope*, silk, 1852-53, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 34: Oswald R. Campbell and Frederick Grosse*, Consecration at St Francis' Cathedral, Melbourne*, wood engraving, 1866, published in *the Australian News for Home Readers*, 27 September 1866, IAN27/09/66/8, State Library Victoria.

Figure 35: Eugene Von Guérard, *Katholische Kapelle an der Gravel Pit Linie zu Ballarat Janner 1854*, pen and sepia ink on cream paper, 1854, H12532, Eugene Vin Guerard's pencil drawings and watercolours collection, State Library Victoria.

Figure 36: Melbourne Australia Photos, *Lady Chapel in St Francis' Roman Catholic Church*, *Melbourne*, 2011, photograph, online location.

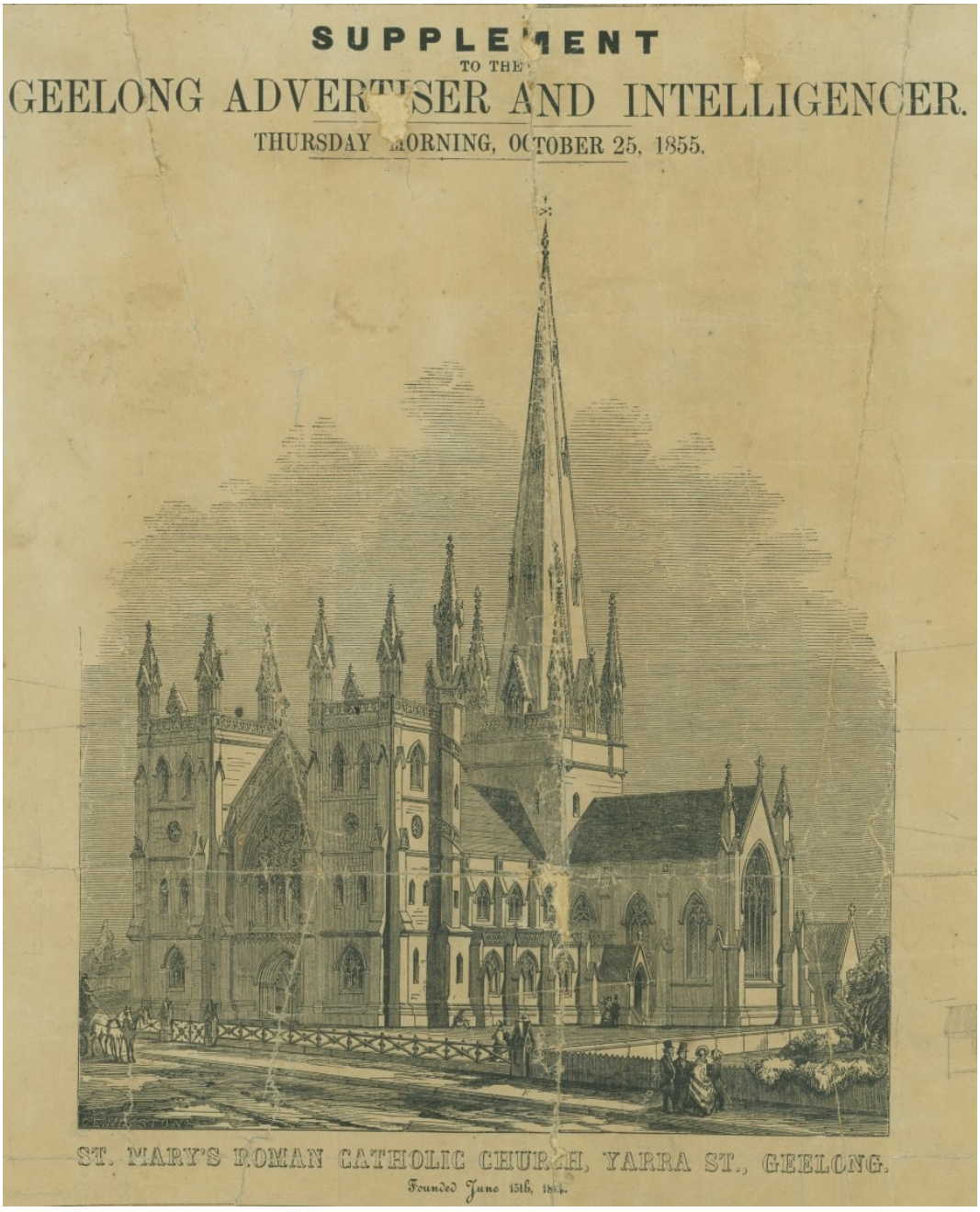


Figure 37: C. E. Winston, *St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Yarra St., Geelong,* lithograph, 1855, published in *The Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer,* 25 October 1855, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 38: Vanheems & Co., *St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Kilmore, Vic.*, photographic print, 1861, H1825, State Library Victoria.

Figure 39: Rose Stereograph Co., *All Saints R. C. Church & Loreto convent, Portland, Vic.*, photograph, c.1920-1954, H32492, State Library Victoria.

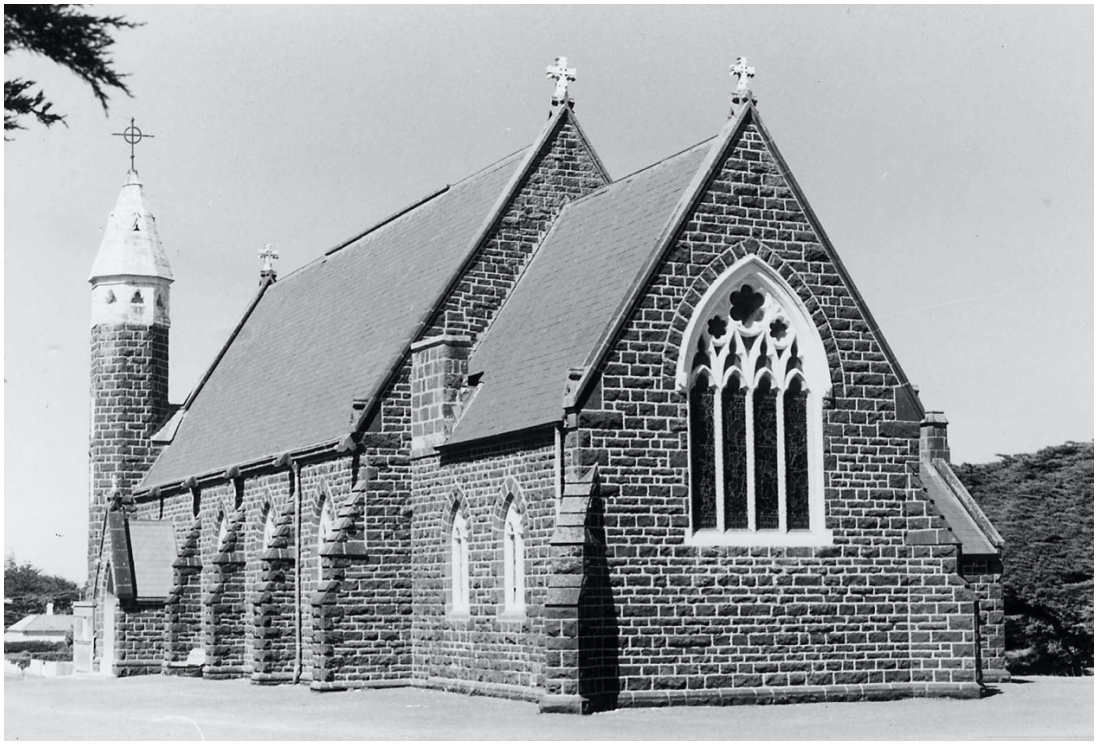


Figure 40: John T. Collins, *Port Fairy, St Patrick's Catholic Church*, photograph, 9 March 1969, J.T. Collins Collection, La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria.

Figure 41: Unknown artist, *St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church,* photograph, early 1860s, VPFH62-04-008, Port Fairy Historical Society Museum and Archives.

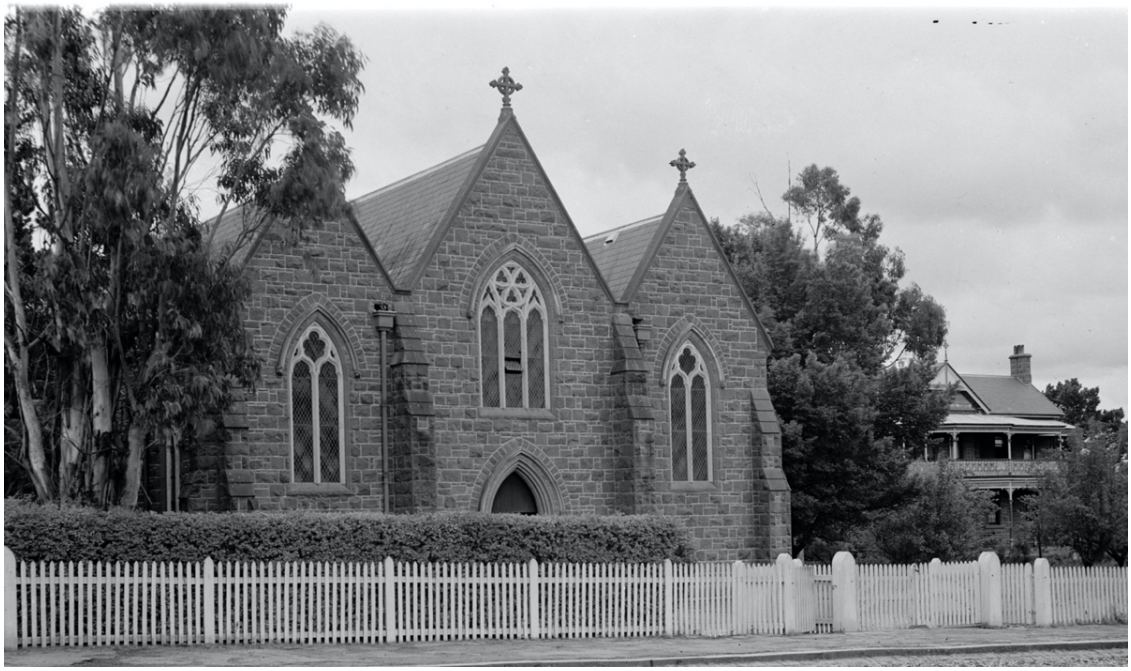


Figure 42: Rose Stereograph Co., *St Mary's church, Kyneton, Vic. [Our Lady of the Rosary]*, photograph, c.1920-1954, H32492/2199, State Library Victoria.

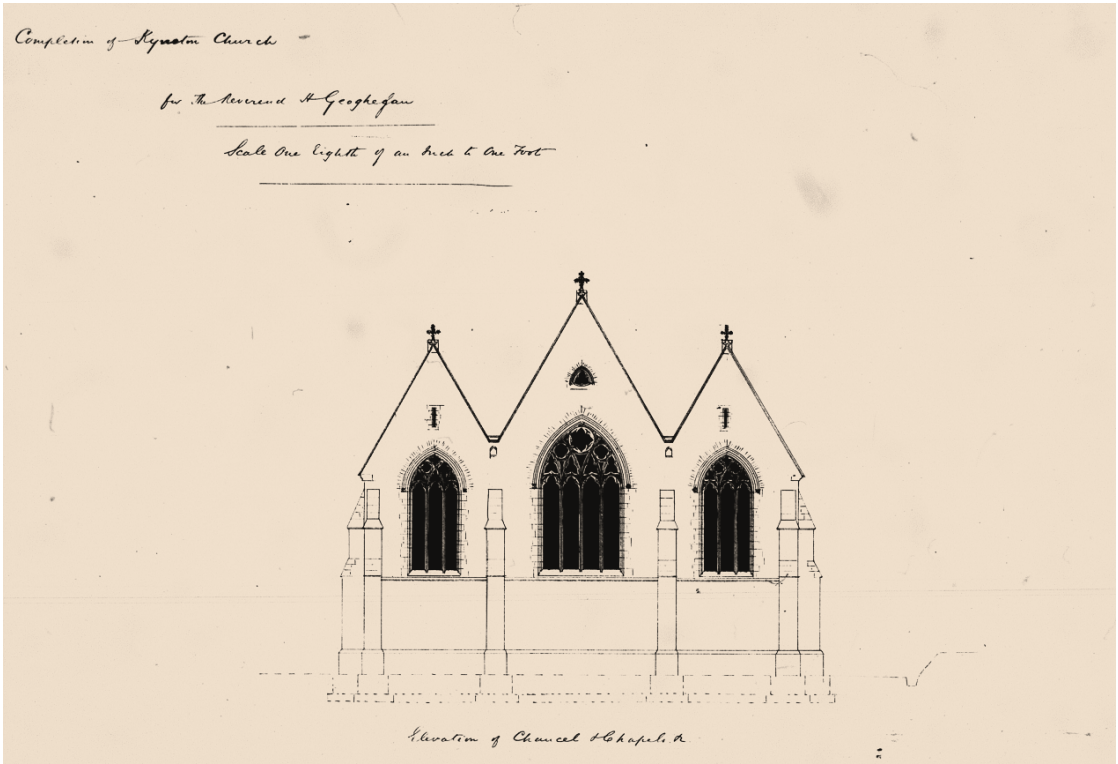


Figure 43: William Wardell, *Completion of Kyneton Church, Elevation of Chancel and Chapels*, ink on paper, 1859, PXD 316, f. 86, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 44: Rose Stereograph Co., *St Mary's Church, Kyneton, Vic. [Our Lady of the Rosary]*, photograph, c.1920-1954, H32492/6224, State Library Victoria.

Figure 45: Solomon & Bardwell, *Unidentified church, Ballarat [architect's elevation of the proposed St Patrick's Roman Catholic Church]*, photograph, 1861, H2047, State Library Victoria.

Figure 46: Charles Bayliss and D. J. Ryland, *Interior of St Patrick's Church, Ballarat*, photograph, 1875, H96.160/2707, State Library Victoria.

Figure 47: Rose Stereograph Co., *St Patrick's Cathedral, Ballarat, Vic.,* photograph, c.1920-1954, H32492/5172, State Library Victoria.

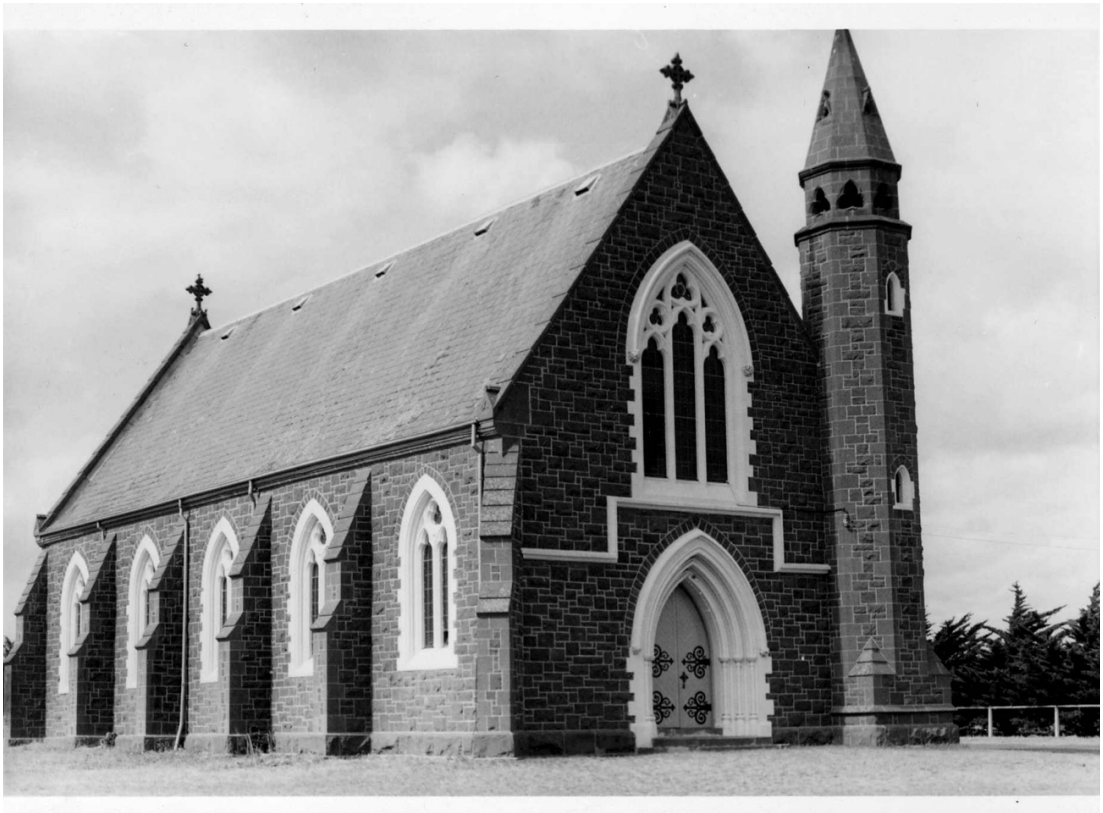


Figure 48: John T. Collins, *Keilor Catholic Church*, photograph, 1966, H97.250/1212, J. T. Collins collection, La Trobe picture collection, State Library Victoria.

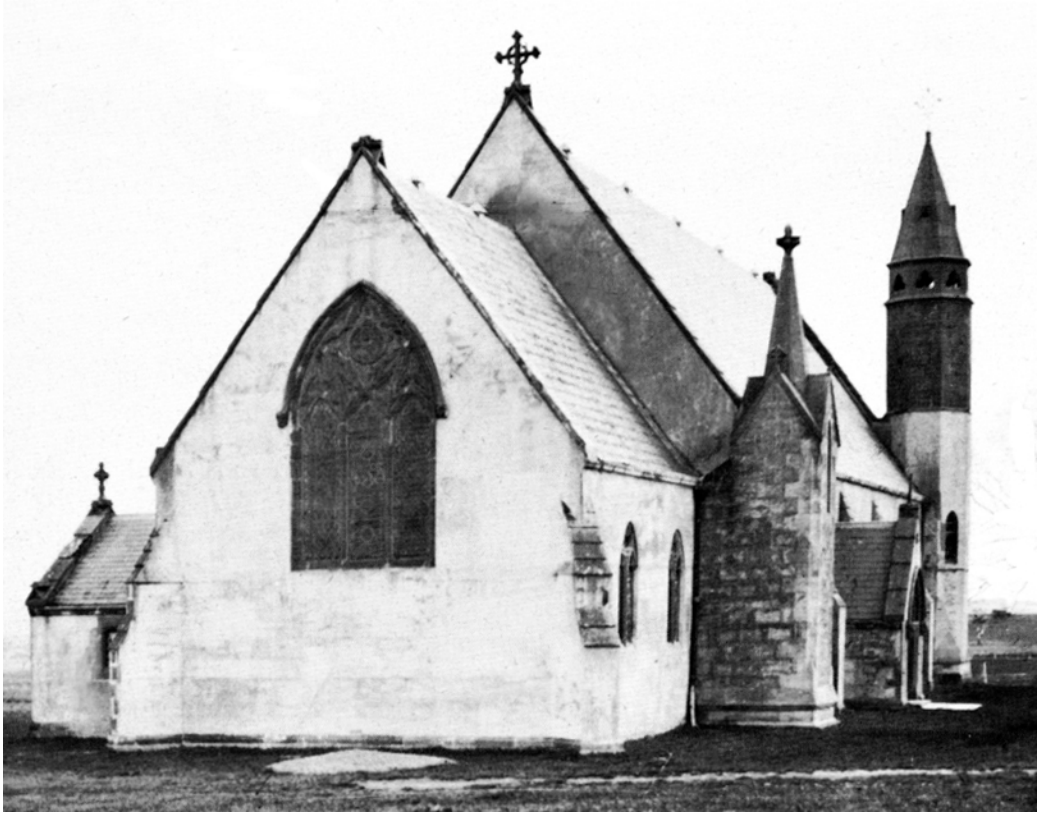


Figure 49: Unknown artist, *St Patrick's Church, Mount Moriac, Vic.*, photograph, c.1900, Mount Duneed History Group.

Figure 50: Hardman & Co. (after A.W. Pugin's design), *Sacrying bell*, brass and iron, ca. 1858-1859, Meredith Parish Group.

Figure 51: Unknown artist, *St Kilian's Church, Bendigo,* photograph, 1860-1890, Catholic Diocese of Sandhurst archives.

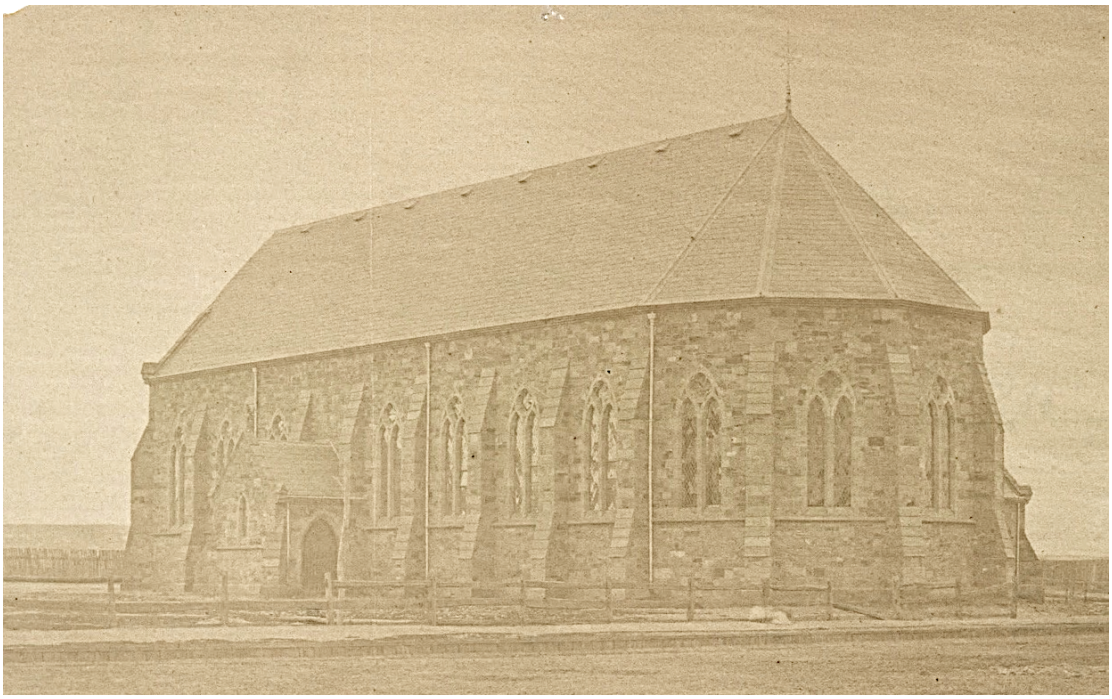


Figure 52: Benjamin P. Batchelder, *St Kilian's Church, McCrae Street, Bendigo,* photograph, 1861, H2006, State Library Victoria.

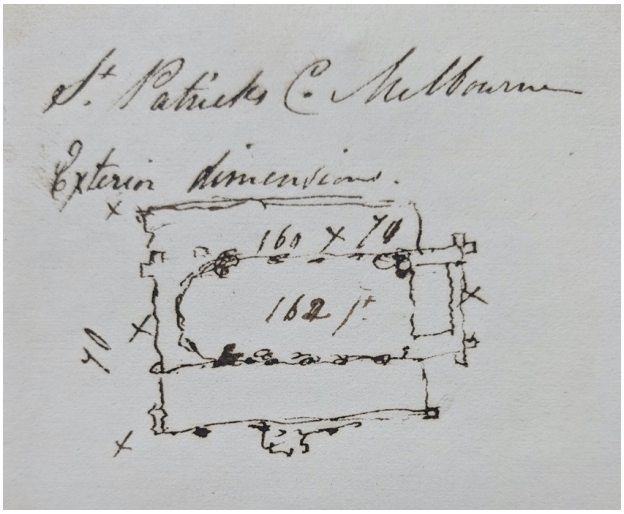


Figure 53: John Fitzpatrick, St Patrick's C. Melbourne, ink on paper, 1850, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 54: S. T. Gill, Campbell and Fergusson, *St Patrick's Church, East Melbourne,* lithograph, 1854, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 55: Gerald Griffin, De Gruchy & Leigh, *Saint Patrick's College*, colour lithograph, 1859-1861, H31701, State Library Victoria.

Figure 56: George and Schneider, *St Patrick's Church, Eastern Hill, Front Elevation,* ink and watercolour on paper, 1856-1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 57: George and Schneider, *St Patrick's Church, Eastern Hill, transverse section and east elevation,* ink and watercolour on paper, 1856-1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

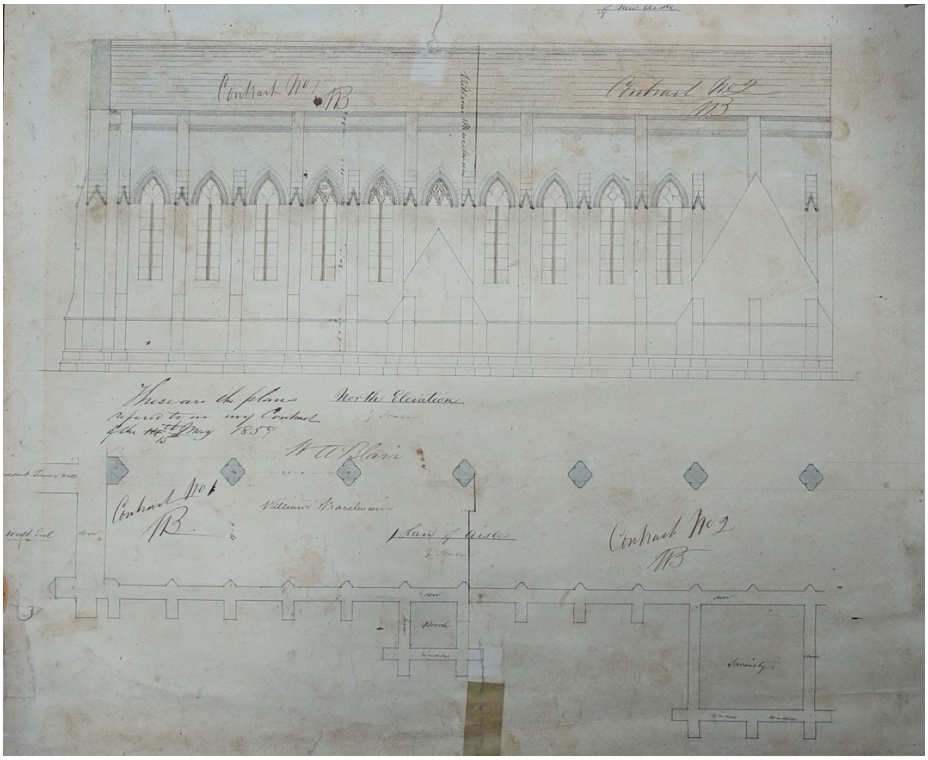


Figure 58: George and Schneider, *St Patrick's Church, Eastern Hill, Contract no. 1 and contract no. 2*, ink and watercolour on paper, 1856-1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 59: George and Schneider, *Interior of St Patrick's Church, Eastern Hill,* ink and watercolour on paper, 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 60: Unknown artist, *St Patrick's Church, the bishop's Palace, St Patrick's College and Holy trinity Lutheran Church on Eastern Hill,* photograph, early 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

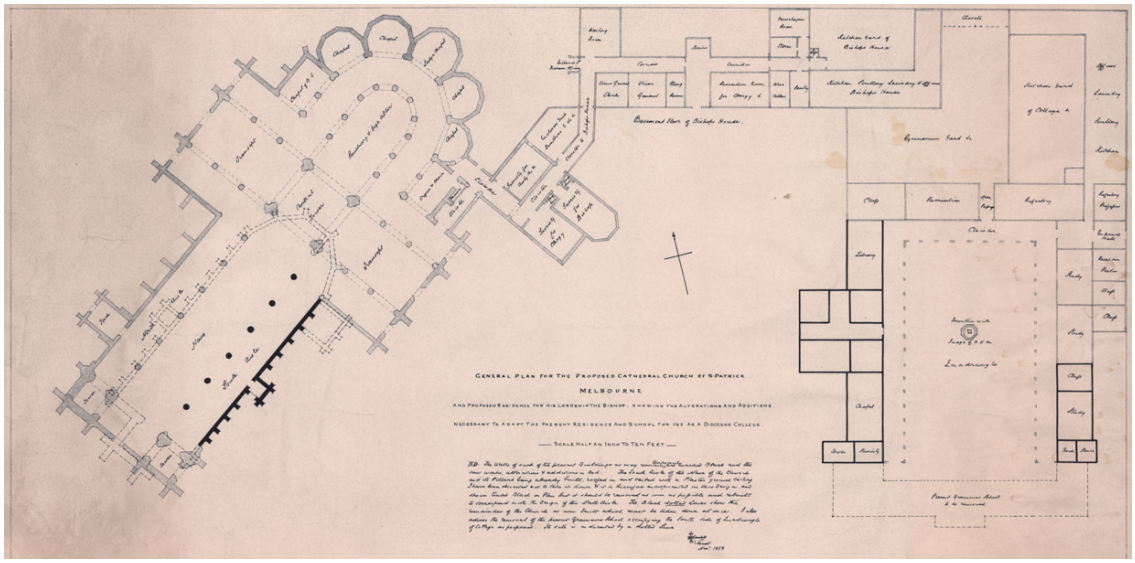


Figure 61: *William Wardell, General Plan for the proposed Cathedral Church of St Patrick, Melbourne, showing the plan of the previous church*, ink on paper, November 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 62: William Wardell, *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, Elevation of South Western Side*, ink on paper, 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

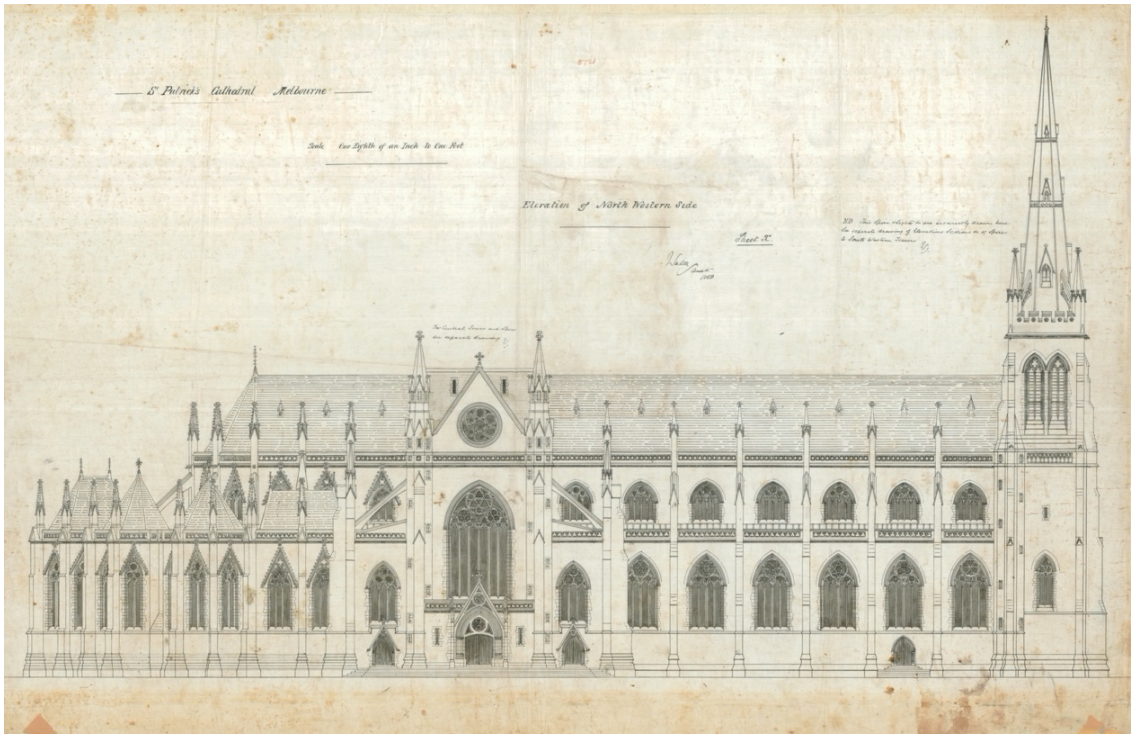


Figure 63: William Wardell, *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, Elevation of North Western Side*, ink on paper, 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

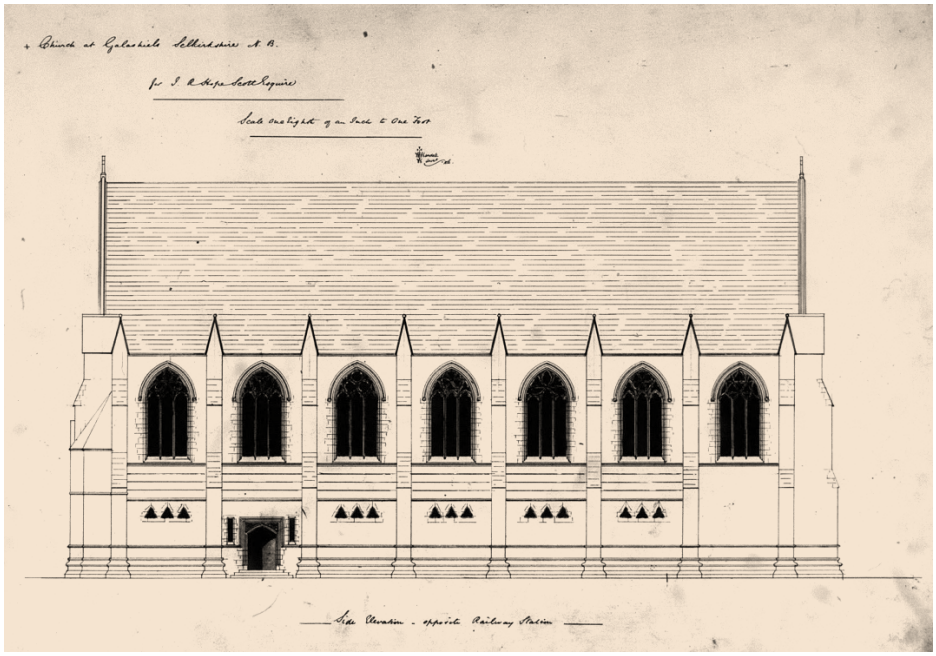


Figure 64: William Wardell, *Church at Galashiels, Selkirkshire, N. B., Side Elevation - opposite Railway Station*, ink on paper, 1856, PXD 379, f. 124, Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

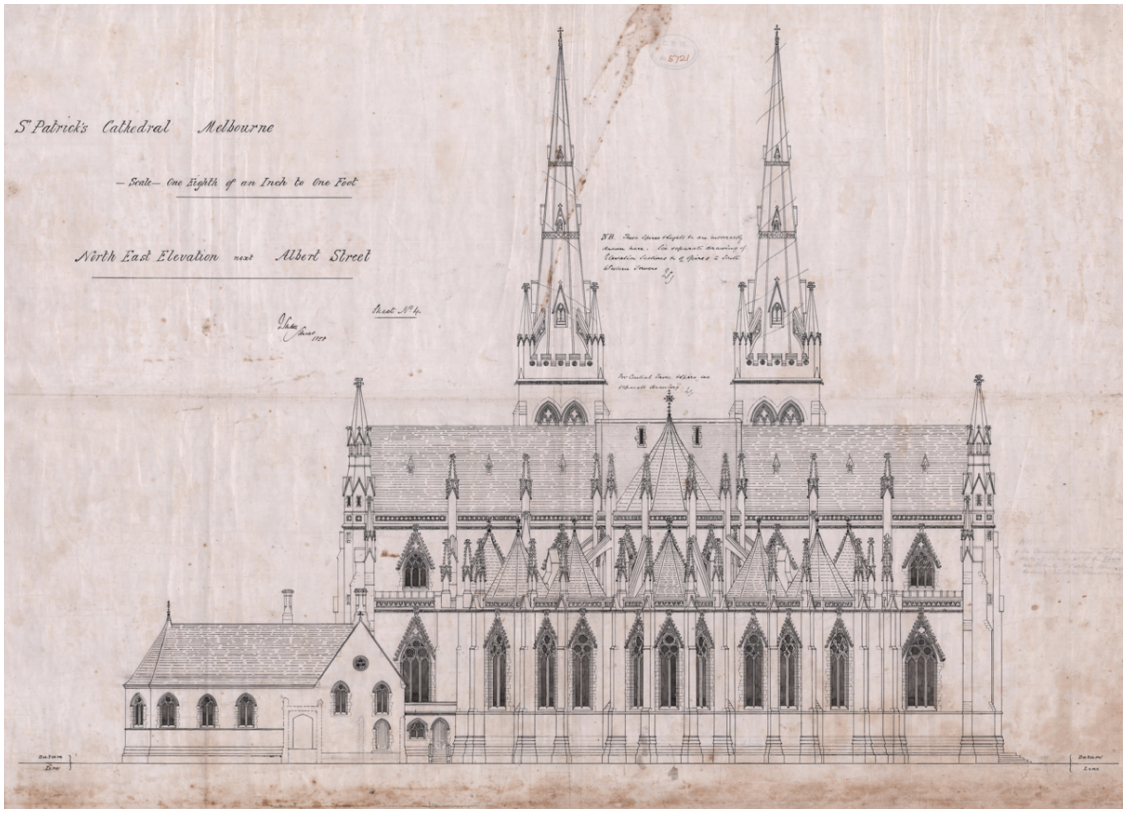


Figure 65: William Wardell, *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, North East Elevation next Albert Street,* ink on paper, 1858, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 66: *Nave of St Patrick's Cathedral*, 2018, photograph Paola Colleoni, 2018.

Figure 2: Lucy Powell and Misses L. and W. Brown (after A.W. Pugin's design), *Mitre*, cloth and silk, 1858-1859, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

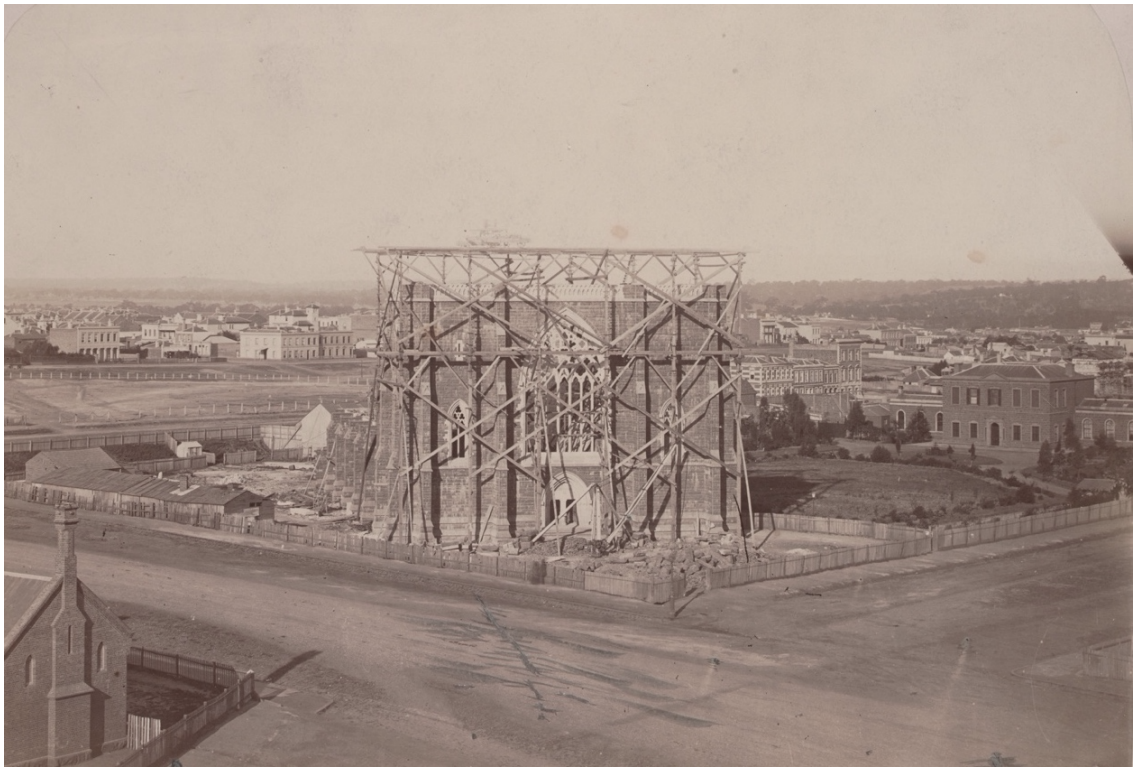


Figure 68: Charles Nettleton, *St Patrick's Cathedral under construction, Melbourne,* photograph, ca. 1861, H36668, State Library Victoria.

Figure 69: Albert C. Cooke, *Mediaeval Court, Intercolonial Exhibition*, wood engraving, 1866, published in *the Australian News for Home Readers*, 20 December 1866, IAN20/12/66/8, State Library Victoria.

Figure 70: William Lamberth, *Baptismal Font*, soapstone with cedar wooden cover, 1865-66, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Paola Colleoni, 2019.

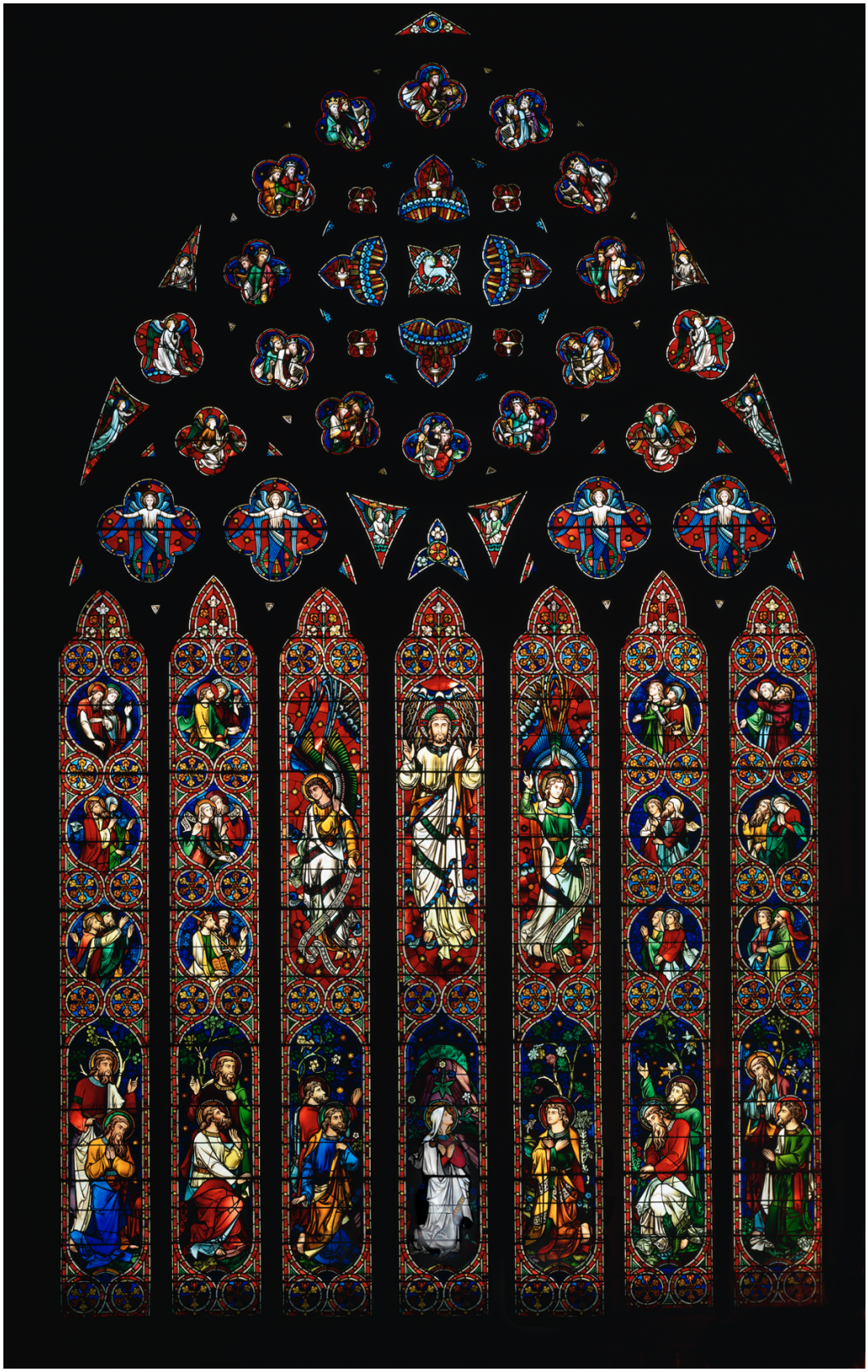


Figure 71: John Hardman & Co., *The Ascension*, *Western window,* stained glass, 1865-1866, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 72: Unknown artist, *Holy Water Stoup*, white marble, 1868, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Paola Colleoni, 2019.

Figure 73: Wilhelm Achtermann, *Crucifix*, white marble, 1868, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Paola Colleoni, 2019.

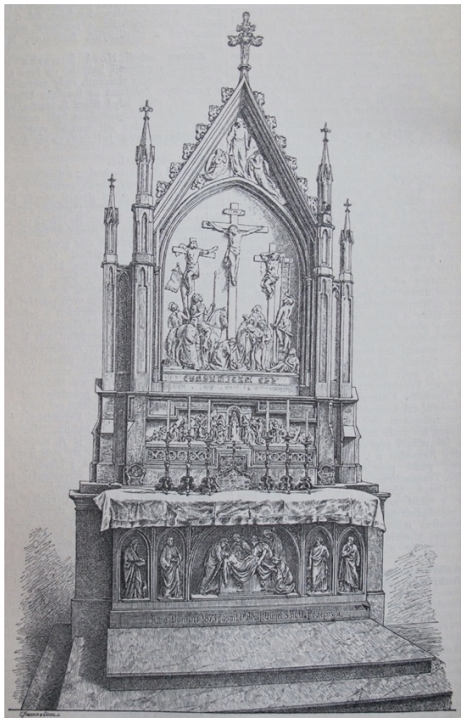


Figure 74: Angerls & Göschl, *Achtermann's altar*, lithograph, 1868, online location.

Figure 75: Charles Nettleton, *St Patrick's Cathedral*, photograph, c. 1866, H2119, State Library Victoria.

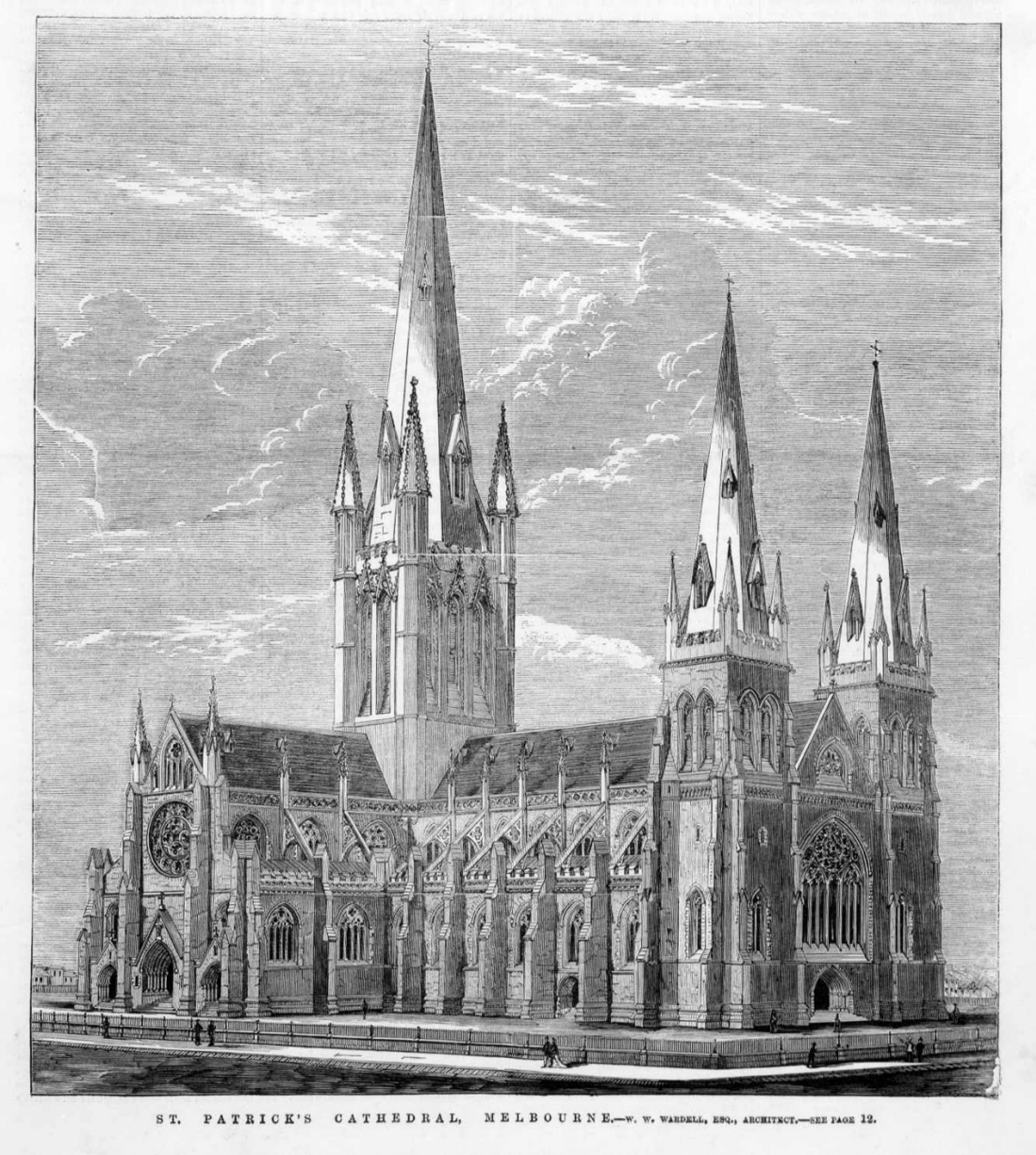


Figure 76: William Wardell, Ebenezer and Syme, *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*, wood engraving, 1868, published in *The Illustrated Australian News*, 25 April 1868, IAN25/04/68/1, State Library Victoria.

Figure 77: Denny, Ferguson, Urie and Lyon*, Altar [as it appears today after recent renovations],* photograph courtesy of the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission

and

David Syme & Co., *St Patrick's cathedral Altar [as it appeared in the 1890s],* 1896, detail of photograph published in *The Illustrated Australian News*, 1 May 1896, IAN01/05/96/4, State Library Victoria.

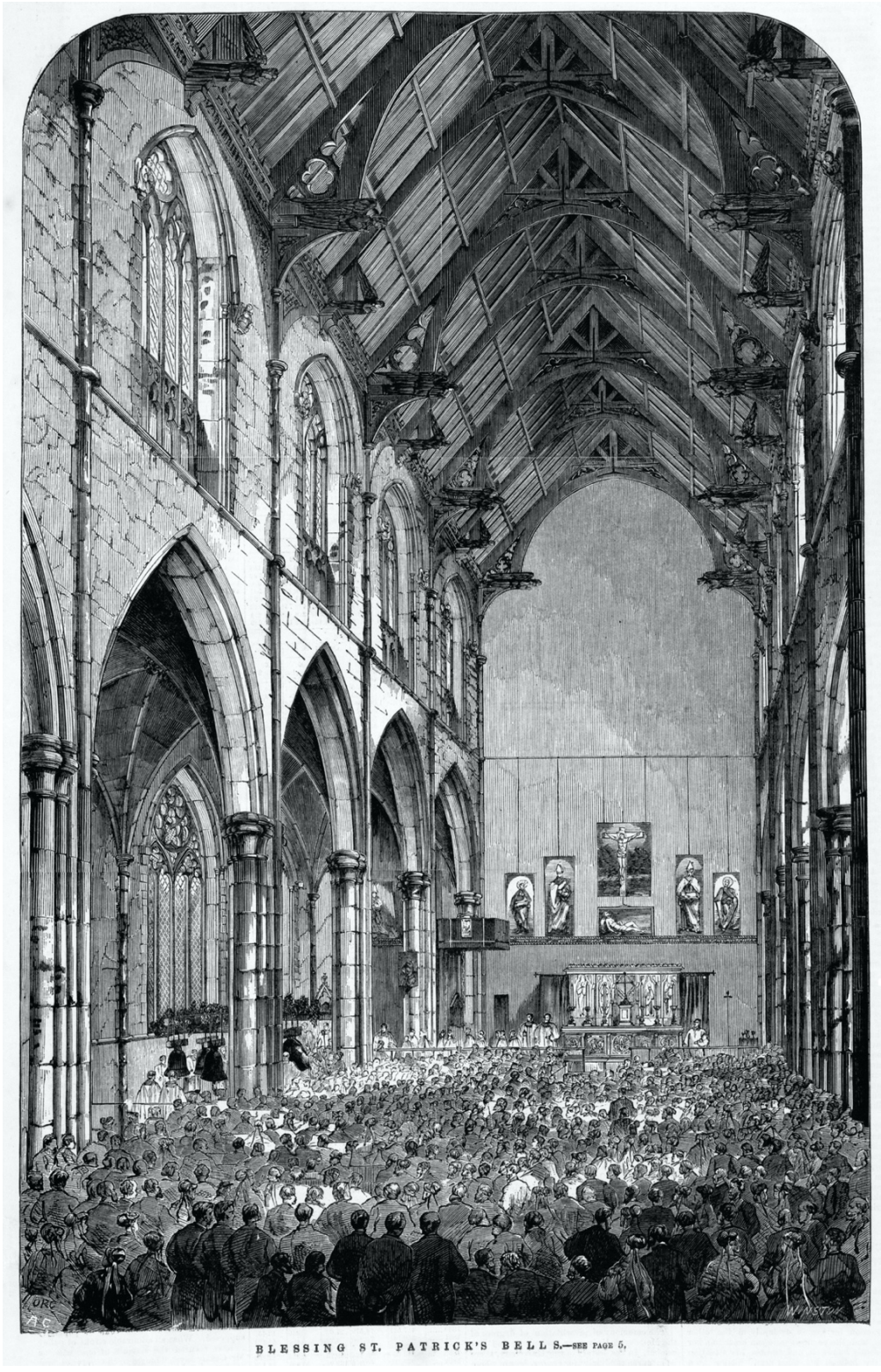
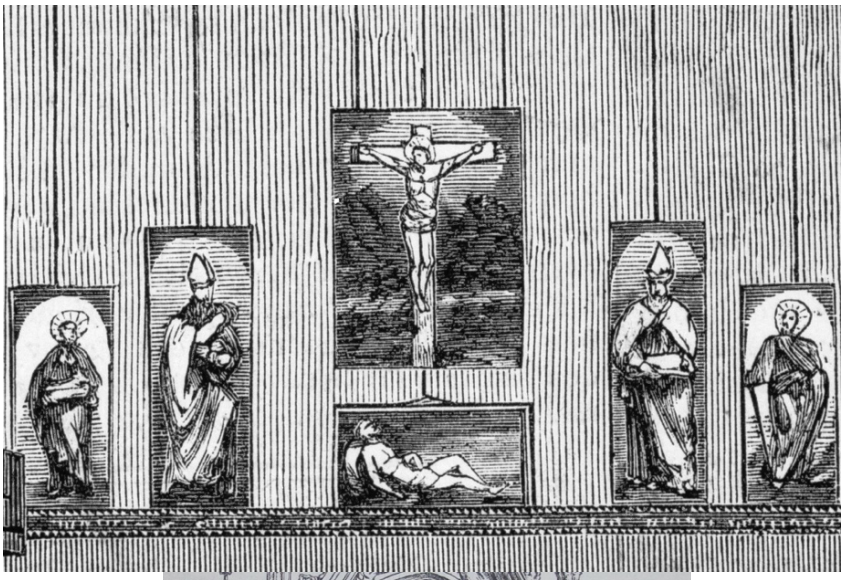


Figure 78: C. E.Winston. P. R. Campbell and A. C. Cooke, *Blessing of St Patrick's Bells in St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*, wood engraving, 1869, published in the *Illustrated Australian news for Home Readers*, 4 January 1869, IAN04/01/69/8, State Library Victoria.



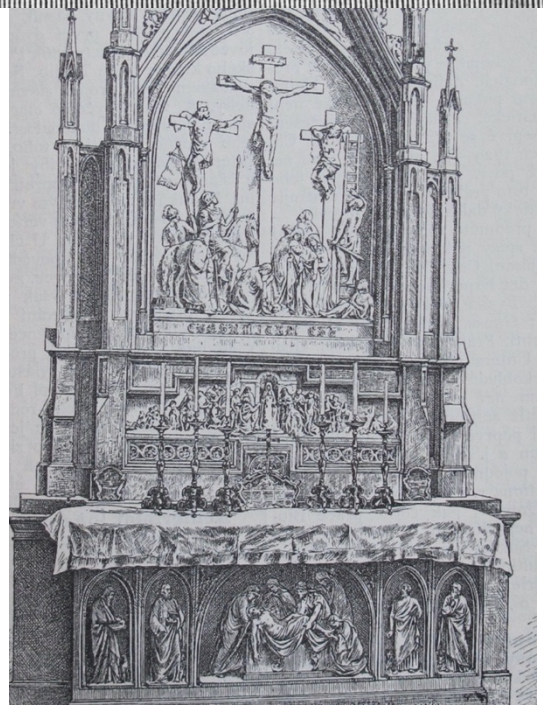


Figure 79 C. E.Winston. P. R. Campbell and A. C. Cooke, *Blessing of St Patrick's Bells in St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne,* detail, wood engraving, 1869, published in the *Illustrated Australian news for Home Readers*, 4 January 1869, IAN04/01/69/8, State Library Victoria;

and

Angerls & Göschl, *Achtermann's altar*, detail, lithograph, 1868, online location.

Figure 80: [Attributed to] Francisco Meneses Osorio, *Dead Christ*, oil on canvas, 17th century, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 81: Unknown artist, *Procession Celebrating the synod of the Australian bishops*, photograph, 1869, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

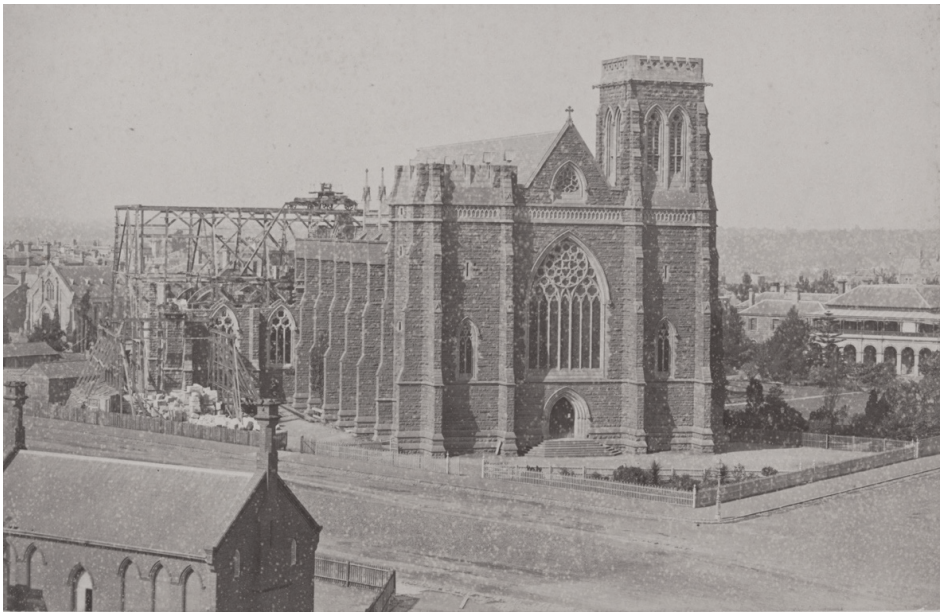


Figure 82: Charles Nettleton, *St Patrick's from Parliament House [showing the façade of the cathedral before the completion of the spires],* photograph, c. 1875, H11954, State Library Victoria.

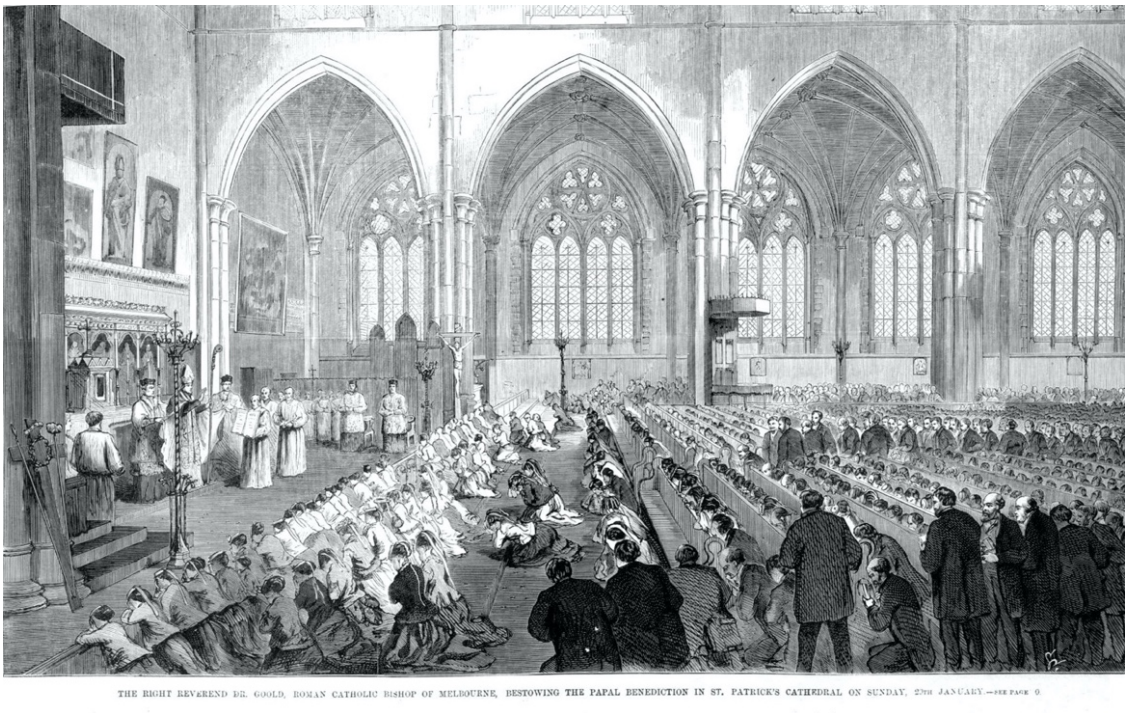


Figure 83: S. Calvert, Ebenezer and Syme, *The Right Reverend Dr. Goold, Roman Catholic Bishop of Melbourne, bestowing the papal benediction in St Patrick's Cathedral on Sunday 29th January 1871*, engraving, 1871, published in the *Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers*, 27 February 1871, IAN27/02/71/49, State Library Victoria.

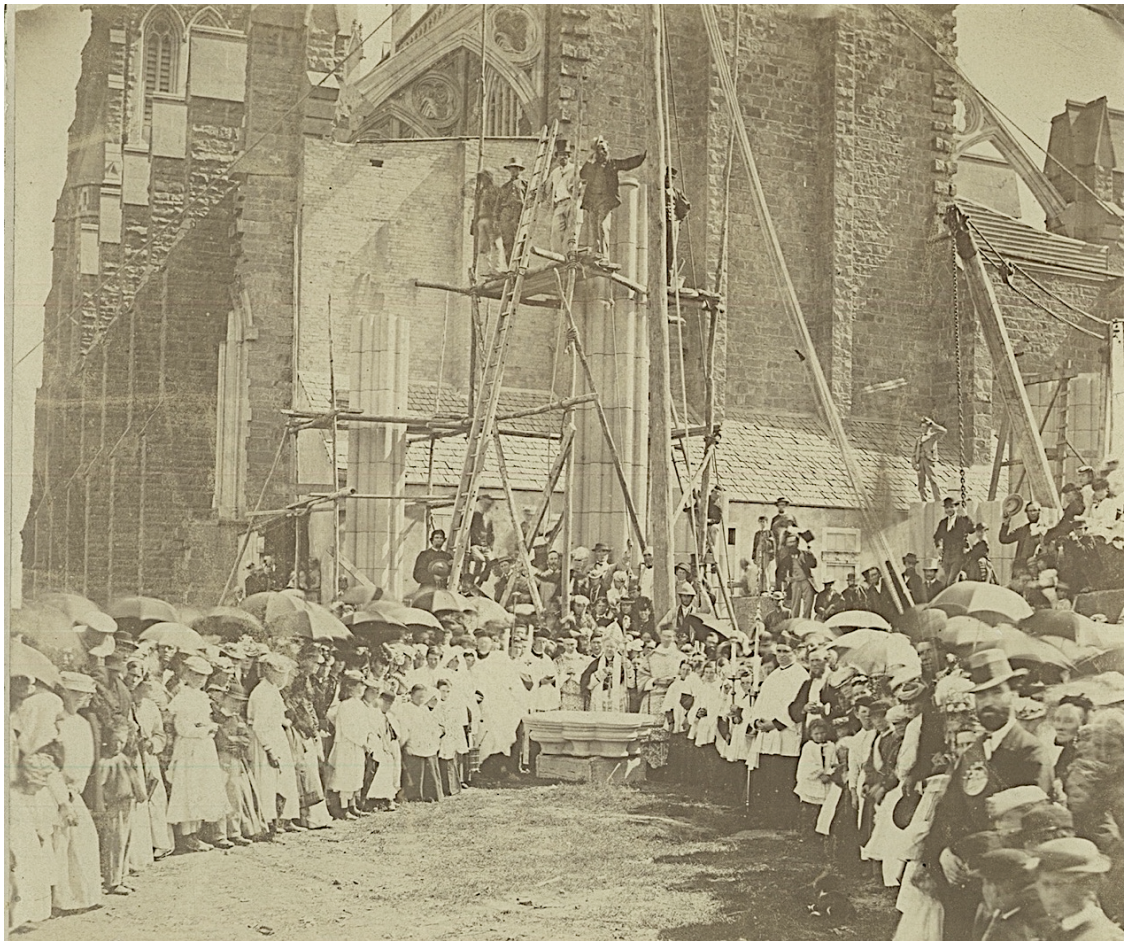


Figure 84: Unknown artist, *Bishop Goold laying the foundation stone of one of the pillars of the chancel*, 1870s, photograph, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 85: Unknown author, *The new organ at St Patrick's (R. C.) Cathedral and the opening ceremony,* lithograph, 1880, published in *the Australasian Sketcher*, 27 March 1880, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

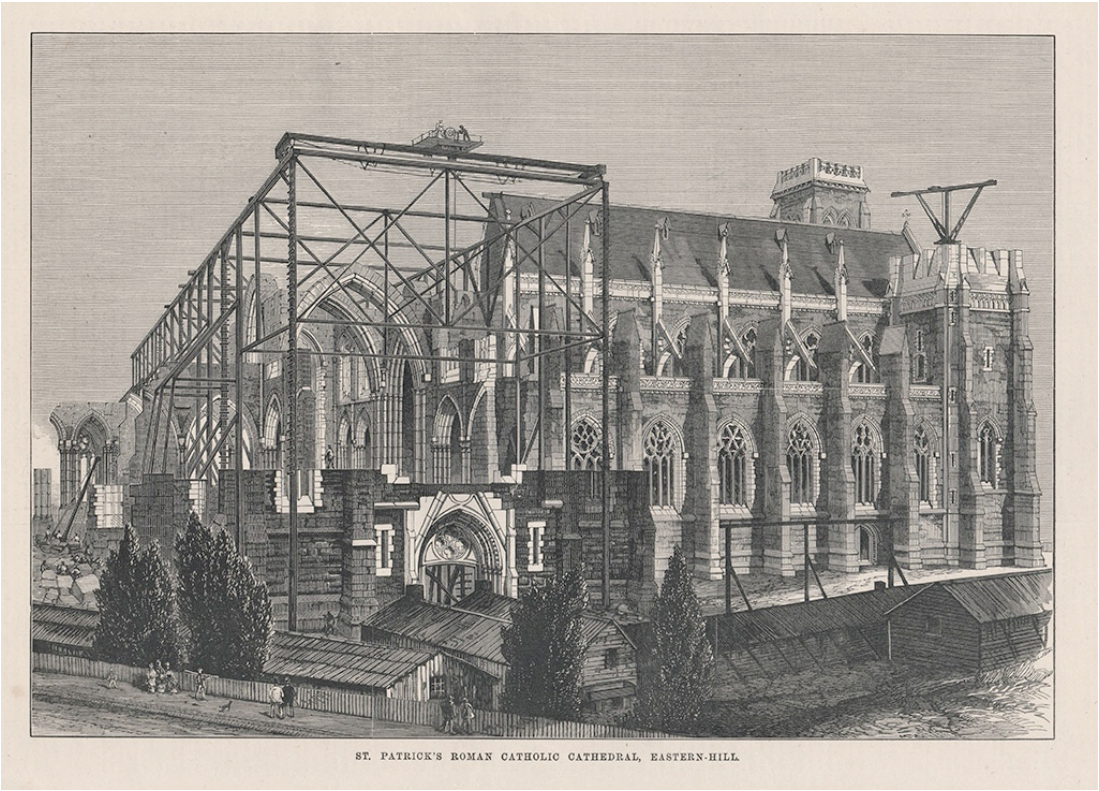


Figure 86: Unknown artist, *St Patrick's Roman Catholic Cathedral Eastern-Hill,* lithograph, 1876, published in *the Australasian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil*, 8 July 1876, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 87: J. D. Ryland, *Interior of St Patrick's Cathedral Melbourne*, ink on paper, 1876, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 88: Albert C. Cooke, *Exterior of St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, now in course of erection*, ink on paper glued to linen, 1879, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 89: James McGowan, *Model of St Patrick's Cathedral*, plaster, wood, glass and stone, 1880, H2010.202, State Library Victoria.

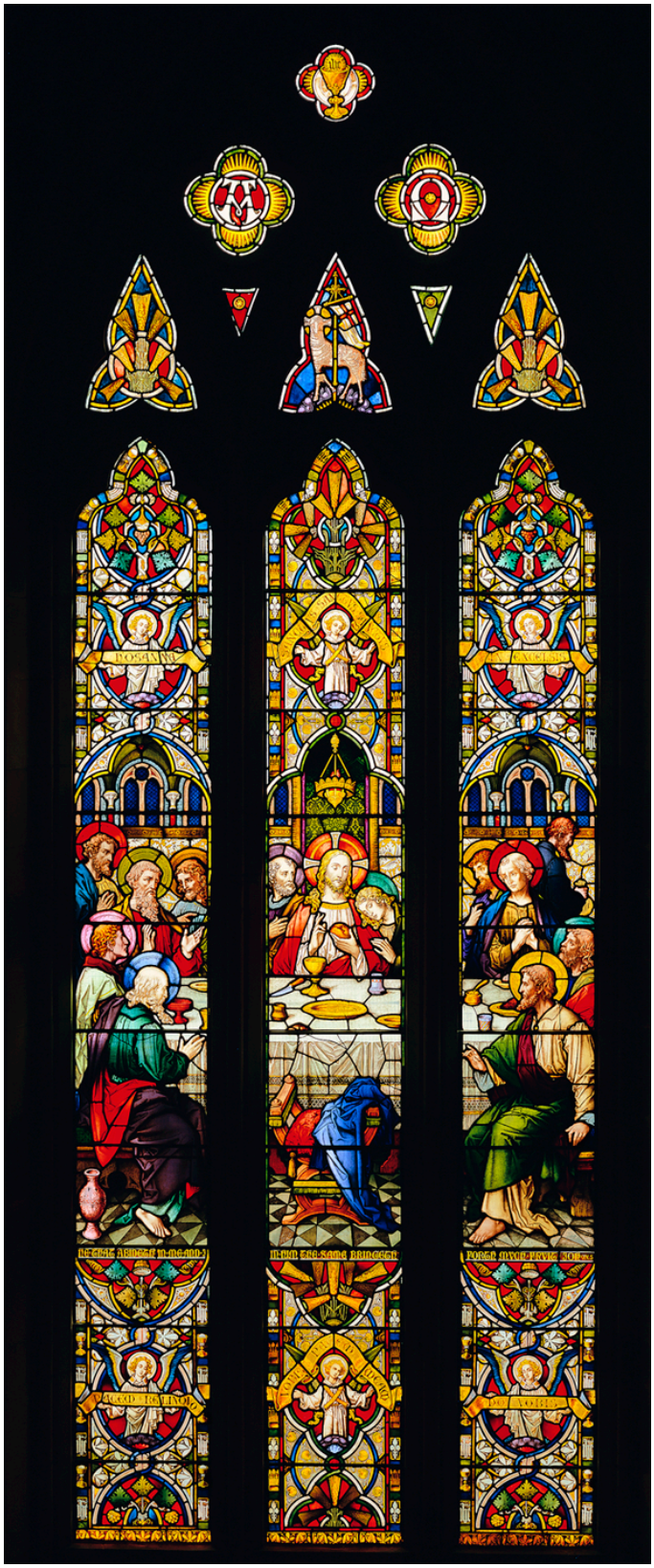


Figure 90: Mayer & Co., *The Last Supper*, stained glass, 1879-80, Blessed Sacrament Chapel, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 91: Mayer & Co., *Melchizedech giving bread and wine,* stained glass, 1879-80, Blessed Sacrament Chapel, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 92: Charles Nettleton, *View from Exhibition buildings towards St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*, photograph, 1880, H14127, State Library Victoria.

Figure 93: Hardman & Co., *The Resurrection, the Crucifixion and the Ascension*, stained glass, 1886-87, Holy Souls Chapel, St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, photograph Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 94: Johnstone, O'Shannessy & Co., *St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne*, photograph, 1897, H96.160/536, State Library Victoria.

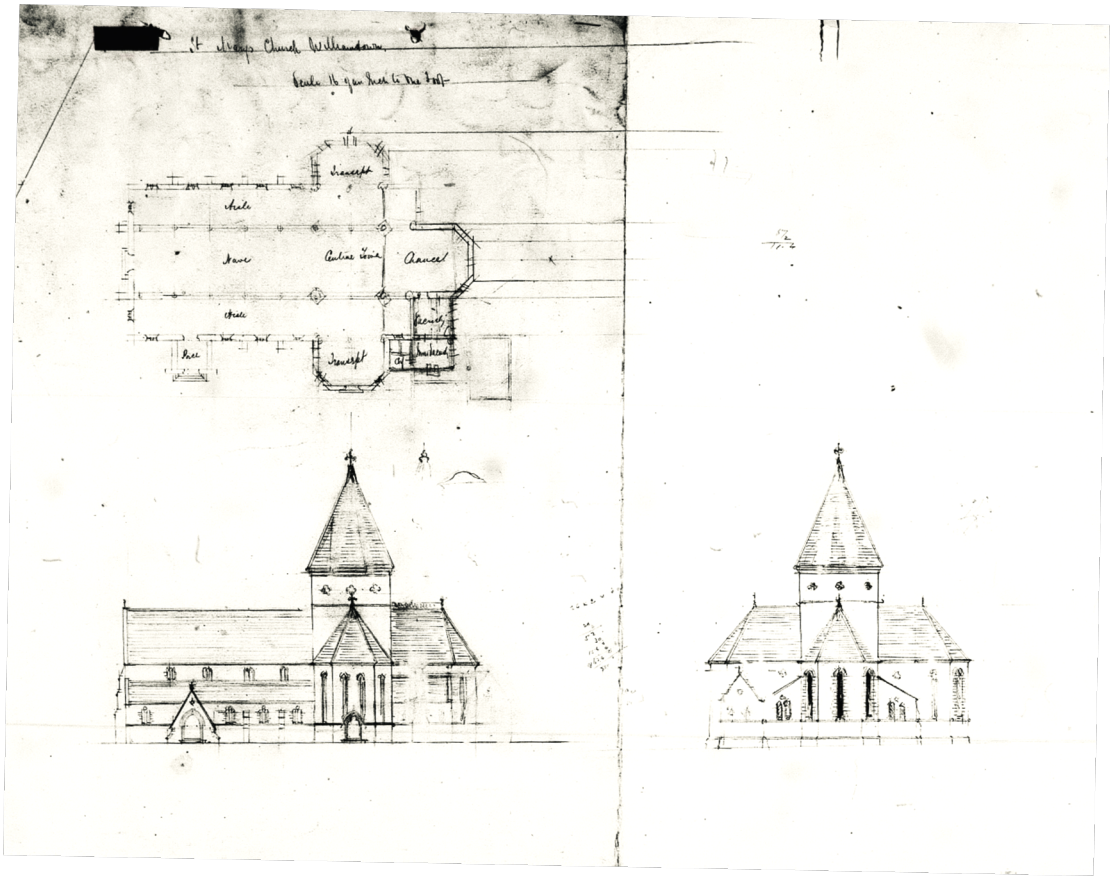


Figure 95: William Wardell, *St Mary's Church, Williamstown,* ink on paper, 1859, PXD 316, f. 141, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 96: Andrew Rider, *St Mary's Catholic Church, Cecil St., Williamstown,* photograph, c.1880, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 97: William Wardell, Church Heidelberg, Victoria, Elevation of Chancel and Sacristy, ink on paper, 1859, PXD 316, f. 61, Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

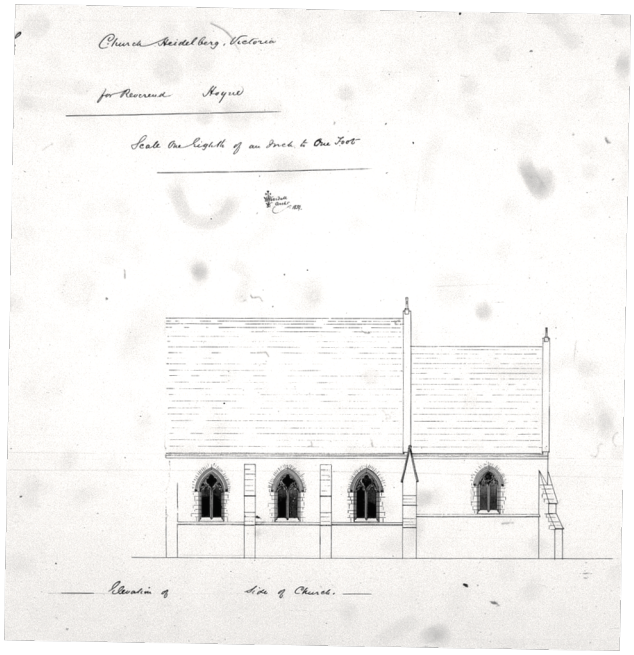


Figure 98: William Wardell, *Church Heidelberg, Victoria, Elevation of Side of Church,* ink on paper, 1859, PXD 316, f. 63, Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

Figure 99: Unknown Artist, *H'berg R. C. Church, 1863,* photograph, 1863, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

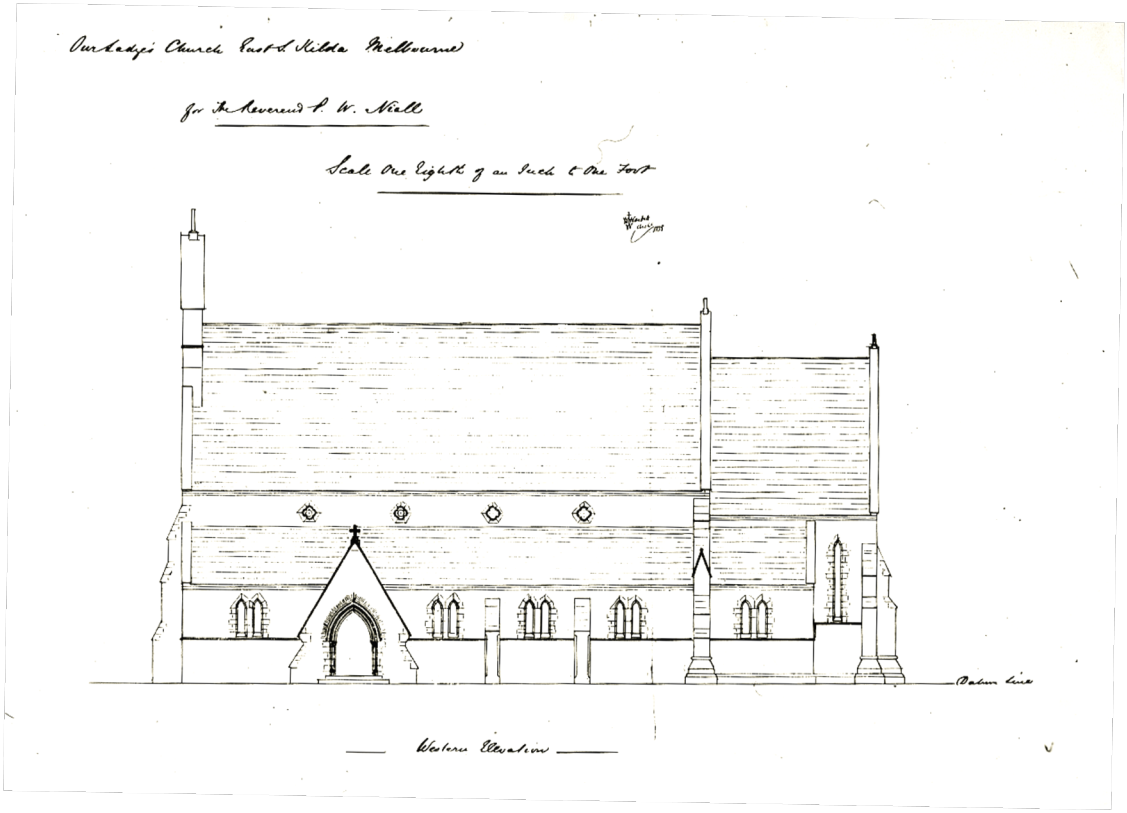


Figure 100: William Wardell, *Our Lady's Church, East S. Kilda Melbourne, Western Elevation,* ink on paper, 1858, PXD 378, f. 46, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

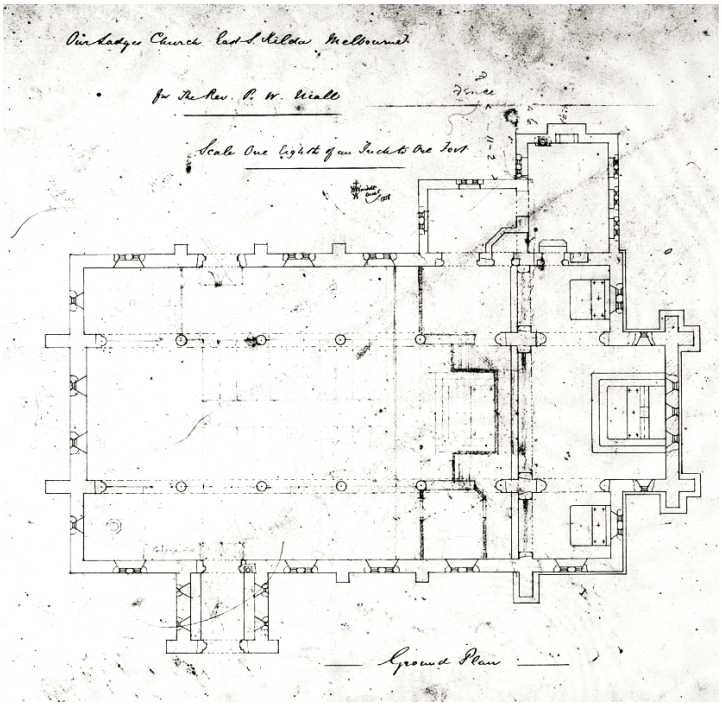


Figure 101: William Wardell, *Our Lady's Church, East S. Kilda Melbourne, Ground Plan,* ink on paper, 1858, PXD 378, f. 48, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

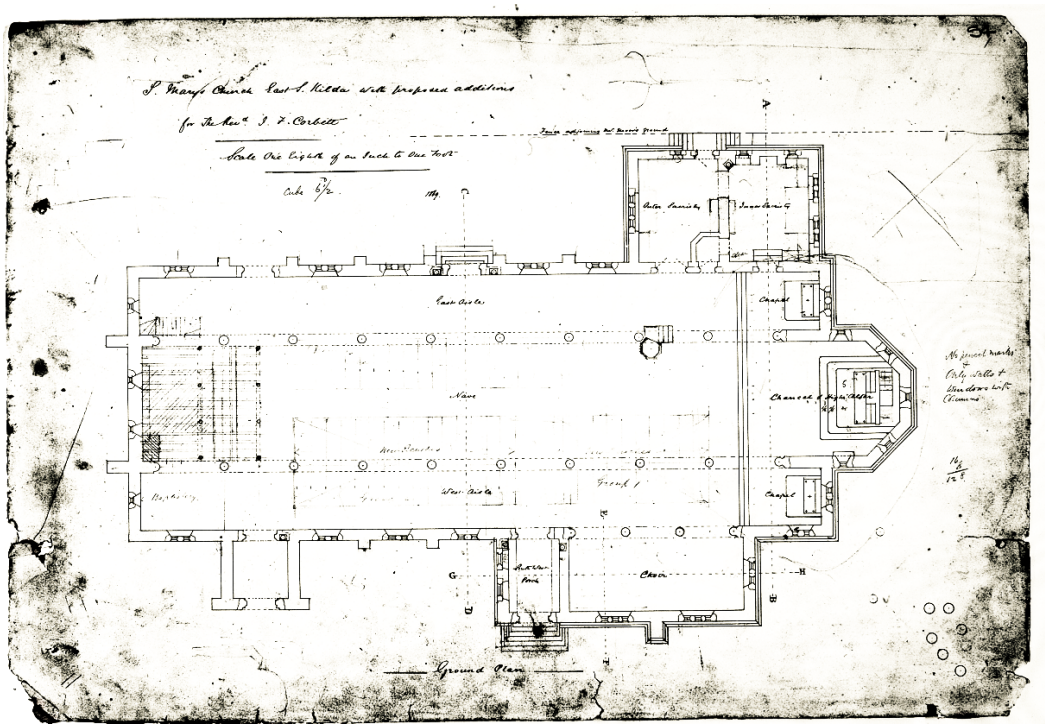


Figure 102: William Wardell, *St Mary's Church East S. Kilda with proposed additions, Ground Plan,* ink on paper, 1869, PXD 378, f. 54, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

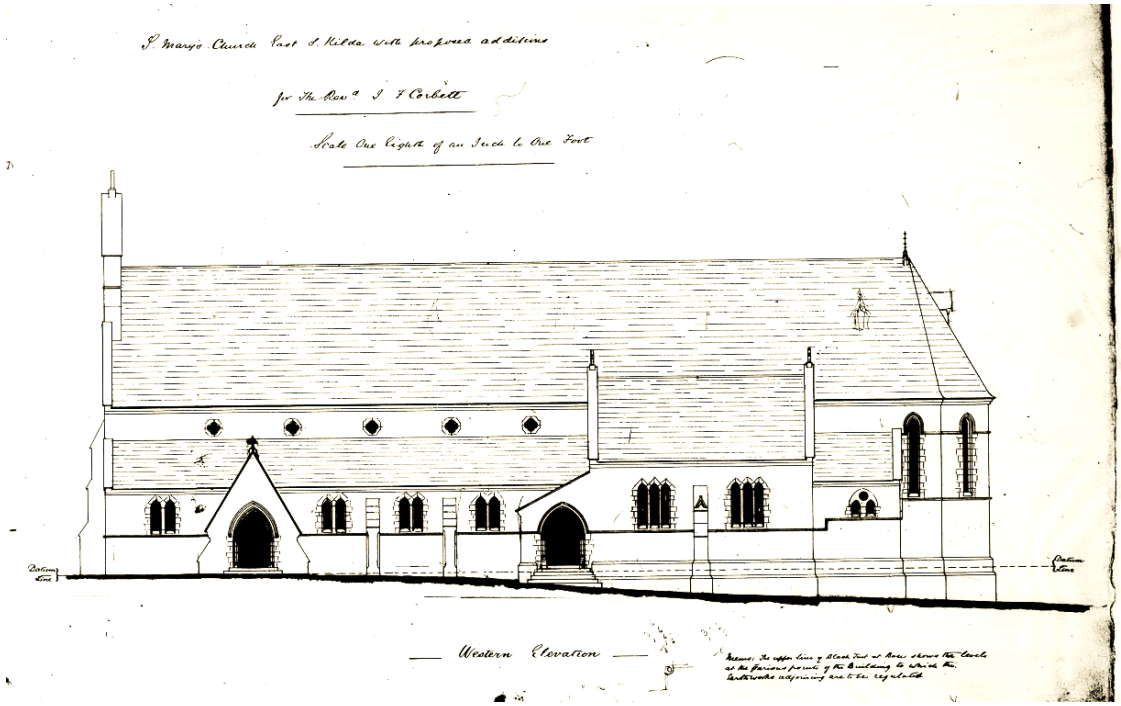


Figure 103: William Wardell, *St Mary's Church East S. Kilda with proposed additions, Western Elevation,* ink on paper, 1869, PXD 378, f. 63, Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

Figure 104: Unknown artist, *St Mary's Church, East St Kilda,* photograph, 1870s, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

Figure 105: Hugh George for Wilson and MacKinnon, *Melbourne churches, Interior of St Mary's Church (Roman Catholic), St Kilda*, wood engraving, 1877, published in the *Australasian Sketcher*, 12 May 1877, A/S12/05/77/21, State Library Victoria.

Figure 106: *St Mary's Church, East St Kilda, [as it appears today]*, photograph Paola Colleoni, 2019.

Figure 107: William Wardell, *Ashby Church, Geelong,* ink on paper, 1860-61, PXD 379, f. 28, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

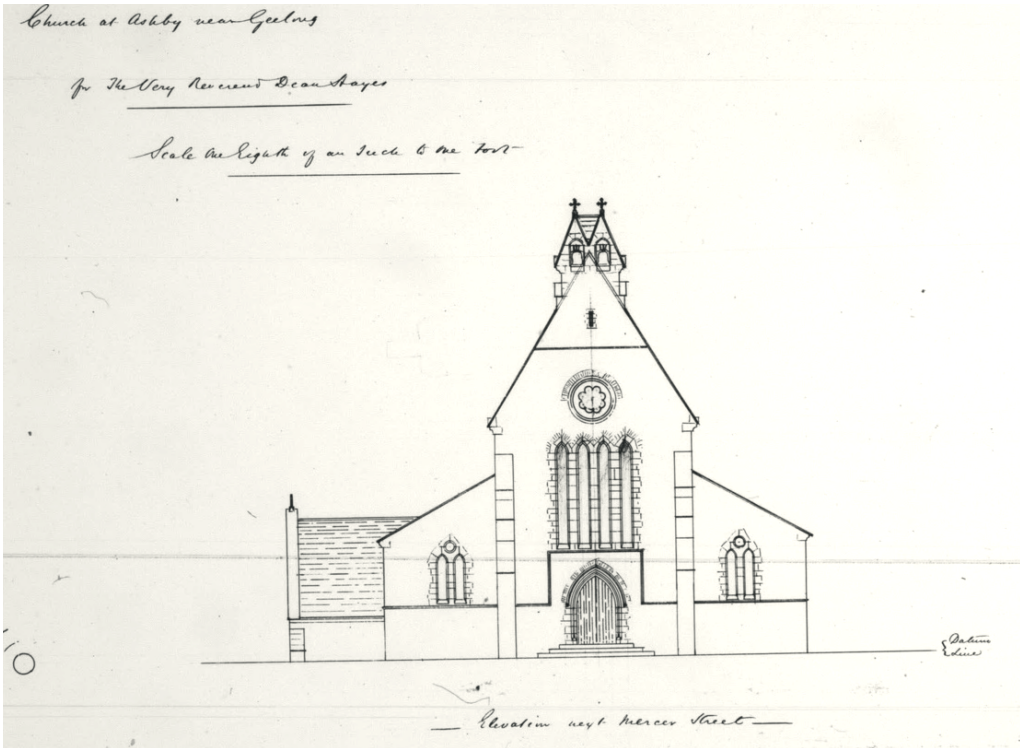


Figure 108: William Wardell, *Church at Ashby near Geelong, elevation next Mercer Street,* ink on paper, 1861, PXD 316, f. 39, Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

Figure 109: *Ss Peter and Paul's Church, West Geelong [as it appears today],* photograph Paola Colleoni, 2018.

Figure 110: Ferguson and Urie, *St Peter, the Ascension and St Paul,* 1866, stained glass, St Peter and St Paul's Church, West Geelong, photograph Ray Brown, 2015, online location.

Figure 111: *Our Lady of Mount Carmel Roman Catholic Church at Sunbury, Victoria,* photograph, 2012, online location.

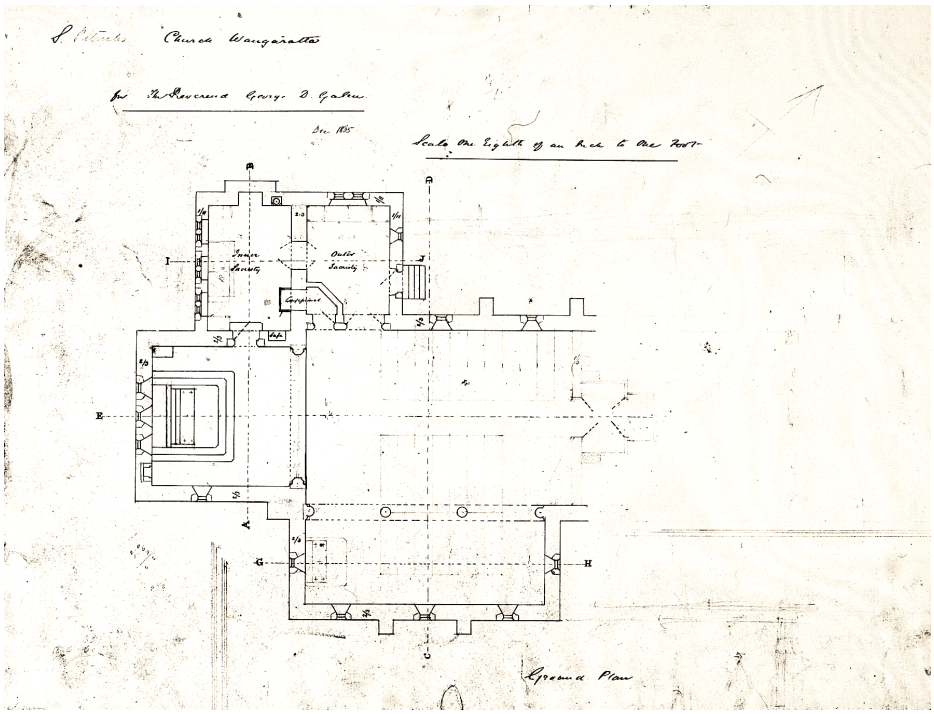


Figure 112: William Wardell, *Church Wangaratta, Ground Plan*, ink on paper, 1865, PXD 378, f. 66, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

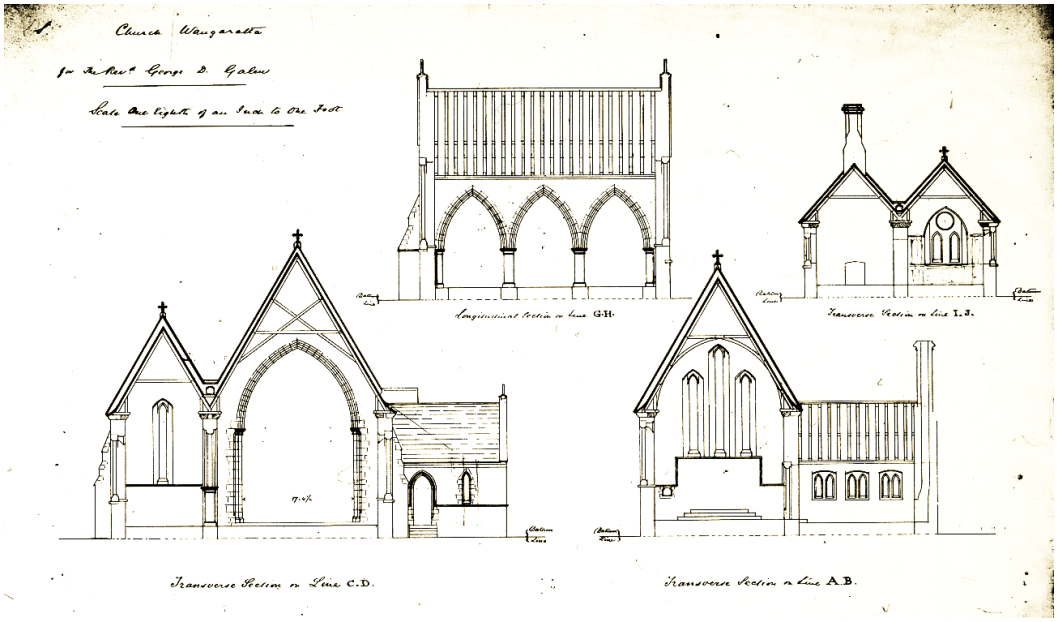


Figure 113: William Wardell, *Church Wangaratta, Transverse and Longitudinal Sections*, ink on paper, 1865, PXD 378, f. 67, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

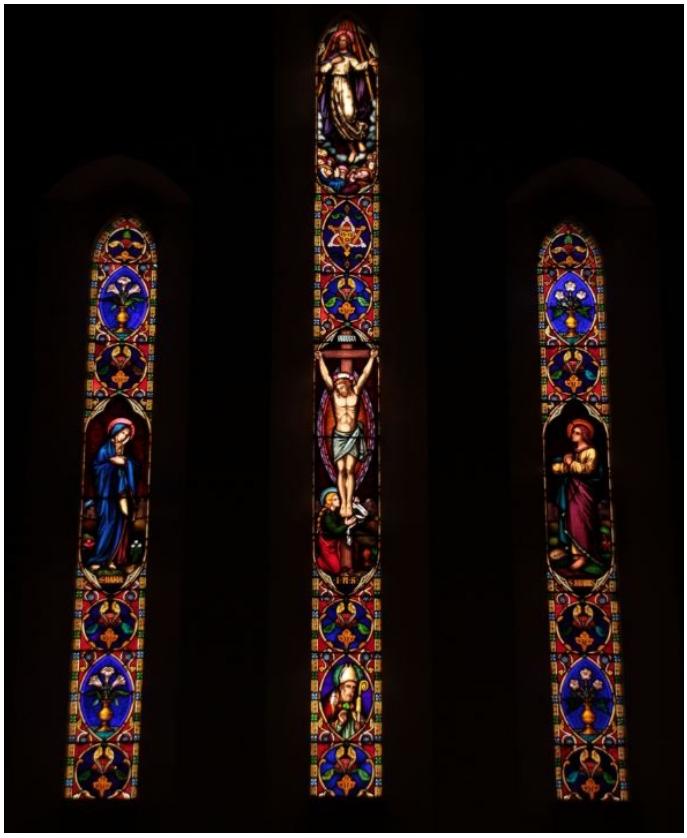


Figure 114: Ferguson, Urie and Lyon, *Crucifixion,* stained glass, 1871, St Patrick's Church, Wangaratta, photograph Ray Brown, 2015, online location.

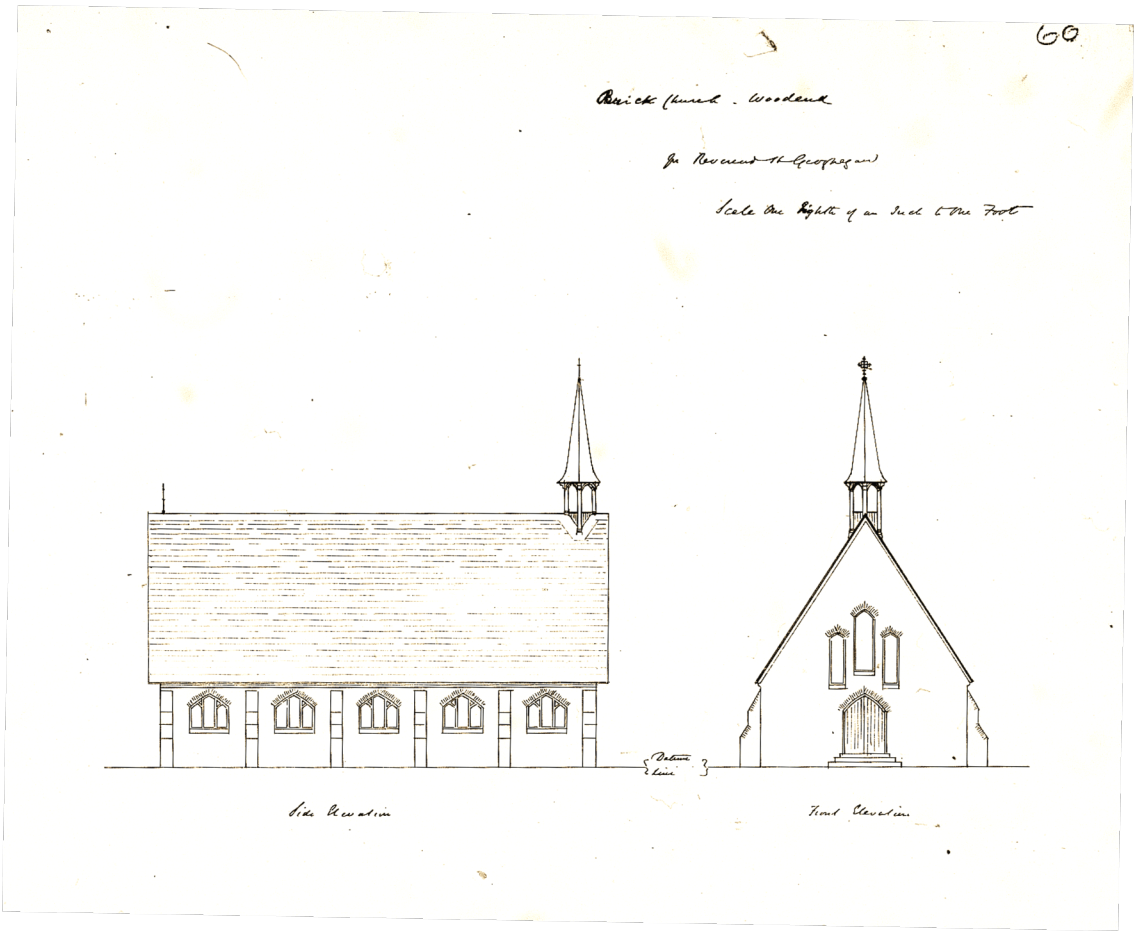


Figure 115: William Wardell, *Brick Church, Woodend, Side and Front Elevation*, ink on paper, 1863-1864, PXD 317, f. 60, Mitchell Library, State Library New South Wales.

Figure 116: Unknown artist, *Very Rev. Dean Geoghegan at St Ambrose's Church Woodend*, c.1866, photograph, Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission.

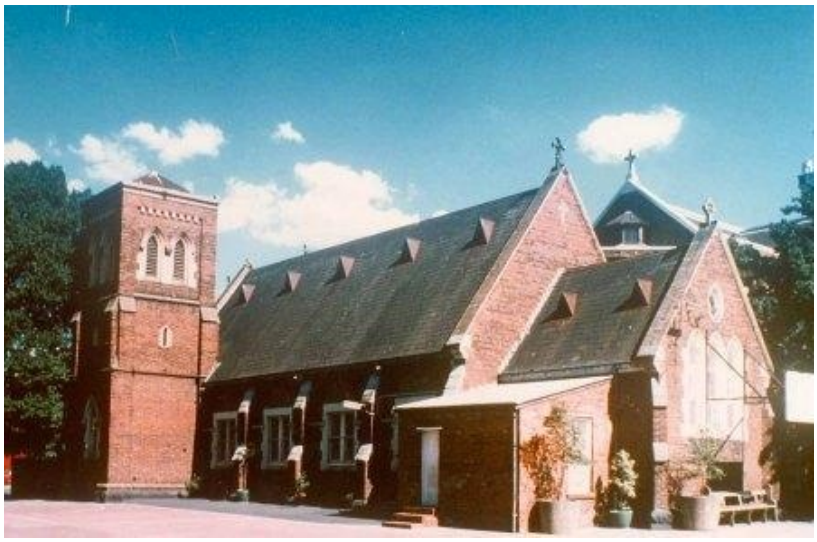


Figure 117: Unknown artist, *St John's Chapel-school, Hoddle St., Melbourne*, photograph, 1990s, n. 65134, Victorian Heritage Database.

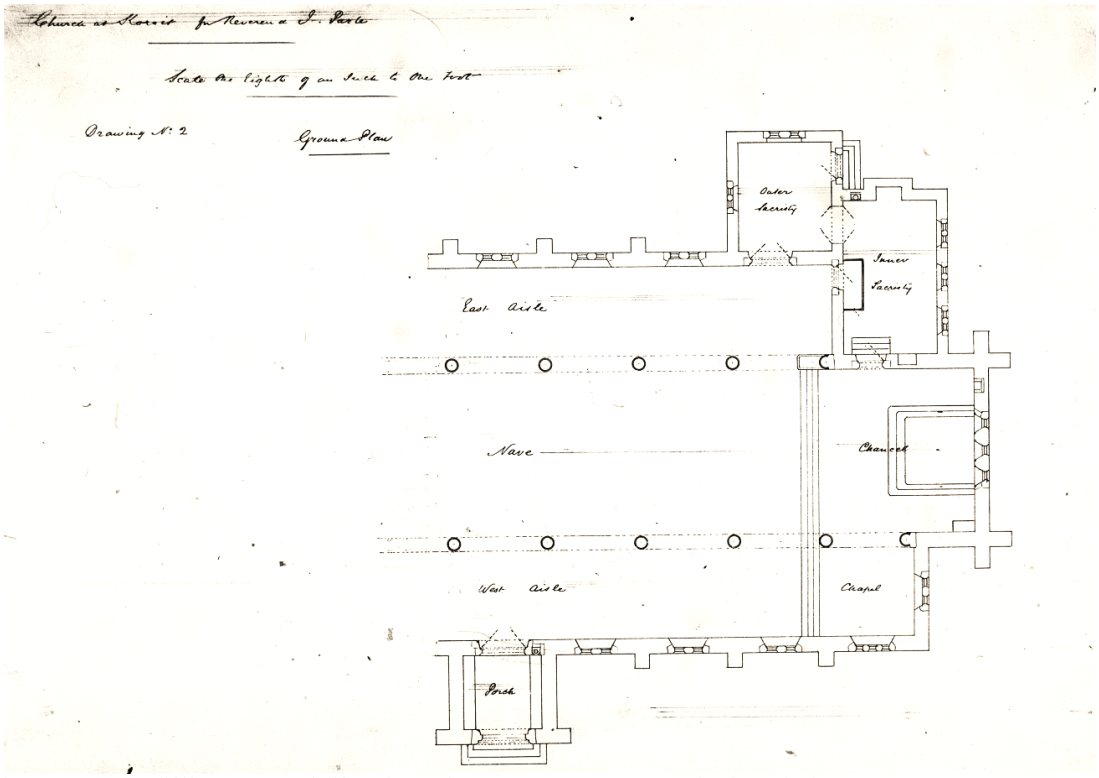


Figure 118: William Wardell, *Church at Koroit, Ground Plan,* ink on paper, 1863, PXD 316, f. 65, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

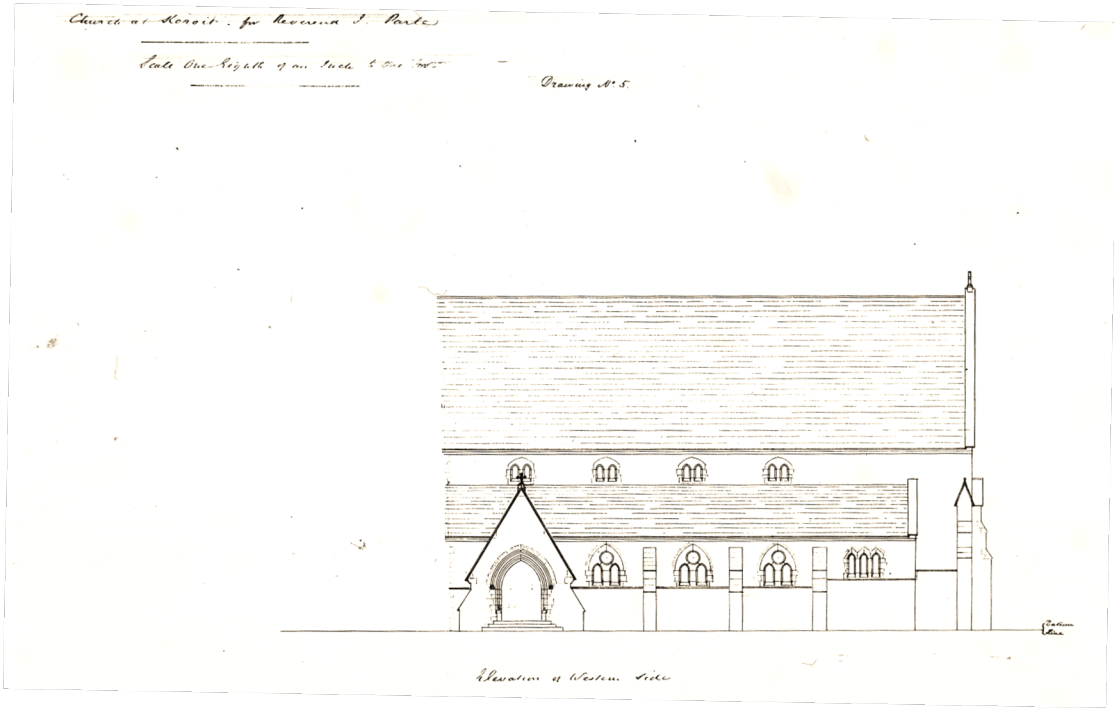


Figure 119: William Wardell, *Church at Koroit, Elevation of Western Side,* ink on paper, 1863, PXD 316, f. 69, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

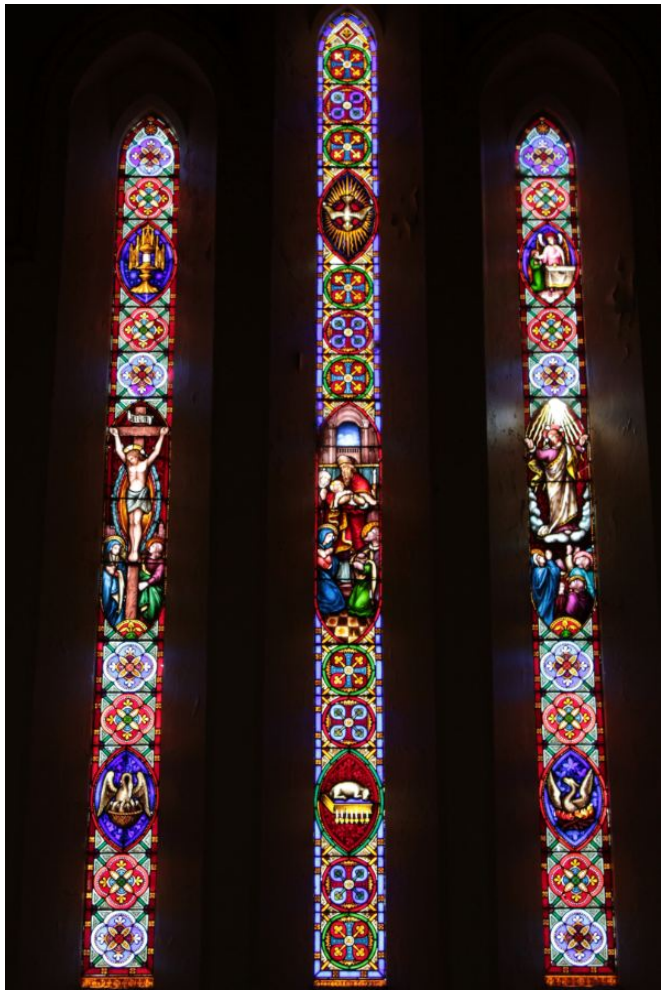


Figure 120: Ferguson and Urie, *the Crucifixion, the Birth at Bethlehem and the Ascension,* stained glass, 1870, Koroit Catholic Church, photograph Ray Brown, 2011, online location.

Figure 121: Ferguson and Urie, *St Patrick, St Mary Magdalen and St Mary,* stained glass, 1870, Koroit Catholic Church, photograph Ray Brown, 2011, online location.

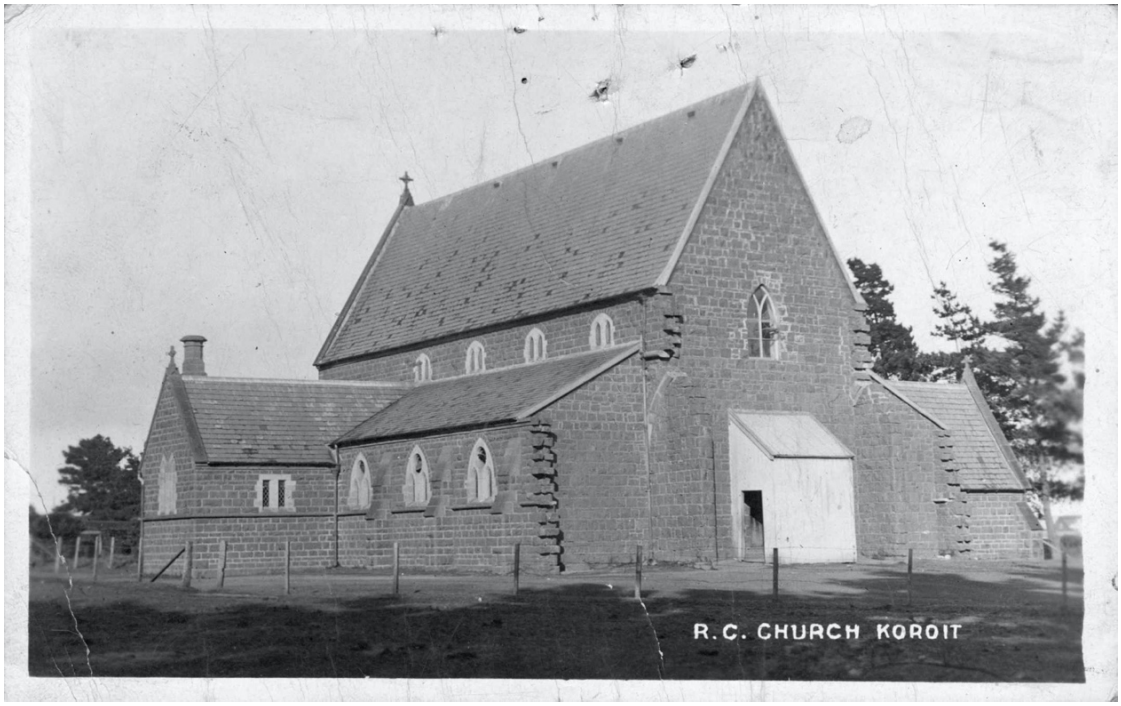


Figure 122: Augustus Andrew Fritsch, *R. C. Church Koroit,* photograph, 1909-1913, H41.233/26, State Library Victoria.

Figure 123: Rose Stereograph Co., *St Patrick's Church, Koroit, Victoria*, photograph, c. 1920-1954, H32492/2787, State Library Victoria.

Figure 124: Unknown artist, *St Joseph's Chapel-school, Warrnambool*, photograph, ca. 1860, online location.

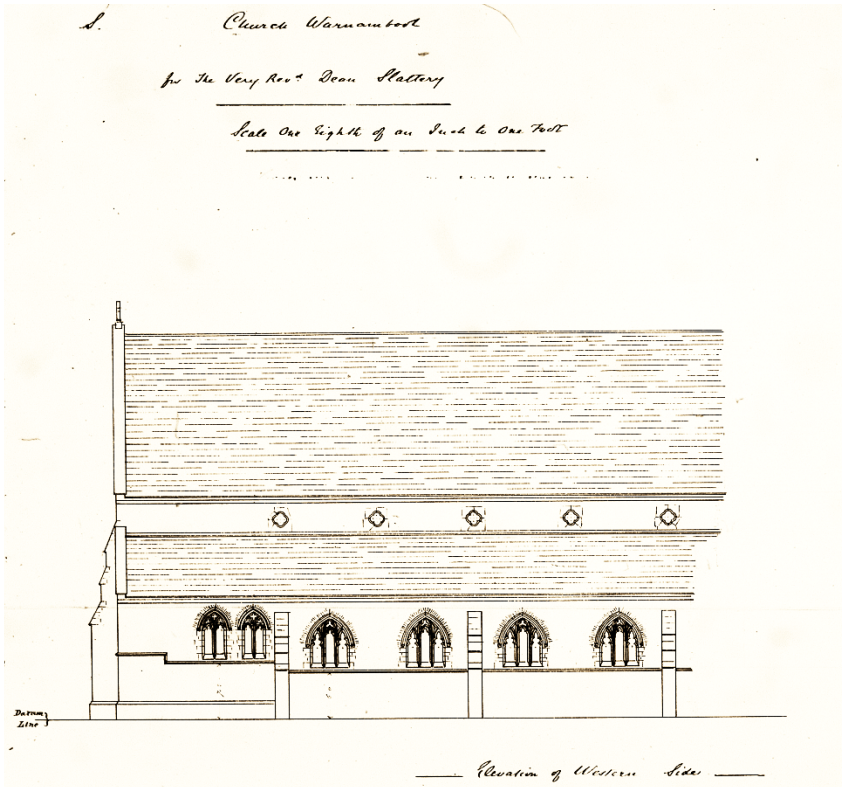


Figure 125: William Wardell, *Church Warrnambool, Elevation of Western Side*, ink on paper, 1867, PXD 316, f. 167, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

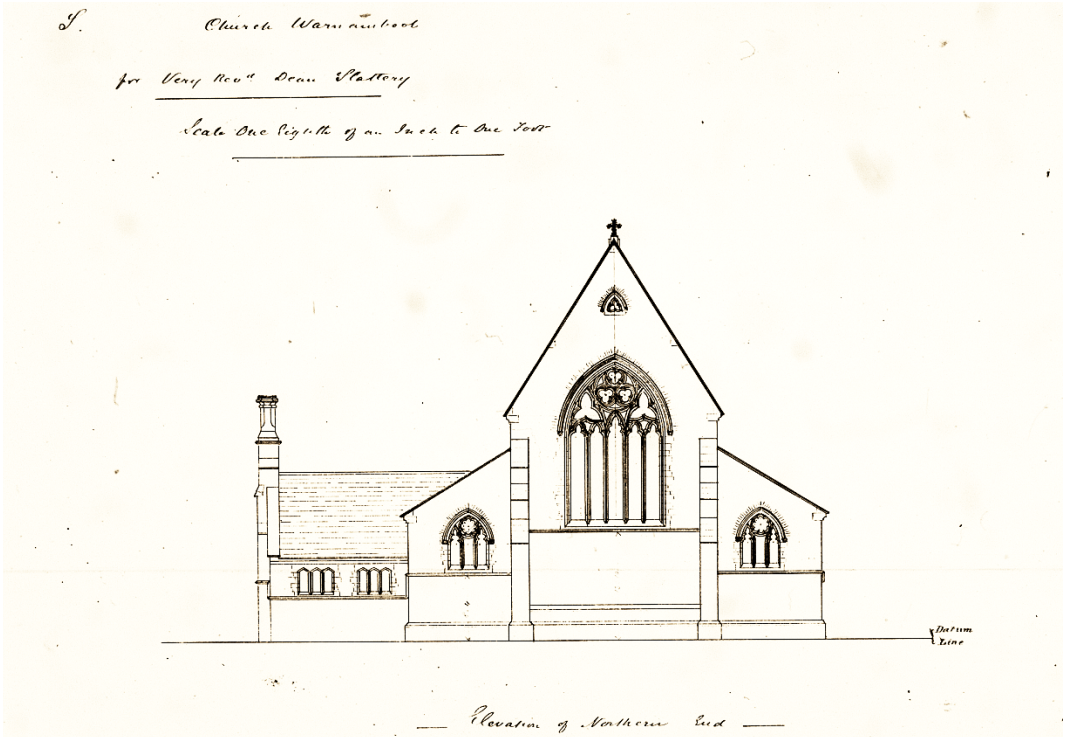


Figure 126: William Wardell, *Church Warrnambool, Elevation of Northern End,* ink on paper, 1867, PXD 316, f. 166, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

Figure 127: Unknown artist, *St Joseph's Chapel-school and a section of the new Church*, photograph, ca. 1872, online location.

Figure 128: Rose Stereograph Co., *St Joseph's Church, Warrnambool, Victoria*, photograph, c. 1920-1954, H2006.34/39, State Library Victoria.

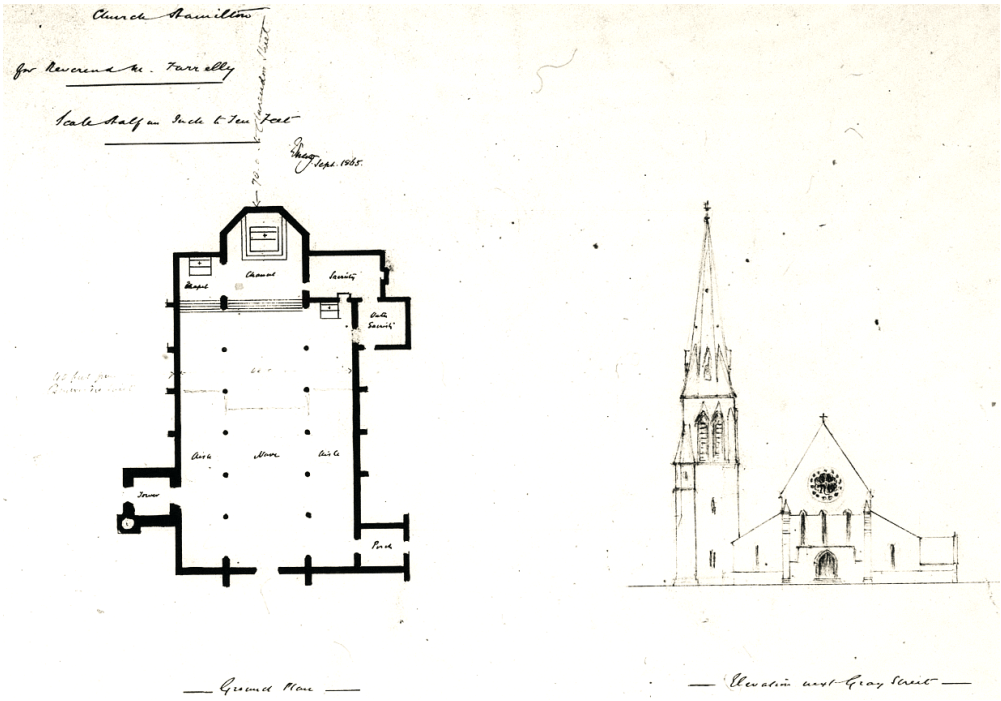


Figure 129: William Wardell, *Church Hamilton, Ground Plan and Elevation next Gray Street*, ink on paper, 1865, PXD 378, f. 29, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

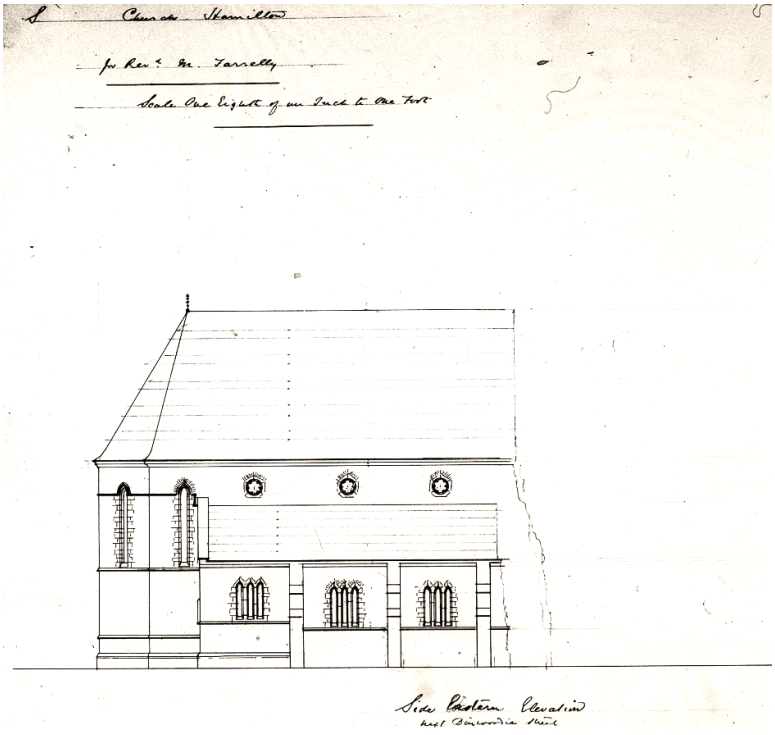


Figure 130: William Wardell, *Church Hamilton, Side Eastern Elevation next Dinwoodie Street*, ink on paper, 1865, PXD 378, f. 35, Mitchell Library State Library New South Wales.

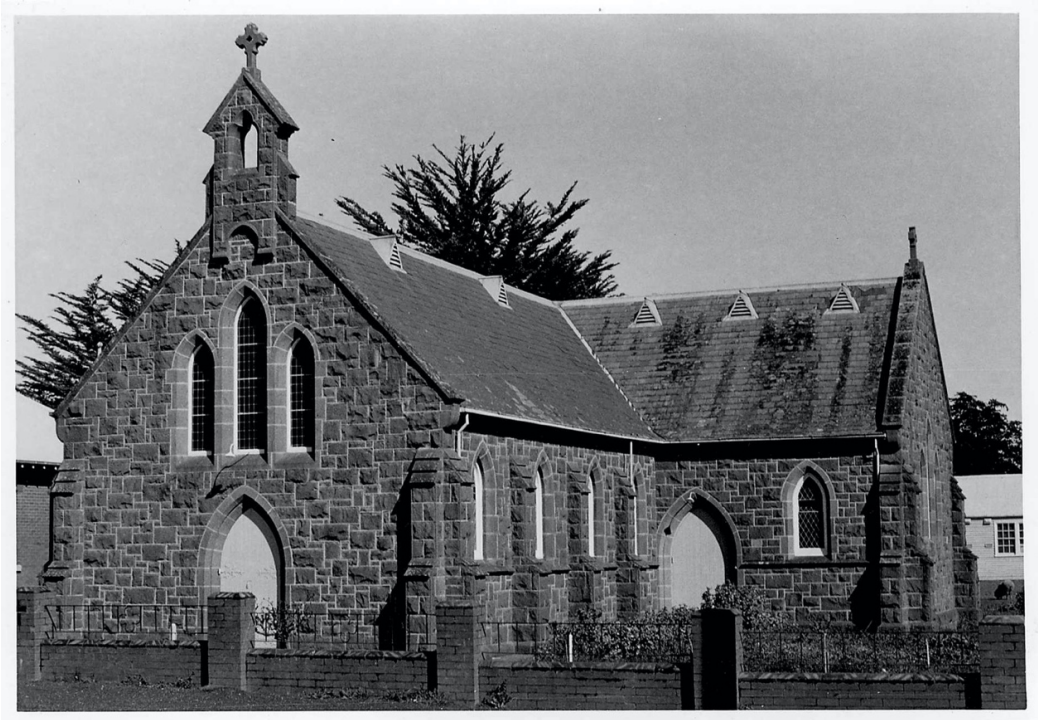


Figure 131: John T. Collins, *Penshurst Catholic Church [with the transepts added in the 1890s],* photograph, 1968, H98.250/1598, J. T. Collins Collection, La Trobe picture Collection, State Library of Victoria.

Figure 132: Albert C. Cooke, Alfred May and Alfred M. Ebsworth, *The town of Hamilton [detail showing St Mary's Church],* wood engraving, 1881, published in *the Australasian Sketcher*, 16 July 1881, A/S16/07/81/236, State Library Victoria.

Figure 133: Rose Stereograph Co., *St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Hamilton, Vic.,* photograph, c.1920-1954, H32492/1343, State Library Victoria.

Figure 134: Rose Stereograph Co., *Interior of St Mary's Church, Hamilton, Vic.,* photograph, c.1920-1954, H32492/2730, State Library Victoria.

Figure 135: Cox and Luckin, *Roman Catholic Church Bridge Road, Richmond*, photograph, 1861, H682/1, State Library Victoria.

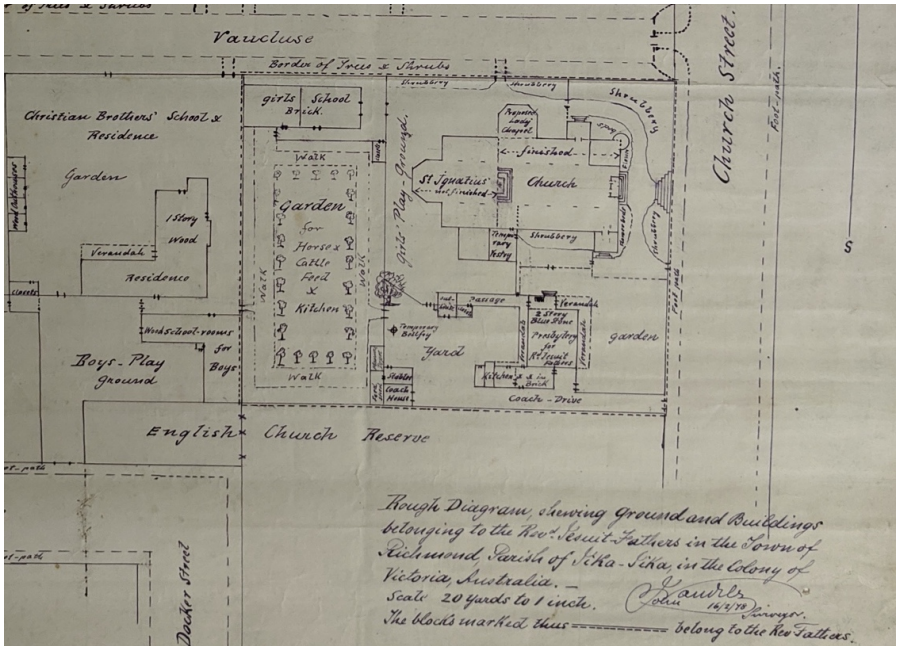


Figure 136: J. Vaures, *Ground and buildings belonging to the Revd Jesuit Fathers in the town of Richmond*, ink on paper, 1878, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 137: Albert Cooke and C. E. Winston, *Church of St Ignatius, Richmond,* wood engraving, 1870, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 138: G. R. Reid, *Richmond [showing in the background the section of St Ignatius' built at the time*], photograph, ca. 1872, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 139: Unknown artist, *Nave of St Ignatius Church [closed by the temporary wall],* photograph, 1870s, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

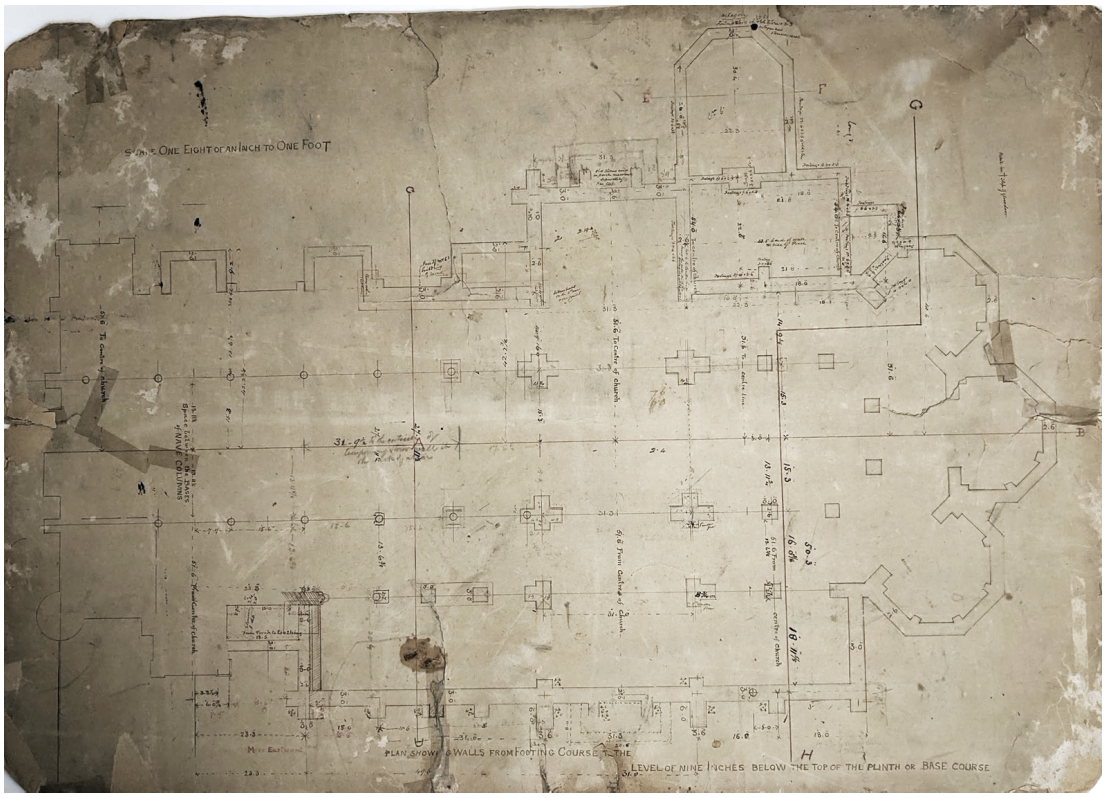


Figure 140: William Wardell, *Ground Plan of St Ignatius Church, Richmond*, ink on paper, 1884, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 141: William Wardell, *Church of St Ignatius, Richmond, Melbourne East Elevation and Plan of Spire*, ink and watercolour on paper, 1884, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 142: William Wardell, *Church of St Ignatius, Richmond, Melbourne, North Elevation*, ink and watercolour on paper, 1884, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus Archives.

Figure 143: *Interior of St Ignatius Church*, photograph, 2016, Australian Province of the Society of Jesus online location.