

Australian Hierarchy at Vatican II

(written in 2007 by Thang Vu during his seminary formation towards the priesthood)

Part III: The Australian Hierarchy at Vatican II

The Local Church Reception: Of John XXIII and News of a Council

As Catholics around the world were able to see their Vicar of Christ on TV for the first time, by leaving the Vatican, visiting prisoners and looking for all the world like a man who enjoyed life and people, John XXIII became loved in a way altogether different to the awe-struck respect afforded by the world to Pius XII – “executants, not collaborators.”¹ His portliness in a television age only increased the sense people had that here was a Pope who was human and simple. His announcement of a Council for the Universal Church was the clearest and least arguable demonstration of the Petrine ministry exercised in this century. Theologically, the announcement of the Council captured the attention of the local Church too; here the decision brought to bear locally something of the weight of the Universal Church. Local Catholics had to respond in a supportive and hopeful way, they had to *try to please* even if the consequences of a Council were largely matters for speculation between 1959 and 1962. Because the awesome charism of the papal primacy was exercised by *Good Pope John* rather than by a remote and ethereal figure, Catholics at a local level felt assured that their long-standing inclination toward obedience in this transitional phase of history was right for the times.² John was Bishop of Rome but he was also *their* Supreme Pontiff. Here, according to Murphy, there rightly emerges an irony apposite and enduring for the study of Vatican II and the Church in Australia. The Council is seen today as:

the *Magna Charta* for a participative, at least inchoately democratic revolution; but the success and rapidly with which its reforms were implemented relied on a key of the older dispensation, namely, obedience to authority. Submitting to Church authority was, after all – like submitting to vaccination – not forfeiting intelligence but using it wisely.³

¹The Good Pope'; www.youtube.com; Retrieved 20 July 2007.

² Murphy, *Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II*, 40.

³ Murphy, *Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II*, 40-41.

The Ante/Preparatory Phase: 1960-1962

Almost 2000 responses were sent to Rome in answer to Roman requests for advice on the agenda for the Council.⁴ In a recent international study, Etienne Fouilloux finds that the majority tended to be cautious, conformist, and concerned with disciplines rather than doctrine.⁵ It was clear that the initial responses to the announcement of Vatican II were not characterised by a profound appreciation of the intellectual movements that presaged the Council in Europe. Ryder reached a similar verdict with regard to the Australian bishops. He ended his 1988 article in the *Australasian Catholic Record* with the rather depressing comment: “Pope John’s call for renewal found here a small response on which to build.”⁶ Undeterred, Murphy went over the Australian responses again and found out that 11/29 respondents were clearly in favour of some practical reforms to Church practice and procedure.⁷ For instance, Bishop Lancelot Goody of Bunbury thought that the “overriding themes” of the Council could be the goal of promoting Christian unity. Another 11 did not contribute any suggestions, including James Gleeson, who offered instead his prayers for the Council, and James O’Collins of Ballarat, who observed that the Church was in such a healthy state in his diocese that “nothing came to mind.” Here is a snapshot of the Australian *vota* and Asian *vota*:⁸

Table II: The Advice and Suggestions given by Bishops and Prelates in Asia and Oceania for the coming Ecumenical Council

Local Church/Bps	Total No. of Bishops	Number of Bishops		Responses	
		Ordinary	Auxiliary	Ordinary	Auxiliary
Phillippines	34	28	6	15(53%)	3(50%)
China	65	37	28	28(76%)	16(%)
East Asia	80	25	55	18(72%)	27(49%)
India	85	71	14	49(69%)	7(50%)

⁴ Alberigo, *HVII*. 79ff.

⁵ Etienne Fouilloux, *The Antepreparatory Phase*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo et al, History of Vatican II Vol I (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1997), 107-108.

⁶ William Ryder, "The Australian Bishops' Proposals for Vatican II," *Australasian Catholic Record* 65 (Jan), no. (1988): 76.

⁷ Murphy, *Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II*, 102. See also Appendix I, 327-401.

⁸ Murphy, *Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II*, 327-401.. Cf. Jeffrey J Murphy, "Up To Jerusalem': Australian Bishops' Suggestions for the Agenda of Vatican II," *Australasian Catholic Record* 78(1) (2001): 43.

Oceania	60	27	33	12(44%)	17(48%)
Total	324	188	136	122(65%)	69(50%)

Thematically, topics that attracted bishops' attentions were: expounding the doctrine regarding the mystical body; condemnation of communism; sanctification of the clergy; powers of bishops over religious; restoration of the order of deacons; reform of the breviary; use of the vernacular language in the celebration of the Mass, in the recital of the breviary and in the administration of the sacraments.⁹ Specifically the Australian *vota* was as follows: bishops (43%), ecumenism (36.5%), liturgy (34.7%), religious (33%), Mary (23%), laity (circa 20%), priests (16.5%), Scripture (10%), education (10%), social doctrine (3%), war (3%).¹⁰ Generally these statistics indicate that the suggestions were related to the modern needs and exigencies of the missionary apostolate and often reflected problems and aspects proper to lands of mission.¹¹ Overall the synthesis report would have given some confidence to Pope John that there was amongst the world's bishops a very real desire for reform even if it remained to an insightful few to give this desire that ecclesiological dimension which could constitute renewal.¹²

Furthermore, Grootaers has spoken of the *ebbs and flows* that characterised the conciliar years, as local Churches added something of their own genius and insight and then received thereafter the synthetic conclusions and generalised orientations of the wider, universal Church.¹³ In Australia's case, however, the flow surpassed the ebb: bishops and faithful here tended toward a minimalist view of the Council's aims and did not, in the end, submit enough responses to the preparatory commission, in enough detail, or with enough promptitude.¹⁴ What seemed to ebb out of the Church in Australia was lacking in intellectual and theological profundity, something which distance only exacerbated.

⁹ Murphy, "Up To Jerusalem," 42.

¹⁰ Murphy, "Up To Jerusalem," 43.

¹¹ Murphy, *Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II*, 386..

¹² Murphy, "Up To Jerusalem," 43.

¹³ Alberigo, *HVII*, 515-564.

¹⁴ Murphy, *Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II*, 120.

By 1962, for bishops, if not others, the schemata and other official material being sent to Australia at that time also contributed to this positive development. The ante-preparatory and preparatory phases anticipated only the preference for the practical which would characterise Australian interests at Vatican II itself. Francis Rush was the only Australian bishop appointed in the preparatory years and one of the more modern in outlook. Bishop Goody and Archbishop Young responded to the forthcoming Council in much the same way. The *Romanism* of Gilroy and the advancing age of the nation's other metropolitans were the main reasons for the lack of official conciliar preparation. Co-operation and a greater sense of nationalism might have produced more assertive and worthwhile documents on such topics as Catholic Action, the lay apostolate as well as education. As it happened, Mannix's ecclesiological contribution in *De Ecclesia*¹⁵ provided a foundation upon which nothing substantive was built in the preparatory phase. Finally, the study of the Church before the Council demonstrates that Australia did play a worthwhile role in the preparations for Vatican II in this sense: it moved, albeit tentatively, towards a more well-rounded understanding of the Church's capacity to initiate renewal and it educated itself - or *was* educated - about the Council's potential scope. Murphy nicely sums up the local Church in Australia regarding the preparatory phase:

[they] would refer to the Council as 'school' and their study of schemata as 'homework.' In the years immediately prior to the Council the bishops re-learned their ABCs. Like children, some of them knew all the letters, some repeated their favourite ones and some merely hummed the tune.¹⁶

Of Pilgrims and Progressives: The First Session – 1962

A Snapshot of Session I

- 2500 bishops were present.
- Duration: 11 October 1962 – 8 December 1962.
- Initial documents, outlines, prepared and presented by the Curia and pre-preparatory commission.
- The newly formed commissions rejected all but one of the original schemata – Liturgy survived and was the first topic to be discussed.
- John XXIII intervened on two decisive matters: *Dei verbum* and *Lumen Gentium*.

¹⁵ Jeffrey J Murphy, "The Lost (and Last) Animadversions of Daniel Mannix," *Australasian Catholic Record* 76(1) (1999), 55-56.

¹⁶ Murphy, *Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II*, 121.

It was true for some of the Australian bishops who went to the Council that they thought its purpose was to strengthen their faith in the wondrous universality and power of Holy Mother Church. However, this in no way implies that *pilgrim* should be regarded as a synonym for *conservative* in any more general discourse on modern Church history.¹⁷ On a special note, Cardinal Gilroy of Sydney was chosen to be one of the 10 Council presidents, which was an honour for the Church in Australia, since John XXIII wanted its members to represent the most important local churches in the world. It was ironic that Gilroy was the one to preside at the very first conciliar discussion on the *schemata* of Liturgy, considering that in the previous three years he had either ignored the question of liturgical reform or had decidedly acted against it.¹⁸ Also present was Guilford Young, who was one of the few Australian bishops familiar with the broader liturgical movement. There were 328 speeches during the debate on the liturgy; 88 fathers spoke on the first chapter alone.¹⁹ Those who criticize the Australian bishops for not speaking more fail to take into account the sheer number of speeches and the amount of tedious repetition. Another problem was that Latin, under fire as the language of the liturgy, proved to be less than satisfactory as the language of the Council. By then the results for the vote on the liturgy schema, discussed by the Fathers continually between early October and 13 November, had been tallied and announced: 2,162 for, 46 against, 7 abstentions.²⁰ Gilroy's very adept speech was notable for three things: he attempted to be a conciliator between the curial and critical sides of the debate; he accepted that the Fathers could indeed amend or reject the schema; and, finally, he still maintained the document was entirely worthy of discussion in its existing form.²¹

Regarding John XXIII, he did not attend the general congregations, a prudent choice, but followed the debates on television and engaged in some subtle and not-so-subtle morale

¹⁷ Jeffrey J Murphy, "Of Pilgrims and Progressives: Australian Bishops at Vatican II (The First Session: 1962)," *Australasian Catholic Record* 79(2) (2002): 189.

¹⁸ Murphy, "Of Pilgrims and Progressive," 195.

¹⁹ Alberigo, *HVII.*, 110-111.

²⁰ Murphy, "Of Pilgrims and Progressive," 204.

²¹ Murphy, "Of Pilgrims and Progressive," 204.

building.²² In his address at the close of the first session on 8 December, John XXIII stressed the sharply divergent views which had arisen illustrating the holy liberty that the children of God enjoy in the Church²³ however the Pope's assessment of the Council was overshadowed by the obvious fact that he was gravely ill. John XXIII died on 3 June 1963.

Romanita Mark II: The Second Session – 1963

A Snapshot of Session II

- **Pope Paul VI**, Cardinal Giovanni Montini, Archbishop of Milan, the Pope who succeeded John XXIII and decided to continue the Vatican II.
- Duration: 29 September to 4 December 1963.
- *Lumen Gentium*: chapter I – Mystery of the Church, chapter III – Hierarchy of the Church; the place of Mary as an inclusion not a separate document; chapter II – People of God.
- Other topics discussed: ecumenism, religious freedom, relation of the Church and the Jews and communications.

Whereas John XXIII had talked with charismatic vagueness of a new Pentecost, Paul VI clearly set out a plan for the Council. In his opening address on 19 September 1963 he spelt out that he wanted the Council Fathers to come to a deeper understanding of the nature of the Church, promote its inner renewal, encourage Christian unity, and engage in dialogue with the modern world. Molony defines *Romanita* as “unswerving loyalty to the office and affection for the person of the Pope, acceptance of Rome and what it stands for as the centre and heart of Christendom, subservience to the Roman curia....[and] a willing readiness to form and foster a local institutional Church according to Roman ideas.”²⁴ Murphy however argues that the Australian bishops learnt a different kind of *Romanita* at Vatican II: loyalty to the Pope did not necessarily entail subservience to the curia.²⁵

The Schema on The Church

One of the first Australian bishops to make written observations on the *De Ecclesia* draft was Bishop Bernard Stewart of the Sandhurst diocese. Few bishops were as committed to the ultramontanist view of the Church's governance or were more uncompromising concerning

²² Hebblethwaite, *Pope of the Council*. 450.

²³ Hebblethwaite, *Pope of the Council*. 464-465.

²⁴ Molony, *Roman Mould*, 168.

²⁵ Jeffrey J Murphy, "Romanita Mark II: Australian Bishops at Vatican II (The Second Session: 1963)," *Australasian Catholic Record* 79(3) (2002): 344.

theological minutiae.²⁶ Regarding relations between Church and State, he claimed that many Australians,

blindly led by false principles or relying rashly upon certain decisions of the supreme court of other nations, teach that efforts should be made for a full and total separation of state or civil government from the Church or from the order established by God.²⁷

Debate on Collegiality

Statistically, Bishop Thomas Muldoon made the most interventions, almost 20 in number.²⁸

Muldoon contributed strongly to the debate on collegiality. The special role of bishops to represent Christ as teacher, priest and shepherd was strongly affirmed. Supporters of collegiality saw this threefold office as the fullness of priesthood, conferred by consecration. In other words, bishops receive their authority directly from Christ not merely delegated by the Pope.

The Universal Call to Sanctity

Again Muldoon made an intervention and as Murphy noticed Muldoon could not abide generic discussion and insisted the Fathers reduce the schematic proposals to chapter, verse, sentence or word.²⁹ In addition Gilroy made an intervention in which he supported the universal call to sanctity and emphasized priestly dignity and its central importance. He also stressed the need for collaboration between bishops and priests.

The place of Mary

Murphy interestingly noticed that Australian bishops were able to speak in their own right.³⁰ Several Australian bishops had stipulated their opposition to an ecumenically damaging emphasis on Mariology in the schemata.

Ecumenism

Goody's speech on ecumenism offset concessions to non-Catholic with a dogmatic bottom line and Cahill's intervention on bishops seemed to have been something of a compromise to

²⁶ Murphy, "Romanita Mark II," 344.

²⁷ Murphy, "Romanita Mark II," 345.

²⁸ Murphy, "Romanita Mark II," 318.

²⁹ Murphy, "Romanita Mark II," 349.

³⁰ Murphy, "Romanita Mark II," 353.

satisfy Lyons and Carroll's views on the rights of auxiliaries.³¹

As the Council's sessions approached, Murphy discerned three main tendencies:³² support for significant reforms, resistance to change and ambivalence. Enigmatic bishops like Farrelly, Prendiville and Toohey had not been mentioned in relation to any of the conciliar interventions. Conversely, a split occurred among the pilgrims between those like Jobst, O'Loughlin and Henschke who were supporting various ideas for reform, and Simonds, Stewart, Lyons, Fox, Brennan and McCabe, who tended towards either silence or an advocacy fairly characterised as resistance to change.

On the threshold of modernity: The Third Session – 1964

A Snapshot of Session III

- Duration: 14 September to 21 November 1964.
- Agenda
- *Dei Verbum* – totally rewritten.
- *Gaudium et spes*.
- Declaration of Religious Liberty.
- Decree on Ecumenism.

The third session of the Council discussed chapters VII and VIII of *De Ecclesia*, religious liberty, ecumenism, collegiality, the declaration on the Jews, the revised text on revelation, the apostolate of the laity, priestly life and ministry, Eastern Churches, the Church in the modern world, marriage and birth control, missionary activity, religious, priestly formation and Christian education.³³ It was the lengthiest conciliar agenda since Trent. In contributing to these discussions, the Australian bishops were confronted with the full diversity of subjects about which the new theologians had been thinking and writing for the previous few decades. By discussing these matters in a *distant milieu* and formulating their contributions to the wider discussion, they were once and for all acquainted with Catholic modernity.³⁴

³¹ Murphy, "Romanita Mark II," 363.

³² Murphy, "Romanita Mark II," 363.

³³ Jeffrey J Murphy, "On the Threshold of Modernity: Australian Bishops at Vatican II (The Third Session: 1964)," *Australasian Catholic Record* 79(4) (2002). Also see Jeffrey J Murphy, "'Sane, Advanced Conservatism': Australian Bishops at Vatican II - The Third Session Continues: 1964," *Australasian Catholic Record* 80(2) (2003).

³⁴ Murphy, *Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II*, 207.

One of the traditions, loyalty to Rome precisely as a means of buttressing the Church from modern (and modernist) thought, was challenged fundamentally in the second session and rendered strategically defunct in the third. Does this mean we would recognise all of the Australian interventions of 1964 as properly modernist? Perhaps in theological terms, not necessarily. Pope Paul VI himself tended to protect the immovable minority from the defeats actual and symbolic its principals might otherwise have suffered in this session. For this reason, perhaps, Gilroy made more interventions in 1964 than he did in 1963. His native conservatism was less impolitic vis-a-vis the Pope in this session than it had been in the first, when his presidential responsibilities were also more important than they were at this stage. While Gilroy's orientation towards the Council's reforms was conservative, he was not beholden to curial attitudes on the schemata or Council processes. He supported the first draft of *De Ecclesia* uncritically but he was not so docile with the Theological Commission's revised version. He wanted a doctrinal Council but he would make no demands for one with fellow cardinals. In this third session, he would do the same on the question of religious liberty and also stress the importance to the Church of the priesthood and the teaching brothers.³⁵ In addition, the Australian bishops contributed mainly in written submission rather than by adding to the tedious number of speeches.

Schema on Ecumenism

Out of 28 bishops who sided with Archbishop Beck (dealing with the ecclesiastical communities separated from Rome during the Reformation), 20 were Australians. Essentially this was an Australian document³⁶ which helped to give a more relaxed interpretation of the responsibility for the 16th century divisions.

Religious Liberty and Education

It was interesting to see the Australian bishops through the Archbishop of Armagh sought successfully the official recognition of parental rights as a fundamental component of

³⁵ Murphy, "Sane, Advanced Conservatism," 220.

³⁶ Murphy, "On the Threshold of Modernity," 455-456.

religious liberty.³⁷ As an amendment along these lines was added to the draft before its promulgation, it reasonably argued that the Australian bishops played an extremely influential role in enabling this development.³⁸ Regarding the schema on education, which was regarded as overly theoretical and Eurocentric, the Australian bishops raised their forthright interventions at a conference on Education.³⁹ On the holistic and realistic quality of Catholic education in Australia, the bishops defended their system strongly while stressing the cultural reality within which Australian schools had perforce to operate.⁴⁰

Division in the Australian Hierarchy on Religious Liberty

The document which provoked the most heated debated was the one which affirmed that freedom in religious matters is an inherent human right.⁴¹ A particular contentious paragraph acknowledged that other religious groups had a right to promote their beliefs and practices. Bishop Patrick Lyons of Sale stressed that “error has no rights”. In a written submission he objected to the paragraph and called for a much stronger affirmation that the Catholic Church was the one, true Church.⁴² At the other end of the spectrum, Guilford Young of Hobart argued that the Catholic Church could not claim religious freedom for itself without conceding it to other groups, and this view eventually won out.⁴³ However, Gilroy thought that the paragraph in question should be quietly dropped.⁴⁴

On 2 October 1964 *Time* magazine quoted an unmanned Australian bishop who said of Pope Paul VI: “Let’s face it, he’s weak.”⁴⁵ Cardinal Gilroy called an emergency meeting of the Australian hierarchy. Everyone denied uttering such words, and a missive was speedily dispatched to assure Pope Paul that he had their loyalty and obedience. Why did Paul VI seem to favour the traditionalists at the Third Session? Bernard Pawley, one of the Anglican observers at the Council, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that he thought that Paul had

³⁷ Murphy, "Sane, Advanced Conservatism," 239.

³⁸ Murphy, "Sane, Advanced Conservatism," 239.

³⁹ Murphy, "Sane, Advanced Conservatism," 237.

⁴⁰ Murphy, "Sane, Advanced Conservatism," 237.

⁴¹ Murphy, "On the Threshold of Modernity," 448-454.

⁴² Murphy, "On the Threshold of Modernity," 451.

⁴³ Murphy, "On the Threshold of Modernity," 452-454.

⁴⁴ Murphy, "On the Threshold of Modernity," 448-450.

⁴⁵ Murphy, "Sane, Advanced Conservatism," 245.

put a bit of weight on the conservative side to keep the balance and stop the boat rocking too much. Shortly afterwards, he had an audience with the Pope. Paul asked what he had reported, and agreed with his response: "As captain of the ship I have to keep her on a steady course...it is better for me to go ahead slowly and carry everyone with me than to hurry along and cause dissention."⁴⁶

Overall, does the idea of a new *Romanita* mean the bishops were not so much converted to new ideas as merely obedient to the perceived will and preferences of Popes John and Paul? If that is so, there is really no new *Romanita* and no crossing of a threshold but only a submissiveness which Cardinal Moran would have recognised.⁴⁷ It should be reiterated, in answer to the question, that not all Australian bishops (including Gilroy and Muldoon) subscribed dutifully to official schemata or refrained from making requests and suggestions which, by their nature, tended to be critical not merely of schematic formulations but the way things had usually been done or thought about. Above all their awareness of diversity and complexity as well as their preparedness to form their own responses either liberal or conservative and be involved were more important criteria of modern thinking.⁴⁸

The Council Becomes part of Catholic Culture

At the local churches the influence of the Council was felt. The responses to the Council in the world at large had modernized the Church to such extent that it was difficult to see how there could have been any turning back. In Australia, the Church had already been changed forever, of course.⁴⁹ Renewal, aggiornamento, ecumenism, laity participation or the spirit of Vatican II were just a few concepts and phrases that were central to the discussion of the Council. For instance, the stress had shifted from Catholic Action to action by Catholics.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Peter Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI: The First Modern Pope* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), 404-406.

⁴⁷ Murphy, *Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II*, 208-209.

⁴⁸ Murphy, *Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II*, 209.

⁴⁹ Murphy, "Sane, Advanced Conservatism," 247.

⁵⁰ Murphy, "Sane, Advanced Conservatism," 247.

The Far Milieu Called Home: The Fourth Session – 1965

A Snapshot of Session IV

- Duration: 14 September to 8 December 1965.
- Establishment of the Synod 15 September 1965.
- Paul VI – planned to go before the UN Assembly.
- Promulgated Constitutions, Decrees and Declarations.

Revisiting the Declaration of Religious Liberty

There was still tension over the declaration on Religious Liberty, but Pope Paul intervened and ordered that it be put to the vote before he addressed the UN on 4 October 1965.⁵¹ Almost 2000 Fathers voted in favour, only 224 against.

Gaudium et spes

As Pope John had wanted, the overall tone of *Gaudium et spes* was a positive rather than defensive. It affirmed that the Holy Spirit was not absent from modern developments, but it did offer some serious critiques which were not welcomed by all bishops. At almost the last minute an attempt to derail the schema was made by Archbishop Hannan of New Orleans.⁵² He interpreted its condemnation of nuclear warfare as a slap in the face of the US because it did not acknowledge the deterrent value of nuclear weapons. He called on the Council Fathers to vote against the whole schema if the errors in the chapters were not corrected. Nine other bishops signed his submission, including Australia's Guilford Young.⁵³ This reminds us of the Third Session where, besides Muldoon's treatment of nuclear weapons and just war, Australian bishops only subscribed to foreign interventions on this schema. In the end the schema was passed 2111 to 251.

The Closure of the Council

On 8 December 1965, the Australian bishops attended the closing ceremony of the Council. One Australian bishop wrote in his diary: "the great Council has now entered history; in the aftermath we of our time will also enter history if we speedily and effectively put the decrees

⁵¹ Jeffrey J Murphy, "The Far Milieu Called Home: Australian Bishops at Vatican II - The Final Session: 1965," *Australasian Catholic Record* 80(3) (2003): 348.

⁵² Murphy, "The Far Milieu Called Home," 362.

⁵³ Murphy, "The Far Milieu Called Home," 362.

of the Council into operation. May God grant it.”⁵⁴ This hardly seemed the response of someone ambivalent about the Council or resistant to the spirit of change. This confirms Murphy’s conclusion that even those bishops who attended the Council in an indifferent or enigmatic frame of mind were much more accepting of the Council’s direction by the end of 1965.⁵⁵ While Murphy concedes that in some cases the acceptance may have been somewhat grudging, this was certainly true for some bishops.⁵⁶ Overall, most of the Australian bishops brought home the openness they displayed during the Council, which proved invaluable for at least the first phase of the process of reception as Murphy has remarked:

The excesses that have befallen some national Churches have been avoided [*in Australia*], as has the tendency towards an ultramontanist (and culturally-infantilising) over-emphasis on the ordinary jurisdiction of the papacy. This middle-way was a tradition modernised (but safeguarded) by the Australian Council Fathers and is probably their greatest cultural bequest to the contemporary Church, however unglamorous.⁵⁷

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⁵⁴ Matthew Beovich, "Personal Diary," (1965).

⁵⁵ Beovich, "Personal Diary," 320.

⁵⁶ Murphy, *Australian Hierarchy and Vatican II*, 320.

⁵⁷ Murphy, "The Far Milieu Called Home," 366.

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