

**‘ONE OF THE MOST PICTURESQUE
OF THE EARLY PRIESTS’: FATHER PATRICK DUNNE
IN EASTERN AUSTRALIA¹**

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At a time of dearth in 1818-19, in a small town in the middle of Ireland, Patrick Dunne was born, the son of Patrick Dunne and his wife Mary Rigney near Phillipstown. This village, previously named for the Spanish consort of Queen Mary Tudor, now is known as Daingean while the county, also commemorating Phillip of Spain, Kings, is called Offaly. Despite careful searching, Patrick’s baptism is not recorded although that of a possible cousin has been located.²

As a boy Patrick received a classical education at Mr Fitzgerald’s school in Tullamore from where he entered Carlow College and then furthered his theological studies at Maynooth seminary. On 8 May 1846, aged around twenty-six, Dunne was ordained in Carlow and became a curate in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, surrounding his birthplace.³ During these drastic Famine years, Dunne ministered among the hungry, sick, dying and bereaved before his recruitment by Father Bonaventure Geoghegan to the far-off Melbourne diocese, then administered by Bishop James Alipius Goold. Dunne’s correspondence revealed that his reluctance to earn his succour from ‘a half-starved people’ prompted his decision to travel halfway across the world where his services also were urgently needed.⁴

On 6 September 1850, Father Patrick Dunne arrived in Melbourne on the *Digby*; just eighteen months previously this vessel had brought Irish Orphan Girls to Port Jackson.⁵

He was accompanied by Fr Gerald Ward who founded the first Catholic orphanage in South Melbourne and who conducted the marriage ceremony of John Kelly and Ellen Quinn, the bushranger's parents. For the next few years, Dunne worked locally in Melbourne and Geelong while further afield, he conducted services at Brown Hill goldfields for six weeks as early as October and November 1851.⁶ In the Geelong district he was credited with establishing at least twelve schools and a grammar school. Another story from these early years in Victorian history, claimed that the Alicia Dunne who sheltered Eureka rebel Peter Lalor, was Dunne's niece and that she offered the assistance to her future husband at the cleric's house where she conducted a school.⁷

During 1855 Dunne was joined at Geelong by Fathers Michael McAlroy and Patrick Bermingham, both Carlow graduates, who had been recruited by Bishop Goold on a recent trip to Ireland.⁸ Twelve years later Patrick Dunne renewed his friendship with them in the Goulburn diocese.⁹ In 1856, Dunne was posted to Belfast (Port Fairy) where he became embroiled in a bitter battle with Bishop Goold over money raised to build a church. The priest and his parishioners resented their exclusion from involvement in building plans and the redirection of some of the money raised locally while Goold jealously protected his episcopal centralisation. Newspaper reports, particularly in the *Banner of Belfast* and subsequently republished in the *Argus* as well as some Protestant papers, referred to misappropriation of funds which brought calumny upon the Roman Catholic church and drove a wedge between the bishop and the priest. Dunne removed to Sydney for three months but as the newspapers continued to publish embarrassing correspondence, he decided to leave Australia.¹⁰ Many understood he had been censured because authorities in Rome were informed he was a 'Garibaldi priest' and wanted to apply Presbyterian principles to the administration of the Catholic Church in Australia.¹¹

When Dunne sailed in May 1857 on the *Great Britain* to visit Rome and Ireland, an article in *The Age* reported he was presented with an address signed by ‘upwards of 2000 of the most responsible inhabitants of Victoria’ and a purse of six hundred guineas’; it is hard to credit that such support would come from congregations if he was the subject of ecclesiastical reprimand.¹²

Eighteen months later, on 30 August 1858 Dunne again returned to Melbourne on the *John and Lucy* as chaplain to 400 migrants. After Goold’s vicars-general, Patrick Geoghegan and John Fitzpatrick, forbade him to exercise his priestly functions and Sydney’s Archbishop John Bede Polding was less than encouraging, he once more returned to Tullamore. Polding had written:

I cannot but think that Dunne is a money-making man who indulges in vindictiveness under the delusion of justice and of zeal, a first rate organiser for any object, church building or other including self - he takes in hand.¹³

With the approval of the Bishop of Meath, the Most Reverend Dr Cantwell, and practical help of Vicar-General Father McAlroy, (an uncle of Australian Michael McAlroy) the parish priest at Tullamore, the non-scholastic Dunne now administered an academy and minor seminary in the town.

The prospectus read:

The institution is designated St Bridget’s Classical, Mercantile & Mathematical Seminary and has been established under the sanction of the O’Rafferty Committee to afford the blessings of a liberal education under the guidance of religion to the Catholic youth of the surrounding districts of Tullamore and is a monument to the venerated predecessor, the late Dr O’Rafferty...Young men having a vocation for the priesthood, and willing to go on the Australian mission, will receive in this institution a gratuitous education to prepare them for the colleges of All Hallows and Carlow...’¹⁴

Even though ten of the forty students were to supplement the number of Irish priests in Australia¹⁵, Dunne still remained an anathema to Australia's primary bishop. When hearing of the seminary and its purpose, Polding was driven to anti-Irish and anti-Dunne rhetoric. 'What a pity such an institution is in such hands'.¹⁶ Later, in an epistle to Henry Gregory, he wrote: 'Dunne wants to educate boys for the mission in that seminary of his ... they are rotten to the core.'¹⁷

While Dunne was building up St Bridget's he became aware that large numbers of able-bodied poor as well as young farmers were being evicted from the local Digby estate at Geashill and crowding into the streets of Tullamore. As a result of changing farming practices, local famine and an adamant agent, William Steuart Trench, the young aristocrat, Edward St Vincent, third Earl of Digby, sixth baron Digby of Sherborne and ninth Baron Digby of Geashill, was determined to make his newly inherited lands produce more income.¹⁸ Those expelled were homeless, penniless and near starvation and the local parish and community were almost powerless to help them in their plight. Knowing the opportunities offering in the Australian colonies and hearing that the new colony of Queensland was giving land orders to entice settlers, Dunne conceived the idea to charter ships and take the desperate and dispossessed as well as young agriculturalists across the seas.¹⁹ 'And hence it was that Dunne addressed meetings and ascended the pulpits - whenever he was allowed (for clerical opposition to his scheme was very much in evidence)'.²⁰

On Saturday 30 November 1861 Dunne's advertisement in the Dublin *Freeman's Journal* advised that a vessel had been chartered to sail from Queenstown in January 1862. By this time initiatives in Tullamore and the Queensland Immigration Society under the patronage of the Bishop of Brisbane, the Most Reverend Dr James Quinn, had combined. Dunne, Tullamore shipping agent John Byrne, and to a much lesser extent, the Bishop's brother, Rev. Matthew Quinn, rallied

the migrants, arranged their departure from Cork and shipped them to Brisbane. Once there, staff and supporters of the Society met the ships, organised accommodation, facilitated employment and cashed land order entitlements. Each voyage was intended to provide the money for filling the following one with deserving passengers.²¹

Soon after arriving in Brisbane in August 1862 after an extended and testing voyage on the *Erin Go Bragh*, Dunne tested his chances of returning to the Melbourne diocese. Father John Fitzpatrick, now Bishop Goold's secretary, responded quite unambiguously on 12 September 1862:

His Lordship wishes me to say in reply that he protests against your returning to Melbourne until you have obtained the sanction of the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda for doing so. His Lordship believes that your not returning to Melbourne will be the best proof that you can give of the sincerity of your request to repair the scandal that you so foolishly caused in Melbourne and that no other proof is necessary or desirable.²²

Following this rebuff, Father Patrick Dunne then concentrated on his current scheme, transferring the young farmers of Ireland to the great outback of Queensland. Six months after arriving in Brisbane he was making plans to return to Tullamore, his centre of recruitment. The *Fiery Star* sailed from London on 26 July 1863 and from Cork on 6 August. This time 568 passengers were on board although not all were travelling under the auspices of the Society.

After the arrival of the *Fiery Star* in Moreton Bay on 20 November 1863, Dunne remained in Brisbane and its environs for about twelve months during which time attitudes towards the Society changed considerably. Acrimonious court action by disgruntled travellers, sectarian abuse and charges of bad selection of migrants, all aroused anger.

As the result of a select committee inquiry in 1863, the colonial government changed the rules concerning land orders making them non-transferable which limited opportunities to use the money raised by their sale for subsidizing passages for the needy.²³

Nevertheless, deciding that opportunities still existed to bring Irish settlers to Queensland, in the second half of 1864 Dunne departed from Brisbane and returned once more to Ireland. In February 1865 the *Sunda* departed Liverpool and then Cork on 22nd of the month bringing 519 passengers to Keppel Bay. After the arrival of these passengers in Rockhampton on 23 May 1865, having brought nearly three thousand settlers under its auspices, no further attempts were made to maintain the Queensland Immigration Society.²⁴

Dunne's absence from Brisbane in the early months of 1865 led to later confusion as the *Fiery Star* had sailed again for Queensland in 1864 arriving in Brisbane on precisely the same day as the journey in the previous year but this time without the travelling cleric. On the 1865 homeward voyage, off the Queensland coast, fire broke out in the forecastle. The burning wool strongly impregnated with arsenic was considered unsafe so eighty-four persons including the captain and a cleric, Rev. Rikey [Riley?], left the ship in lifeboats which were never seen again. Chief officer, William Claud Sargant, with sixteen others, remained on board attempting to extinguish the slow-burning outbreak when they were rescued by an American ship, the *Dauntless*, and landed in New Zealand. Over the years, but certainly not in the lifetime of either of the Quinns or Dunne, a story emerged placing Father Patrick Dunne as the brave combatant of the flames.²⁵

While this confirms the resolute and stubborn aspect of Dunne's character, at this time he was on board the *Sunda*, far distant from the sinking *Fiery Star*, bringing still more migrants from Kings County to Queensland.

After berthing in Moreton Bay on 23 May 1865, Dunne was saddled with debts. On 12 July 1865 a motion was brought before the Legislative Assembly by Charles Fitzsimmons of Rockhampton, requesting some form of remuneration as

Mr. Dunne had rendered much quiet and humble service...
No such application as this would have been made to the House had it not been that Mr Dunne was in embarrassed circumstances.

Colonial Secretary, Robert Herbert, also attested to the great service rendered by Father Dunne but, as he regretted that such a step would establish a very dangerous principle, the motion was denied.²⁶

One additional benefit to the Catholic Church in Brisbane was that a clause in the QIS prospectus promised that priests and/or nuns would be on board each ship, particularly to ensure the safety of young female passengers and more generally to maintain spiritual standards during the long voyages. Further, Bishop Quinn, fearing competition from Queensland Agent for Immigration Henry Jordan who toured Ireland in 1862 offering free and assisted passages, was determined to offer moral safety and freedom from disease to intending travellers, two areas where government-sponsored migration was criticised.²⁷ No doubt the extra personnel were of great benefit to the Diocese of Brisbane and to Bishop Quinn as he extended the parishes throughout the vast territory under his control.

For example, Rev. Patrick J. Power accompanied Father Patrick Dunne on the *Erin Go Bragh*. Power served in country Gayndah where he drowned three years later while swimming in a creek.²⁸ Rev. Edward O'Donaghue came on the *Maryborough* while Charles Murlay, later Dean, Marist Missioner and parish priest at Gladstone, and the Revd J. Kelly travelled on the *Chatsworth*. Before 1862 had ended Rev. Mr Moynihan had arrived on the *Prince Consort* and

Rev. William Larkin on the *Duke of Newcastle*. This last priest proved a thorn in Quinn's side in Brisbane, Drayton and Roma before moving on in 1866 to New Zealand and later to the United States. The Rev. Thomas Keatinge came on the *Beejapore*. Later Birkenhead priest, Rev. P. Golding returned to the colony with Dunne on the *Fiery Star* while elderly Father O'Brien supported Dunne and the Rev. J.B. Breen acted as schoolmaster on the 1865 voyage of the *Sunda*.²⁹

Dunne's interest in migration had waned along with his attachment to Queensland. From this time onwards his career was devoted to establishing schools and raising money for Catholic causes. Early in 1866, Dunne tried unsuccessfully to sell his Brighton residence and lands to the Redemptorists.³⁰ Then by October that year he was in Sydney to welcome Matthew Quinn as Bishop of Bathurst and Quinn's cousin, James Murray, as Bishop of Maitland. Dunne then proceeded to Melbourne where he attempted to sell lottery tickets for which the prizes were blocks of land in the Brighton estate. In 1867 Patrick Dunne tried disposing of the property to the Marists and in March once more wrote to Goold in Melbourne requesting reinstatement either for parish work or to collect for St Patrick's Cathedral. This time, he won an appointment as by July he was installed at Bacchus Marsh as administrator to Father Eugene O'Connell. Although Dunne later claimed he served there for eighteen months, after nine months he transferred to Goulburn diocese to work with Bishop Lanigan and Father McAlroy.

Over the next several years Patrick Dunne was employed as an administrator in Goulburn parish where he developed schools, churches and St Patrick's College of which he became the first president. When succeeded by Father John Gallagher in 1875, the new incumbent paid tribute to his mentor:

If there is any skill in me as a parochial administrator, any tact in economising one's resources, or any shrewdness in turning to the best advantage the generous offerings of our faithful people...I owe them to my first three years in Goulburn and the strict discipline of him who is, after Dr Lanigan, the grand old man of the diocese.³¹

In 1880 while working as a pastor at Gundagai, Dunne was appointed Vicar General, a title he held throughout his later appointments. On 16 March 1880, Dunne returned to Ireland with Bishop Lanigan on the *Garonne*. This time he was intending to stay in his native land if the climate agreed with him.³² Whether it was an inability to endure the weather or the strong links he had forged with the country where he had spent the past thirty years, by 1881 he was back at pastoral duties at Corowa, Urana and Jerilderie in the Goulburn diocese moving on to Wagga Wagga the next year. Here he built the 'beautiful new church' at Wagga (which later was designated St Michael's cathedral), and churches at Narrandera, Junee Junction, Yerong Creek and Bullenbong.³³ One report had Patrick Dunne once again in Dublin in 1888 when he wrote a letter to the Society for the Propaganda for the Faith in Paris supporting a request from Bishop John Dunne of Wilcannia:

I can definitely and conscientiously declare that I believe hundreds of children of Irish Catholic parents are growing up in the diocese in ignorance of their religion and will be lost to the church if the bishop does not receive some assistance to help him obtain priests.³⁴

In 1889 he retired to a cottage close to St John's Orphanage at Thurgoona, now Newtown, near Albury where for his remaining years he raised money to give these children basic provisions and security of tenure. In 1898 Dunne wrote several letters soliciting support from among the immigrants he had brought to Queensland over three decades earlier.

Despite an economic crisis in that colony, he did not spare the onslaught:

The Irish have the reputation of being a grateful race of people, but I am sorry I cannot endorse this opinion by my experience with my *Erin Go Bragh* immigrants. My appeal was partly intended as a test of their gratitude, but 'out of sight out of mind' seems to be the prevailing principle among the Irish in Queensland.³⁵

Dunne died on 21 July 1900 at Albury, New South Wales. To the end he was 'a sledge-hammer force in controversy', most often using newspaper columns to make his point.³⁶ While making ready use of this medium to assert his views, in correspondence with Bishop Lanigan Dunne despaired of the quality of the popular press: 'I think the wings of the editor of the Catholic Press ought to be clipped ... half the paper is generally taken up with frivolous nonsense.'³⁷ Further, in his obituary, the local newspaper asserted: 'Whether the question was one of theology, history, education or merely parish politics, Father Dunne was equally at home and in pen and ink warfare he was no mean antagonist.'³⁸ Dunne's vim and vitality for his projects was enthusiastically impetuous even if his control of money was not as developed as other attributes despite his own frugal existence and the constant need to repay debts. As he aged, his memory for detail never limited a good story nor impeded his wide-ranging solicitations. In his older years, he was described as a 'small, white-haired man with a peevish little mouth and a straightforward eye that never blinked in an argument'.³⁹

Father Patrick Dunne achieved much, ably demonstrating his humanity and zest for life. For example, when Thomas Francis Meagher, one of the Young Irelanders, was transported to Van Diemen's Land, the cleric wrote offering consolation and assistance. In 1850, he is reputed to have celebrated the

first Mass on the intended site of St Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne and in the next year conducted the first service on the Victorian goldfields. Dunne apparently suggested to Charles Gavan Duffy that he stand for the Villiers and Heytesbury electorate, a step which started the Australian chapter of Duffy's political career. In 1856 he began the erection of Geelong's St Mary's and continued with an amazing building programme.

Through his inspiration, the Queensland Immigration Society brought nearly three thousand Irish to the new colony at a time of disruption in Ireland. When Dunne established Goulburn College, contrary to prevailing policy, the boys were urged to sit for Sydney University Entrance Exams where they achieved notable credit. No matter in which colony he resided, Dunne continued to build churches and schools and engaged in the necessary fund-raising so that they opened with minimum debt. Dr John Dunne, later Bishop of Wilcannia, was an early pupil at the Tullamore Seminary and apparently was a relative, as were other members of Australian religious orders, nominated as cousins, nieces or nephews. Even in his final days, Father Dunne continued to raise money for good causes.⁴⁰

The life journey of Patrick Dunne took him at least eight times across the oceans between Ireland, Rome and Australia's eastern coast, remarkable travelling for a nineteenth century parish priest. He truly had earned his place as 'one of the most picturesque of the early priests'.

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ENDNOTES

1. This description of Father Patrick Dunne is located in ‘John O’Brien’ [Mgr Patrick Joseph Hartigan], *The Men of ‘38 and Other Pioneer Priests*, eds. T.J. Linane & F.A. Meham, Kilmore, Victoria, Lowden Publishing Co., 1975, p. 145. I first wrote on Father Dunne for a chapter, ‘From King’s County to ‘Quinnland’.’, in eds. William Nolan & Timothy O’Neill, *Offaly: History & Society*, Dublin, Geography Publications, 1998, pp. 733-766 (copy at SLQ). While some of the salient biographical information is, of necessity, repeated here, this paper concentrates on his Australian-wide career rather than reiterating his involvement with the Queensland Immigration Society, the focus of earlier research.
2. NSW Registrar General of Births, Deaths & Marriages, Death Certificate, 1900/8042. Information on Dunne’s death certificate was supplied by Fr Daniel Griffin, the Administrator of Albury parish who probably had these details from Dunne. John Kearney at the Offaly Historical & Archaeological Society in Tullamore, has located a baptismal entry for 13 January 1820 at Daingean of a Patrick Dunne born to Martin Dunne and Anne Rigney. This entry raises more questions than it answers particularly if two brothers, Patrick & Martin Dunne, married two sisters, Anne & Mary Rigney. Parish records for Daingean for the period 1798 to 1820 have not survived. His earlier biographer, Tom Linane, placed his birth at Clonaslee in Queen’s County, not far from Tullamore, while more than one newspaper report put it in County Kildare.
3. John McEvoy, *Carlow College 1793-1993: The Ordained students and Teaching Staff of St Patrick’s College, Carlow*, Carlow, Ireland, 1993, p. 124. Age (Brisbane), 24 September 1898.
4. Letter to Dean Grimley in Dublin, a fellow student from Maynooth days, written from Belfast, Victoria, in July 1856.

5. Six Irish orphan ships also were sent to Port Phillip, see Trevor McClaughlin, *Barefoot & Pregnant: Irish Orphan Girls to Australia, 1848-1850*, Melbourne, Genealogical Society of Victoria, 2001, pp. 305-396. In view of Dunne's later involvement with Lord Digby's Geashill estate near Tullamore in Ireland, the name of this ship is prescient.
6. O'Brien, *The Men of '38*, p. 145.
7. *Geelong Advertiser*, 14 June 1958, 'Geelong Teacher Spent Anxious Hours for Lalor's Safety'.
8. O'Brien, *The Men of '38*, p. 201-2, indicates the origins of Dunne, Bermingham and McAlroy in King's County and hints at kinship between the three other than their similar education and training for the priesthood. Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia: A Short History 1788-1967*, Sydney, Nelson, pp. 85-6, saw this triumvirate as mounting an organised campaign against the Melbourne bishop and diocesan administration. See also Margaret Pawsey, *The Demon of Discord: Tensions in the Catholic Church in Victoria, 1853-1864*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1982, pp. 7-38.
9. Rev. Brian Maher, *Planting the Celtic Cross: foundations of the Catholic Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn*, Canberra, 1997, pp. 248-59 for McAlroy and pp. 259-61 for Bermingham.
10. Frances O'Kane, *A Path is Set: The Catholic Church in the Port Phillip District and Victoria, 1839-1862*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1976, pp. 93-110. (I thank Patrick McNamara for this reference.)
11. *The Advocate*, 30 June 1894, p. 9.
12. *The Age* (Melbourne), 21 May 1857.

13. Maher, *Planting the Celtic Cross*, p. 255, quoting Polding to Charles Henry Davis, 29 May 1858, Sydney Archdiocesan Archives. Polding's antipathy to Lanigan, Birmingham and Dunne was noticed in Robert Lehane, *Forever Carnival*, Charnwood, ACT, Ginninderra Press, 2004, p. 117.
14. *Banner of Belfast* (Melbourne) and *Freeman's Journal*, 17 December 1859.
15. Frances O'Donoghue, *The Bishop of Botany Bay: The Life of John Bede Polding, Australia's First Catholic Archbishop*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1982, p. 121, attributes Archdeacon John McEncroe with encouraging Dunne in his Tullamore endeavours.
16. Quoted in James Waldersee, *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Society for the Propagation of the Faith and Australia, 1837-1870*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1965, p. 258.
17. Quoted in Anne E. Cunningham, 'Henry Norbert Birt's Sins of Omission: the Polding correspondence, a partial reappraisal', *Tjurunga, Australian Benedictine Review*, No. 46, May 1994, p. 47.
18. John McEvoy, *Carlow College 1793-1993: The Ordained Students and Teaching Staff of St Patrick's College, Carlow*, Carlow, Ireland, 1993, p. 124. *Age* (Brisbane), 24 September 1898.
19. W. Steuart Trench, *Realities of Irish Life*, London, 1869, pp. 313-31.
20. T.J. Linane, 'Patrick Dunne', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 4, p. 117-8. The emigration, particularly of young Irish, was deplored by many community leaders, including several newspaper editors, within Ireland.

21. Rev. T.P. Boland, 'Queensland Immigration Society', *Australian Catholic Record* [ACR], Vol. 39, No. 3, July 1962, pp. 205-12; 'Queensland Immigration Society, II', ACR, Vol. 39, No. 4, October 1962, pp. 298-304; 'Queensland Immigration Society, III', ACR, Vol. 40, No. 3, July 1963, pp. 192-201. Dr Boland has been most kind in sharing his work and ideas about the Society over many years. His work details the role of Bishop James Quinn with the Queensland Immigration Society formed in Brisbane whereas my research has concentrated on Dunne's activity in Ireland.
22. Quoted from Fitzpatrick letters in Diocese of Melbourne Archives, in T.J. Linane, 'Father Patrick Dunne', presented to Australian Catholic Historical Society on 7 September 1965, but not published. My appreciation to Mrs Shirley McGlynn, former archivist Australian Catholic Historical Society, for this reference.
23. For every adult passenger who paid a full fare, an £18 land order was paid on arrival with a further £12 one payable if the migrant remained in the colony for two years. These were cash payments which could be used to purchase land but most immigrants preferred to use the money for other purposes. See Harrison, 'From King's County to "Quinn'sland"', p. 750.
24. The vessels on which QIS passengers travelled were: *Erin Go Bragh*, *Chatsworth*, *Maryborough*, *Prince Consort* and *Duke of Newcastle* which arrived in Brisbane in 1862. In 1863 they were on *Wanata*, *Golden City*, *Queen of the Colonies*, *Golden Dream*, *Beejapore* and *Fiery Star* plus *Sunda* in 1865. Boland also names the 1863 voyage of *Hannah More* as bringing some QIS settlers but while no land order claims could be associated with this vessel, a few were located for the *Golden Empire* which sailed from Cork in April 1863. Apart from the first couple, in most cases other migrants also travelled on these ships.

25. This colourful story, appearing in J.F. Hogan, *The Irish in Australia*, London, Longman, Green & Co., 1888, & O'Brien, *The Men of '38*, p.146, contained many inaccuracies. It has continued to be recounted by several other authors without correction.
26. *Brisbane Courier*, 12 July 1865.
27. T.P. Boland, 'The Queensland Immigration Society' in *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1963-4, pp. 312-3 highlights Quinn's interest in this particular provision and his criticisms of government sponsored migration.
28. Queensland State Archives, Item 348609, (JUS/N10, 65/198, Reel 2863), for Fr Power's inquest.
29. Most of these names have been gleaned from shipping lists and appreciation is extended to Rev. Dr Chris Hanlon for assistance with their biographies. The priests who travelled on *Golden City*, *Golden Dream* and *Golden Empire*, all during 1863, still need identification.
30. Samuel J. Boland, 'An Early Offer of an Australian Redemptorist Foundation', *Spigilegium Historicum*, 1986, pp. 143-150.
31. McNamara in 'A Rebel as College President', pp. 93-4, quoting an unpublished manuscript by J.P. O'Malley in the archives of St Patrick's College, Goulburn, pp. 6-7. This quotation also appeared in O'Brien, *The Men of '38*, p. 147.
32. *Cootamundra Herald*, 17 January 1880.
33. *Australian Men of Mark*, p. 20.
34. Waldersee, *A Grain of Mustard Seed*, p. 317 quoting *Les Archives de la Propagation de la Foi* (Paris), 1888. Waldersee contends Patrick Dunne was then in Dublin as was Cardinal Moran.

35. *The Age*, (Brisbane), 24 December 1898.
36. T.J. Linane, 'The light of other days: Father Patrick Dunne's career, 1866-1900', in *Light*, (Ballarat Diocesan Magazine), June 1968, p. 19. Fr Linane wrote a series of articles on Patrick Dunne for this journal between May 1966 and June 1968.
37. McNamara, p. 94.
38. *Albury Daily News & Wodonga Chronicle*, 23 July 1900.
39. O'Brien, *The Men of '38*, p. 147.
40. This summary is based on several sources already nominated as well as the not always reliable seventy-four year old Rev. Patrick Dunne writing as 'An Old Missioner', 'Reminiscences of the Rise of the Catholic Church in Victoria in the Early Fifties', *Advocate*, (Melbourne), May, June & July 1894 specifically 9 June 1894, p. 8.