

Daniel  
Mannix

*Beyond the myths*

SAMPLE





The author lecturing in 1979

SAMPLE



# Daniel Mannix

*Beyond the myths*

JAMES GRIFFIN

completed by  
PAUL ORMONDE

Foreword by Professor Ken Inglis



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**Cover portrait by Max Martin**

Born in 1889 in a working class suburb of Melbourne, Max Martin took art lessons at an early age exhibiting his first known work in 1912. He then followed the artists' trail to London taking the 1922 Royal Academy Summer Exhibition by storm with his critically acclaimed 'Portrait Group,' now in the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria. Shy of his success, he became a scenic artist in London theatres. After 35 years away from Australia, he returned to Melbourne where he exhibited sporadically until his death in relative obscurity in 1965. The State Library of Victoria now holds three of his works including this portrait of Archbishop Mannix.

Jeremy Hill

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# CONTENTS

AUTHOR'S PROFESSIONAL HISTORY	VI
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	VII
FOREWORD, <i>by Professor Ken Inglis</i>	IX
PAUL ORMONDE CONCLUDES THIS BIOGRAPHY	XIII
ABBREVIATIONS	XIV
PREAMBLE	XVI
1 MANNIX DEFLATES THE EMPIRE	I
2 IRELAND DEFLATES MANNIX	50
3 MANNIX IN HIS HOMELAND 1864–1913	85
4 TWISTING THE SCREW	114
5 AN INVINCIBLY IGNORANT INTERNATIONALIST	134
6 A WORLD AT WAR – BUT WHAT ABOUT IRELAND?	160
7 SECTARIANISM	198
8 GRANDEUR	218
9 PERSONALITY	231
10 MONARCH	253
11 THE GREAT CATHOLIC PEACE RALLY	282
12 THE LAST CATHOLIC CRUSADE	301
13 MANNIX'S DEATH AND HIS LEGACY, <i>by Paul Ormonde</i>	329
EPILOGUE, <i>by Helga Griffin</i>	352
DRAMATIS PERSONAE: SOME KEY PERSONS IN THE TEXT	353
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	358
BIBLIOGRAPHY	359
GLOSSARY	373
INDEX	377



## AUTHOR'S PROFESSIONAL HISTORY, 1952–1994:

James Griffin was born on 28 October 1929 and died 9 May 2010.

1952–68	Teacher at Xavier College, Melbourne, except for five semesters in Italy (1955–56)
1968–75	Lecturer, Senior Lecturer (from 1970) in History, University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG)
1976–80	Head of Department of General Studies, Townsville College of Advanced Education (incorporated into James Cook University of North Queensland)
1980–81 and 1984–86	Senior Research Fellow, Department of Pacific History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra
1981–84	Professor of Extension Studies, Faculty of Education, UPNG
1986–88	Senior Research Fellow in History, UPNG
1988–90	Professor of History, UPNG
1991–94	Principal Analyst, Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands, Office of National Assessments, Department of Prime Minister, Canberra
1991	Appointed Emeritus Professor, UPNG

During this time and until his death, James Griffin was an intellectual activist. He produced several books and published numerous articles, reports and reviews.





## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

JAMES GRIFFIN died before leaving a list of persons who contributed to this book with their knowledge and their critical evaluations. Having been his technical, editorial and administrative assistant, I know who most of them were but assume that there were a few others who are not listed here. Jim did much of his business on the telephone. I apologise to anyone who was of help but is not named here.

First, most thanks is due to Paul Ormonde. On the eve of Jim's death, Paul agreed to research and write the conclusion to Jim's book. Although Paul was well suited to the task, given his professional qualifications as a writer, his knowledge of the subject and of the period, this was nevertheless a formidable undertaking in view of Jim's less irenic disposition and Paul's more restrained style. John Timlin, whose talents Jim admired, cheerfully became the book's literary agent after Jim died. For John Timlin it was a challenging task in view of the many biographies of Mannix already in print.

Apart from Paul Ormonde and John Timlin, the following persons read the whole manuscript carefully, made critical comments, and helped in other ways: Paul Collins; Pat Crudden; Tony Harold; Ken Inglis; Michael McKernan and John Howard, a long term associate. Collins and McKernan gave many hours of their time to me as objective professional 'readers' after the manuscript was completed, helping to prune and balance an over-long text. They conserved respectfully the voice of the original main author and his views, which they did not always share. Paul Ormonde thanks the following persons for providing a penultimate evaluation of his additional contribution: Max Charlesworth, Tony Harold, Helga Griffin, Val Noone and Marie Ormonde.



Jim also sought information from, and/or discussed parts of the manuscript with Peter Bartlett (deceased), Frank Bongiorno, Geoffrey Browne, Fr Edmund Campion, Damien Cash, John Cowburn, SJ, Paul De Serville, WT Dobson, Bruce Duncan, CSsR, John F Kelly (deceased), Michael Kelly, SJ, and Michael's mother, Elizabeth Kwan, Les McCarthy (deceased), one-time deputy archivist of the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission (MDHC), John Molony, John Moses, Rachel Naughton (archivist and museum director, MDHC), Graeme Powell (deceased) of the Manuscripts Room of the National Library of Australia, Colin and Paul Thornton-Smith.

Some assistance with providing records, checking sources and reading the text was given by Mimi Colligan, Helen Fraser and Thomas Randell; Keith Maguire and Stephen Morrissey of the State Library of Victoria; Kay Matthiesson and Sylvia Morrissey.

Jim's extended family provided emotional support to enable him to write this book during years of debilitating illness.

Finally, thank you to Garratt Publishing for enthusiastically seeing Jim's work through to publication.

Helga Griffin

*on behalf of the late Jim Griffin*





## FOREWORD

ONE WAY or another, Jim Griffin lived with Daniel Mannix for most of his long life. He grew up as a loyal if doubting worshipper in Mannix's Archdiocese of Melbourne and inheritor of the Irish Catholic culture which had formed the archbishop. As a young man Jim was a zestful contributor to debates within the Catholic Church and community about social policy and about the permissible limits of dissent from ecclesiastical authority. These debates were at their most intense in Melbourne, partly because the *Catholic Worker* (with which Jim had a long involvement) had no close equivalent elsewhere in Australia, and partly because no other prelate laid down the law as severely as Mannix. Melbourne, moreover, was the home of BA Santamaria's secretive and anti-communist Catholic Social Studies Movement, which enjoyed, thanks above all to Mannix—and, in Jim's judgment, improperly and imprudently—the patronage of the Catholic hierarchy.

Unlike some of his polemical interlocutors, Jim was no less securely at home in the world of European history and literature and music. He was schooled by both De La Salle College and the University of Melbourne. As his wife, Helga, has written, he combined 'an informal Australian upbringing with a deep interest and understanding of the history and culture of Europe, and of Britain and Ireland'. He 'had the ability to bridge Australian and European ways'.

Jim taught history first at Xavier College, where his pupils included Mannix's successor, Denis Hart, and then at the University of Papua New Guinea, where he would inspire some of the new nation's leaders, among them a predominantly Catholic group of young men from Bougainville who cherish him as friend and mentor.

Jim and Helga and their six children made the move from Melbourne to Port Moresby in 1968, some four years after Mannix's



death in his hundredth year. Jim's entry on him in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (ADB) gives a vivid report of the old man's passing. 'On Melbourne Cup Day, 1963, after his annual sweepstakes "flutter", he collapsed at race time and died with dignity next afternoon, 6 November, with a loyal court, including Calwell and Santamaria, at his bedside. The cathedral bell tolled ninety-nine at minute-intervals.'

The year 1968, when the Griffins went to Moresby, happened to be the year of Pope Paul VI's encyclical prohibiting Catholics from employing artificial contraception. Until then Jim and Helga, who had been married in St Peter's, Rome, were diligent attenders at Mass. They did not continue that practice in Papua New Guinea, being among liberal Catholics around the world so dismayed by the encyclical, and by associated intransigent doctrine, that they felt conscientiously unable to maintain their allegiance to the institutional church, however comfortably they might have retained a sense of Catholic identity.

This book is one of two pinnacles in Jim's prolific writing. The other is *John Wren: A Life Reconsidered* (2004), also grounded in Irish Catholic Melbourne and tracking intricate intersections with the story of Daniel Mannix. To a Protestant Melbournian child such as myself, inheritor of a sternly anti-Catholic world view, Jim's two subjects formed a sinister couple. It was no accident, surely, we Presbyterians believed, that *Raheen*, the archbishop's palace in Kew, had been bought for the church by a man who had made a fortune out of illegal betting and had it enhanced and protected by conniving policemen. I now know, thanks to Jim, that the truth about their relationship was far more complicated.

The title of Jim's book on Wren signals his intention to demolish the image of the man propagated in Frank Hardy's *Power Without Glory* (1950), a *roman à clef* which invites the reader to savour the criminal activities of John 'West', not merely a breaker of gambling law and corrupter of its agents, but owner of venal politicians and even initiator of murder. He and Archbishop 'Malone' are thick as thieves. Hardy was a member of the Communist Party. His account of 'West' drew on both traditional sectarian and contemporary



left-wing wells of prejudice. Wren's sons and legal advisers, thirsty for vengeance, devised a forensic strategy intended to prevent dirty linen being aired in the witness box by Hardy's defenders. The book has 'Nellie West', wife of John, committing adultery with a tradesman. The state launched a prosecution of Hardy alleging criminal libel of Ellen Wren. A jury acquitted Hardy.

As Jim observes in his entry on John Wren in the *ADB*, *Power Without Glory* became a bestseller; he deems the Wren family's legal advice 'gauche'. The word he uses for the subject's occupation —'entrepreneur'—is itself a gesture of rehabilitation; and he ends with a quotation from Arthur Calwell, pallbearer at Wren's funeral, declaring Wren 'a better Australian than his detractors', a man who 'had simply observed the principles of commercial morality'. That was not far from Mannix's view.

Jim's entry on Mannix in the *ADB*, which appeared in 1985, is one of the project's longest entries, giving a rich foretaste of the full biography. Reconsidering the life of Wren had meant setting right inaccurately adverse judgments. Portraying Mannix required reassessment of two contending images. First, the hostile account which cast him as bigoted enemy of Protestant Christianity and the British Empire, above all and least forgivably at the time of the Great War. Secondly, the sycophantic perception of Catholic authors who, in Jim's view, had mythologised Mannix, exaggerating and even inventing his capacities and achievements, denying or ignoring his frailties. On the first score, Jim showed Mannix giving as well as he got against the likes of the Welsh-born Prime Minister, William Morris Hughes; the Ulster-born university college principal, Alexander Leeper; and assorted ministers of religion who vilified him in the name of God, king and country. This element in the entry aroused no more than ordinary comment from readers. The other element was less familiar. Here was a scholar of Catholic formation writing for a general readership about a Catholic tribal hero in a manner well short of reverence. For example: 'While Mannix was politically naive and, in spite of his quick-wittedness, intellectually shallow, this was not crucial to his spiritual constituency, the clergy and faithful'. Some members of that constituency found such judgments both wrong and



offensive. Some even asked whether it was proper for so disparaging a perception to appear in a reference work national in character. As chairman of the editorial board at the time I remember that we agreed to leave the matter to the general editors, Geoffrey Serle (secular Protestant from Melbourne) and Bede Nairn (practising Catholic from Sydney), who quietly reaffirmed the *ADB*'s policy of letting chosen contributors interpret their subjects as they wished. Among other entries I recall comparison with Manning Clark's on Joseph Furphy as an illuminating though far from 'objective' account of its subject.

Hackles were raised at two conferences on Irish-Australian studies at which Jim delivered papers on Mannix. As Paul Ormonde and Philip Bull have noted: "To Catholic critics who objected that he had tried to cut the archbishop down to size, Griffin responded: "Well, if it's the correct size, what's the problem?" ' Participants in these exchanges testify that by dinnertime the heat of debate was replaced by a convivial warmth induced in large part by Jim's lyrical rendition of Irish songs.

I am writing these words exactly a year after Jim's death. Although friends and colleagues knew that, during his long illness, he and Helga were busy at work on this book, we hardly dared hope that it would be completed. We should have known better. As the end approached, Jim relied more and more on Helga's dedication and diligence. We can cherish the book as a monument to his memory and we can marvel at its achievement.

Jim did well to ask Paul Ormonde to round off the manuscript. As an accomplished journalist, author of *The Movement* (1972), and long-time comrade in applying to church and society the values of the *Catholic Worker* group, he is admirably well fitted to place the elusive subject in his final years. Paul's last words are fittingly astringent: Daniel Mannix was indeed *obdurate to the end*.

And as his biographer, Jim was resolute to the end in pursuing the truth, revelling in its complexities, demolishing myths innocently or wilfully purveyed by earlier writers, and telling in lucid, supple and vivacious language the story of a remarkable life.

Ken Inglis

Melbourne, 9 May 2011





# PAUL ORMONDE

## CONCLUDES THIS BIOGRAPHY

A FEW WEEKS BEFORE Jim Griffin died on the 9th of May 2010, he telephoned me from his home in Canberra to say that he needed help to finish his biography of Daniel Mannix. Having written 120,000 words, the result of ten years research, presented in eloquent and insightful prose, he had run out of energy. In the four days I spent with him it was clear that I could not help him in the way he had proposed: that I act as his amanuensis. The cancer that was to end his life had so weakened him that he could convey to me only thoughts about key issues in Mannix's life.

It was clear Jim was asking me to finish his book. He sought my help because he had not yet dealt in detail with Mannix's role in the Movement scandal and the consequent split in the Labor Party in 1954–55. Nor, of course, had he covered the impact and consequences of Mannix's passing in 1963. I had written widely on the Labor Party and its long relationship with Catholics and their church, including a book, *The Movement*, published in 1972, which reflected my own reservations about the Movement and those of the *Catholic Worker*, of which I, along with Jim, was an editorial board member and to which I was a regular contributor. With that background I felt that, while lacking Jim's literary flair, I at least could give his book a description of those events which I knew, from our fifty-year friendship, would not be very different in intent from Jim's.

Paul Ormonde

*Melbourne, 2 July 2012*





# ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission (or Corporation)
Abp	Archbishop
ACF	Australian Catholic Federation
ACTS	Australian Catholic Truth Society
ADB	<i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i>
AIF	Australian Imperial Force
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ANSCA	Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action
ANZAC	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
Bp	Bishop
Card	Cardinal
CM	Congregation of the Mission (the Vincentians, a religious congregation)
CMG	Commander of St Michael and St George
cous	cousin of DM
CPA	Communist Party of Australia
CSsR	Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (the Redemptorists, a religious congregation)
CW	<i>Catholic Worker</i>
CWA	Catholic Workers' Association
CWSG	Catholic Women's Social Guild
CYMS	Catholic Young Men's Society
DCL	Doctor of Canon Law
DD	Doctor of Divinity
DIB	<i>A Dictionary of Irish Biography</i>
DM	Archbishop Daniel Mannix
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IWW	Industrial Workers of the World
JRAHS	Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society



## ABBREVIATIONS

LLB	Bachelor of Laws
LLD	Doctor of Laws
LLM	Master of Laws
MA	Master of Arts
MDHC	Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission
MHA	Member of the House of Assembly
MHR	Member of the House of Representatives
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
MSC	Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (a religious congregation)
NCW	National Council of Women
PWG	<i>Power Without Glory</i> (title of Frank Hardy's novel)
RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary
RSL	Returned Soldiers' and Sailors' League
SJ	Society of Jesus (the Jesuits, a religious congregation)
SMH	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>
SVD	Society of the Divine Word (the Divine Word Missionaries, a religious congregation)
YCW	Young Christian Workers





# PREAMBLE

## Charisma

NO PERSONALITY in Australian history is more worthy of the epithet *charismatic* than Daniel Mannix, who, after fifty years as a Catholic archbishop in Melbourne, died in 1963, within four months of his hundredth birthday. He had lived in an aura of majestic self-esteem. And little wonder. His officially commissioned biography by (Fr) Walter Ebsworth begins:

*At the time when Halley's Comet was filling half the sky there flashed across the Australian firmament the name of Daniel Mannix. It was to linger high in the heavens for over half a century.<sup>1</sup>*

It matters little that Halley's Comet had actually come and gone by a few years before Mannix arrived in Australia in 1913 but the hyperbole does. One later historian-priest describes him as: 'that luminous figure who is like a sun that will never set on the horizon of Australian Catholic history'.<sup>2</sup> The Mannix ability to attract adulation and spellbind crowds derived not just from the causes he championed but from his physical and mental attributes, from his nurture, will, rhetoric, contrivance, religiosity, and so on. But the *je ne sais quoi*, the mystique, remains. There was no doubting his stature. Even dedicated enemies, like those he made during the Great War (1914–18), had to be histrionic; they thought of him as a formidable 'Lucifer' or as a malignant 'Rasputin of Australia'.

During his last fifty years legends enveloped Mannix. Although he involved himself in secular politics, where opinions should legitimately

1 Walter Ebsworth, *Archbishop Mannix* (Melbourne, 1977): 1.

2 Max Vodola, 'As the Record Stands: The Biographies of Daniel Mannix and James Duhig and Their Contribution to Australian Catholic History', *Footprints* (December 1995): 13–19.



differ, it was impious for a Catholic to write critically about him. Today judgments can still totter with hyperbole, often misplaced. ‘Mannixolatry’,<sup>3</sup> as it has been called, was not dependent just on his forays into Irish and Australian politics. Following the regimen of the Irish Catholic Church, Mannix’s role was that of a man of God: an exemplar of episcopal reverence and dignity; a celibate with no known moral blemish; an ascetic, without being an other-worldly mystic; conspicuously prayerful, rather than sanctimonious; an observant of ceremonial rubrics, but neither flamboyant nor pedantic; an Irish orator mostly without histrionics or ranting, with neither larded blarney nor laboured brogue; putatively a profound scholar and philosopher although with neither the credentials nor the output to attest them.

The spectacle of the tall, austere Mannix in procession in St Patrick’s Cathedral grounds with steepled hands and hooded eyes following his *a capella* male choir to the portals, where with éclat they exulted in Palestrina’s *Tu Es Petrus* (*You Are Peter* [the Rock]) in six parts, evoked a hieratic continuity with the medieval gothic church rarely seen elsewhere. This sacerdotalism lit up his controversial and often ill-thought-out intrusions into secular politics, inspiring awe and loyalty among the faithful rather than discriminating attention to what he said. Not enough of his admirers mourned the pity of it. Far from fastidious in observing the distinction between the proper spheres of church and state, Mannix claimed the right to ‘dual personality’, to pronounce on public events, as he personally saw fit, both *qua* citizen and *qua* bishop.

Eight, what are generally called, ‘biographies’ have been written on Mannix, two of which have second revised editions.<sup>4</sup> This, says

3 N McLachlan, Review of Oliver MacDonagh and William Mandle, eds, ‘Ireland and Irish Australia: Studies in Cultural and Political History’, *Journal of Australian Studies* 23 (November 1988): 113–15.

4 Cyril Bryan, *Archbishop Mannix: Champion of Australian Democracy* (Melbourne, 1918); EJ Brady, *Doctor Mannix: Archbishop of Melbourne* (Melbourne, 1934); Frank Murphy, *Daniel Mannix, Archbishop of Melbourne* (Melbourne, 1948), and 2nd and enlarged ed (Melbourne, 1972); Niall Brennan, *Dr Mannix* (Adelaide, 1964); Walter Ebsworth, *Archbishop Mannix* (Melbourne, 1977); Michael Gilchrist, *Daniel Mannix: Priest and Patriot* (Melbourne, 1982), and 2nd ed ‘fully revised and updated’ as *Daniel Mannix: Wit and Wisdom*, with foreword by Cardinal George Pell (Melbourne, 2004); Bartholomew (Bob) Augustine Santamaria, *Daniel Mannix: A Biography: The Quality of Leadership* (Melbourne, 1984); Colm Kiernan, *Daniel Mannix and Ireland* (Morwell, VIC, 1984).



Cardinal George Pell, who would like to see Mannix canonised a saint, is more than has been published about anyone in Australian history, with the exception of Ned Kelly<sup>5</sup>—a dubious distinction. They are of varying quality. For example, Walter Ebsworth's allegedly 'definitive' biography, commissioned by Cardinal James Knox, Archbishop of Melbourne from 1967 to 1976, contains useful research but is often absurd (as above) in its adulation; Colm Kiernan's research in Ireland has been informative but his inferences can be naive. As appropriate, I have culled information from such sources with, I hope, acknowledgment, but I owe a greater debt to the unpublished research of Fr James Murtagh (d 1971), a most reputable historian of the Catholic Church in Australia in his time. Servile while Mannix lived, even 'terrified', said Niall Brennan, who knew him well, Murtagh, after the archbishop's death, determined to research his life. He was astonished to find in Ireland that Mannix had a different reputation from the one he acquired in Australia. It was Murtagh's research notes that made possible important aspects of my controversial entry on the archbishop in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (ADB), Volume 10.

With the exception of BA Santamaria, Mannix declined to cooperate with would-be biographers. He declared that he wanted 'no one to analyse my soul'. Auxiliary Bishop Laurence Moran, who was close to Mannix, commented to Murtagh on the archbishop's 'secretiveness' as characteristic of many Irishmen but, as will be advanced, there were probably more intimate reasons. Mannix destroyed correspondence and documents, even material that rightly seems to have belonged to the archives of Maynooth and Melbourne.<sup>6</sup> AA Calwell, his long-time former friend, called him a 'vandal'.<sup>7</sup> When the versifier and writer, EJ Brady (1869–1952), asked for his cooperation in a biography which was part of the 1934 Melbourne Centenary series, Mannix replied that, while he did not object, he warned that he had no letters or other material with which

5 *Herald-Sun* (Melbourne): 4 April 1997.

6 Ebsworth, 85, notes: The records of the (Maynooth) College Branch were printed from 1898 to 1906 and from 1913 to 1916. One can only surmise at the gap 1907 to 1912 (during) Mannix's presidency.

7 Arthur Augustus Calwell, *Be Just and Fear Not* (Melbourne, 1972): 157.



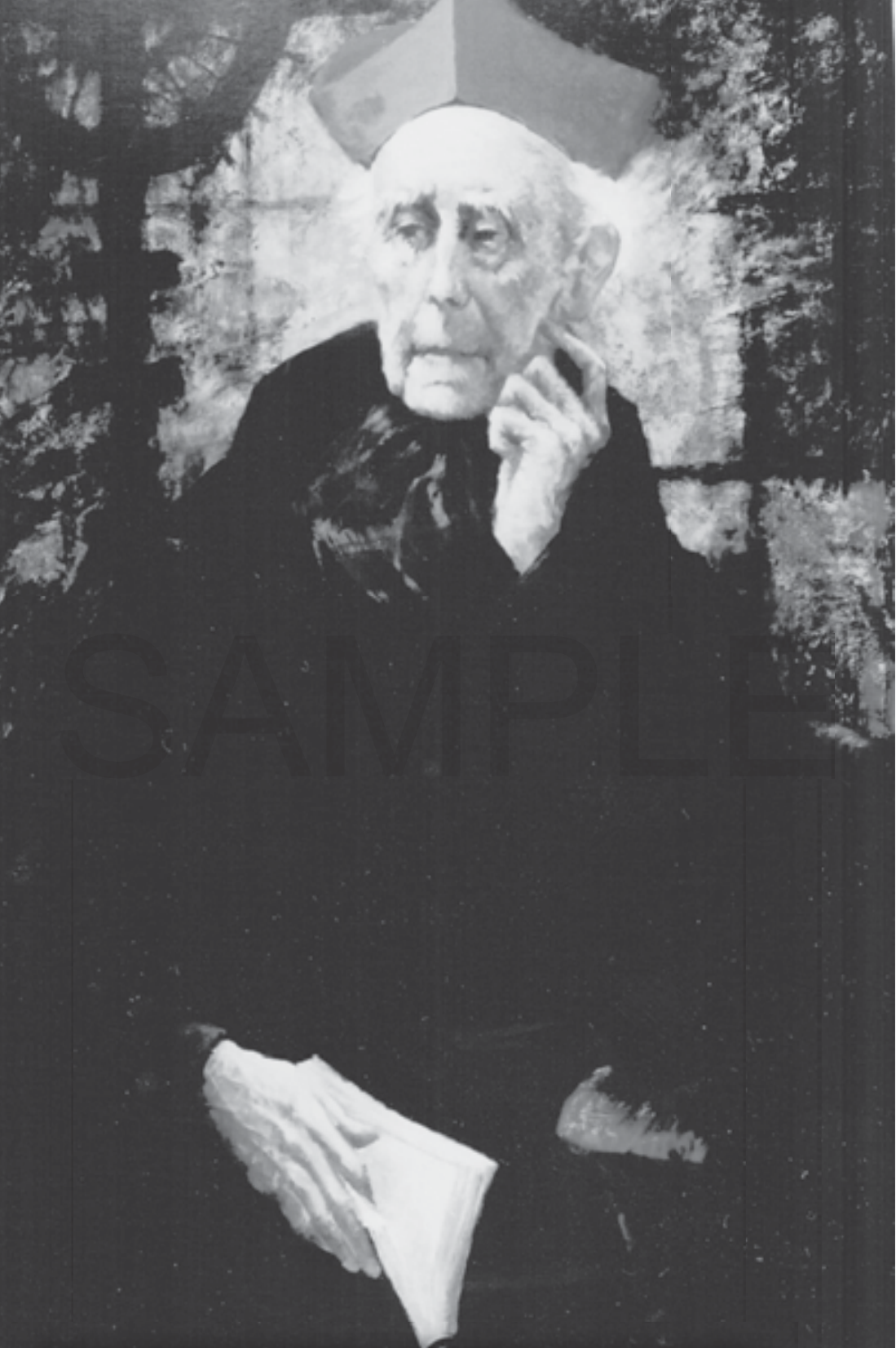
to assist a biographer. 'You must not ask me ... to direct you in any way', he wrote to Brady, 'I shall be quite satisfied to see my portrait for the first time when you have finished it'.<sup>8</sup> There is no record that he acknowledged it, although it was eulogistic. It is astonishing that in 1963 Mannix's obituarists (including Frank Murphy and James Murtagh, both associated with the official diocesan weekly, *The Advocate*) knew so little of his upbringing, not even his place in his family or the number of his siblings, after fifty years' celebrity in Melbourne.

In order to justify my confident opening sentence concerning the Mannix charisma, and because there has necessarily been a dimming of Mannix's renown in the fifty years since his death, I am opening my narrative of his life with an account of the most dramatic episode in his long life, when he trod the international stage and was arrested on the high seas.

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8 Gilchrist 2004, 146; *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (ADB) 7: 396–7.





Daniel Mannix by Clifton Pugh, oil on hardboard, 1962. Used by permission of Newman College, the University of Melbourne © MDHC Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne





## CHAPTER 1

# MANNIX DEFLATES THE EMPIRE

### **Battle of the *Baltic***

SEVEN DAYS OUT from New York, on 8 August 1920, late on a Sunday afternoon, the ocean liner SS *Baltic* sighted the coast of County Cork in south-eastern Ireland. In spite of a curfew, supporters of the Sinn Féin movement for Irish independence<sup>9</sup> were lighting bonfires on the hills to welcome the return of Archbishop Daniel Mannix. The Bishop of Cloyne had fired the beacon in the Queenstown (Cobh) tower; chimes were playing the wistful air, *Come Back to Erin, Mavourneen*. In Dublin soldiers in armoured cars and motor lorries, assisted by cycle patrols and using powerful searchlights, were 'unusually active'. Near St Mary's Abbey, when a singing party around a fire refused to disperse, they opened fire, killing one man of twenty-three and seriously wounding an eighteen year old.<sup>10</sup>

Among many impassioned tributes to Mannix was a poem, originally in Gaelic, *Mannix Mo Mhile Stor* (*Mannix My Thousand Loves*), by the famous lexicographer, Fr Patrick Dinneen:

*Tis now seven years since the love of my heart went away from me.  
The enemy is watching the sea by night and day,  
Waiting for the ship in which the warrior will return home,*

9 Founded by journalist, Arthur Griffith (1871–1922), in 1905. He became President of the Irish Free State.

10 *Birmingham Post*, 11 August 1920, clipping in Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission (MDHC).



*And inciting the knaves beyond the sea to folly and fight,  
But a feather they won't lay on Mannix, my thousand loves.  
There will be bonfires blazing from Galway down to Cobh  
On moors and mountains and the sweet sound of music playing.  
My pulse will leap with joy when I view the soil [sic]  
That will be bringing back my Mannix, my thousand loves.<sup>11</sup>*

Mannix had left Melbourne in May ostensibly to make his *ad limina* ('to the threshold') pilgrimage to the Pope in Rome, as all bishops were obliged to do regularly (if possible every five or ten years, depending on proximity). As Mannix had been only a coadjutor until May 1917, when he succeeded Thomas Carr as archbishop,<sup>12</sup> he was probably not obliged to go at quite this time unless, unknown to historians, the Pope had, because of the archbishop's polemics in Australia, confidentially requested his presence in Rome. (Carr, who arrived in Melbourne in 1887, had performed his *ad limina* in 1898 and 1908). Mannix had also let it be known that en route he would visit Ireland to see his eighty-nine year old mother, probably for the last time, a gesture of familial piety that no one was likely to query. But, as he admitted later, that was far from being his only reason: perhaps not even the major one. Ireland was in the turmoil of a guerrilla war of independence and he imagined his presence might further the cause and even bring peace.

That Sunday evening Fr Arthur Vaughan, Mannix's secretary and diarist, efficient and droll, was standing at the rail of the *Baltic*, gazing at the Irish coast, when he noticed a smudge of smoke on the horizon at Ringabella Bay near Cobh Harbour. He watched it turn into a warship, the *HMS Wyvern* (named after a chimerical winged dragon). Ominously it circled the *Baltic*, then tracked in its wake. As darkness fell, another destroyer joined it. Near midnight the liner stopped and the *Wyvern* lowered a pinnace. Two naval officers, two Scotland Yard detectives and a naval guard came aboard the *Baltic* under searchlight. The captain summoned Mannix to his cabin,

11 Fr James G Murtagh, ordained by Mannix in 1932. *ADB* 15: 455–6. See his papers, MDHC.

12 Thomas Carr (1839–1917), appointed Archbishop of Melbourne in 1886. See *ADB* 7: 569–70.



where Francis Xavier Flynn, the senior naval officer, whose father hailed from Cork, presented him with two documents. The British Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, Sir Neville Macready, had signed one preventing Mannix from landing in Ireland; the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, an uncompromising Orangeman, Sir Henry Wilson, who would be assassinated two years later, had signed the other. The *Baltic* would now have to proceed to Liverpool, but Mannix was not to disembark there because of its large Irish population. Neither for the same reason could he visit Manchester or Glasgow. He was to be landed somewhere else. Otherwise, once on land, he was free, but now he must transfer to the *Wyvern*. Vaughan could accompany him.

Mannix refused to leave without his luggage; another boat had to come from the warship. Peering apprehensively down at the pinnacle undulating below—sea swells always made Mannix queasy—he stated twice: ‘I refuse to leave this ship’. Prepared for this, Flynn laid his hand on Mannix’s shoulder and said: ‘This is a demonstration of force’. It was a technical rather than a formal arrest under the *Defence of the Realm Act* still current, although World War I had ended on 11 November 1918. It was still in force when Mannix left Britain. Nervously Mannix followed Flynn down the narrow spectral ladder lit only by searchlight. Flynn leapt into the pinnacle. Forty years later he recalled that there was ‘a considerable swell running’. He held up his arms to steady the archbishop, who hesitated until the boat had dipped into a trough. Landing clumsily, Mannix complained that he had nearly broken his leg. Then, followed by his secretary, the unflappable Fr Vaughan clasping his camera and his inseparable box of cigars, Mannix, with a rope around his waist and wearing not his customary biretta but an informal cloth cap, climbed up to the *Wyvern* without mishap.<sup>13</sup> Courteously the captain gave Mannix his own cabin. In the late 1950s Flynn sent Mannix a message from the miraculous grotto at Lourdes in France to say that, ‘of all the nasty jobs’ he ever had to do, there was none he and his ‘entire crew’ disliked ‘more heartily’.<sup>14</sup> No doubt Flynn remembered vividly the

13 Another account says Mannix was ‘taken off in a net’, MDHC, 2/1 MUR.

14 James G Murtagh, ‘Capture of Archbishop Mannix 50 Years Ago: New Light on the Penzance Incident’, *The Advocate*, 6 August 1970.



gaunt, six-foot-tall, erect bishop with the unyielding gaze and resolute composure, his suffused anger and inflexible dignity. Laying what many Catholics would have called a sacrilegious hand on a hierarch was an act that fastidious Flynn regretted.

At first the *Wyvern* made for the port of Fishguard, on the Welsh coast, until it was realised that there were many Irish dockers there. So another wireless telegram diverted it to the Gilbertian port of Penzance in Cornwall. The south-westerly swell rounding Land's End made Mannix ill. At 4.00 pm he disembarked with Vaughan, who asked him where they would go now. 'To the heart of the Empire', snapped Mannix decisively. In London the British Government had arranged a suite of rooms for them but Mannix refused all official hospitality and went to the hostel at Hammersmith run by the Sisters of Nazareth. It was there that he made his virtuosic (not, as reputed, spontaneous) quip to reporters: 'Since the battle of Jutland the British Navy has not scored a success comparable with chasing the *Baltic* from Irish shores and the capture, without the loss of a single sailor, of the Archbishop of Melbourne'.<sup>15</sup> He also pointed out that the royal senior service had taken into custody a chaplain-general (see p 193) of His Majesty's *military* forces in Australia. He was a master of mischievous asperity. And he was now world news.

The British newspapers had a field day. Of the notable ones, only the conservative *Morning Post* was uncritical. The *Manchester Guardian* said: 'The Government has made us all look rather foolish, and left the unoffending navy exposed to undeniably effective episcopal chaff'. To the *Daily Mail* the arrest was 'a positive gift to Sinn Fein', while *The Times* declared it 'An Error of Policy' which would transform 'a [vulnerable] propagandist ... into a victim of British persecution', lending his tongue 'a new eloquence'. The British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, had acted on the (unwise) advice of William Morris Hughes, the Australian Prime Minister and Mannix's rabid antagonist. In London the following Sunday, over 20,000 supporters of Sinn Fein staged the first of many mass protests throughout England and Scotland where the British were

15 Other accounts suggest that the quip was made on board the *Wyvern*.



to learn from their 'prisoner at large' about the current atrocities in Ireland, and its claim both to self-determination and a seat at the newly formed League of Nations. Fr James Murtagh, Melbourne's notable Catholic historian of the fifties and sixties, believed that, in apprehending Mannix, Lloyd George had blundered, enabling the archbishop 'to play a singular role in the struggle for Irish freedom'. This would have been impossible had he been permitted to land in the war-ravaged Ireland of the time.<sup>16</sup>

## Retrospect

Mannix had been in Australia since March 1913. He had had a brilliant, carefully focused career at Ireland's premier seminary, at Maynooth, of which in 1903 he became vice-president and, soon after, president, at the age of thirty-nine. There he was notably conservative, a stern disciplinarian and, in his ecclesiology, 'ultramontane' (i.e. 'beyond the mountains' [Alps], applied to those Catholics who supported full papal authority, e.g. papal infallibility, in 1871). Irish nationalists regarded him as a 'West Briton', a 'cawstle' (an affected, aristocratic English pronunciation for 'castle') Catholic, someone acceptable at the seat of British authority, Dublin Castle. To the consternation of ardent Irish nationalists, Mannix had, with displays of loyalty, received at Maynooth King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra in 1903 and King George V and Queen Mary in 1911 (see pp 103–5). He seemed destined for one of the most powerful prelacies in the Irish church, the See of either Dublin or Armagh. Instead, to his chagrin, he found himself despatched to the Antipodes almost certainly because of his unpopularity with emerging nationalists, particularly over the revival of the Gaelic language and his imperious mismanagement of the O'Hickey affair associated with it (see pp 106–7). But he was not simply discarded: there was a need for strong educational and social leadership in what was still an Irish mission field in Australia. Of the two leading Catholic prelates of the era, Cardinal Patrick Moran of Sydney had died in 1911 and Archbishop Carr, Archbishop of Melbourne since 1886, was ailing.

16 James G Murtagh, 'The Vaughan Letter', *Footprints* 1, no 8 (October 1972): 14.



In Australia Mannix became a persuasive critic of Great Britain. No less than the Prime Minister and the Governor-General of Australia had blamed Mannix for causing the defeat of the two bitterly divisive referendums of 1916–17 on conscription for overseas service and for subverting the imperial war effort. His reputation had spread to the United Kingdom and the United States. Popular acclaim had it that Mannix must soon be appointed to the See of Dublin. The *London News* on 2 July 1920 commented on his impending arrival in the United Kingdom:

*[Archbishop Mannix] has developed astonishingly since he was President of Maynooth with the reputation of a quiet and effective Administrator, and he is now by far the most important prelate in Australia. It will probably not be long before he is made a cardinal. Powerful influences among the Irish, American and Australian [sic] colleges in Rome are wishing to secure his appointment to ... Dublin....*<sup>17</sup>

The British Government was determined this would not happen. It had appealed to the Vatican to restrain him, to no avail. As the papacy had never supported Irish independence—it was the only English Pope, Adrian IV, who had conferred on England suzerainty over Ireland in the twelfth century—a British envoy in 1920 could credibly report that the Vatican wished Mannix ‘at the bottom at the sea’. But he had not breached any canon which would justify the Pope’s removing him from office and the Vatican feared that, with such a following among Catholics in Australia, action against Mannix might result in a rebellion and schism.<sup>18</sup>

The most plausible reason for many of Mannix’s words and actions following his ‘exile’ was his determination to return to Ireland—he was only forty-nine in 1913—and to do this he needed ultimately to associate himself with the rising patriotic mood characterised by Sinn Féin. This is not to say that he was an opportunist rather than a sincere patriot. A favourite niece reported how he had once told her that he was a radical at heart even at Maynooth. With such an

17 Quoted from *London News* by Ebsworth: 445.

18 Kiernan 1984, 123–4, quotes Cardinal Gasparri, Vatican Secretary of State.



attitude, however, there would have been no hope of preferment in the Irish church. As its hierarchy accepted the legitimacy of British rule, rebellion was sinful. As late as 1917 Cardinal Logue of Armagh, one of Ireland's two primates, thought that the quest for independence was a dream that no man in his sober senses could hope to see realised; hence Mannix's silence on politics before going to Australia. Once there, reports of atrocities occurring in Ireland after 1916 would have been sufficient to stir a desultory heart, let alone one made rancorous by thwarted ambition and what he considered to be gross misunderstanding of his fealty to Ireland.

Yet it was not Mannix's behaviour in Australia that had led to his apprehension on the high seas. As a result of correspondence with Sinn Fein in the United States, notably with Eamon de Valera, Mannix had decided on a lecture tour of major American cities, where he was to offend the British Government with his inflammatory rhetoric.<sup>19</sup>

### **Irish 'Troubles'**

On Easter Sunday 1916, in spite of British involvement in the Great War, a small group of armed rebels had forcibly occupied the General Post Office in central Dublin together with a few salient outposts and declared Ireland independent. They had sought German assistance; England's plight was to be Ireland's opportunity. At first, Irish citizens regarded this defiance as an outrageous folly, but vengeful and random executions by the British military transformed the deed into heroic patriotism. In April 1917 Irish nationalist organisations formed a National Council which declared Ireland a separate nation and resolved to seek representation at the peace conference which had to follow the war. Sinn Fein now declared itself republican rather than just seeking Home Rule. It opposed any attempt to partition the island to assuage the fears of the Protestant majority in the north that, in the event of autonomy, Catholics would swamp them numerically.

In December 1918 a British 'khaki election' had followed the November armistice ending the war (in which 49,000 Irish

19 Eamon de Valera (1882–1975), Irish revolutionary leader and politician.



had perished); Sinn Fein had swept away John Redmond's non-revolutionary Home Rule Party with 73 MPs elected (47 of them in gaol) to 26 Unionist. The 73 in January 1919 refused to sit at Westminster and formed their own *Dáil Eireann* (Irish Assembly), although its president was in Lincoln Prison (from which, through the ingenuity of Collins in Dublin, he escaped with the copy of a key hidden in a cake). In March, the US House of Representatives instructed their Presbyterian anti-Catholic President, Woodrow Wilson, to support Ireland's appeal for self-determination at the peace conference. He refused. For at least four months Mannix made no speeches on the subject, not even on peace; he had no wish to embarrass de Valera and his colleagues during the peace conference—a wish perhaps more easily granted than he would have appreciated. By August 1919 guerrilla warfare had begun in earnest. Attacks on the Royal Irish Constabulary, prison outbreaks and ambushes were common; reprisals followed. By January 1920 Sinn Fein had scored overwhelming victories in the municipal and urban elections and virtually administered the law of the country.

For Sinn Fein there was widespread support among Irish-Americans. Since 1800 some seven million Irish, twenty per cent of total immigration, had entered the United States, so many with bitter recollections, especially of the Great Famine of the 1840s, during which roughly a million peasants may have died and a million had emigrated (but often to die in 'coffin ships'). Only in Ireland of all European countries did population fall during the nineteenth century, from over eight million in 1845 to four. Irish-American prosperity had funded revolutionary nationalists at home, notably the Fenians and Parnellites<sup>20</sup> of the middle and later nineteenth century, and recently the rebels of the Easter Rising.

In one of its most disgraceful actions, the British Government retaliated with 'Black and Tans' and 'auxiliaries' 'to make Ireland hell for the rebels'.<sup>21</sup> Atrocities followed on both sides. In the west the

20 The Fenian Society or Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) was a secret anti-British organisation formed in the US in 1858. Parnellites were followers of CS Parnell (1846–1891), an Irish political party leader in the 1880s and 1890s, noted for agrarian boycotts and obstructionist tactics in the House of Commons.

21 Because of the breakdown of civil authority and attacks on the Royal Irish



bodies of two rebel brothers were found tied together in a bog with their legs partially roasted away; in Tralee two Black and Tans were thrown into a flaming gas retort alive. In the north there were riots and vicious pogroms against Catholics. Wanton burnings of rural creameries, on which so many farmers depended, were common. Later in the year, events of chilling melodrama occurred. On Bloody Sunday, 15 November 1920, Collins carried out before breakfast a ruthless elimination of British agents, a few of them Catholic. That same afternoon, at Croke Park, British auxiliaries in armoured cars retaliated by indiscriminately machine-gunning football spectators.<sup>22</sup> In December they incinerated the centre of Cork City. Ireland had become ungovernable.<sup>23</sup> The British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Wilson, wanted a full-scale devastating military operation but the British Government feared world censure, particularly from the United States.

### **Via the United States of America**

Even on the first leg of his journey in May 1920 on the *SS Ventura*, from Sydney to San Francisco, feelings on the Irish question had run so high that Mannix was harassed by a group of pro-British passengers who tried to have him removed from the ship at Honolulu. A band on the wharf in a medley of tunes had struck up *The Star-Spangled Banner*, for which Mannix stood up, followed by the tune of *God Save the King*, during which he conspicuously sat. Adventitiously the latter air was also an American anthem, *God Bless America*; a group of 'loyalists' had requested it in order to embarrass him. As if to convince himself that he had not made a callow gesture, Mannix later admitted to the *St Louis Times* (28 June 1920) that he did not stand for *God Save the King* and that he was 'proud of it'. Then, as if uncertain about it, he averred more boastfully than persuasively,

Constabulary (RIC), the British Government in 1920 recruited police auxiliaries mainly in Britain, called Black and Tans because of their bottle-green RIC jackets and British Army khaki trousers. In October 1920 they numbered over 2,000. The auxiliaries were formed in July from former military officers and were paid twice RIC rates, were independently controlled, and behaved even more harshly.

<sup>22</sup> These two events are sensationally portrayed in the film, *Michael Collins*, by Giffen Pictures, 1996.

<sup>23</sup> Timothy Patrick Coogan, *Ireland Since the Rising* (London, 1966): 26–32.



'Let them say what they please about me. They cannot say I am not an honest man with the courage of my convictions'.<sup>24</sup> Although cables were sent to immigration 'authorities' and to newspapers about Mannix's alleged insult to the United States, the captain shrugged off complaints. Presciently Mannix had wired the Mayor of San Francisco: 'I eagerly await my first opportunity of saluting the American flag on American soil' (overlooking that Hawaii was in sovereign terms already 'American').

What surprises, from a distance of almost a century, is the enthusiasm with which sections of the United States received Mannix already as a 'world figure', even 'the world's greatest democrat', 'another Mercier' and 'champion of the working man'.<sup>25</sup> This must have resulted from the publicity created, most notably during the Australian conscription campaigns of 1916–17, and through correspondence with pro-Irish leaders since then. An envoy of the 'Irish Republic', Judge Dermot Fawsitt, was in San Francisco to greet him and to arrange his itinerary, including a rendezvous with de Valera.<sup>26</sup> On 8 June, at the overflowing Dreamland Rink in San Francisco ('the largest meeting ever held on the Pacific coast', said one paper), Mannix delivered an eloquent melange of flattery and naivety about the United States' role in the war:

*60,000 of your brave young Americans lie side by side with 60,000 Australians in the battlefields of Europe, never one of them again to turn his eyes or his face towards the country from which he came. We know your record in that war. We know that America and the American people are a peace-loving people. We know in Australia that you went into that war reluctantly ... only when you saw that... there was danger that the civilization of the white man should almost be burned out to extinction. Then, and only then, the American people went into that great but disastrous struggle in Europe.*<sup>27</sup>

24 Quoted in Murtagh papers, MDHC. NB: *God Save the King* was the Australian national anthem.

25 Cardinal Désiré-Joseph Mercier (1851–1926), founder of the *Institut Supérieur de Philosophie* (1894) at Louvain University, Belgium, a major centre of Thomism. During World War I he denounced German atrocities such as the burning of the invaluable Louvain Library, terrorising violence, and deportation of Belgian workers.

26 Bryan, 187.

27 Ebsworth, 226; *Monitor* (San Francisco), 12 June 1920, clipping in Murtagh papers.



In view of what follows, one has to ask what grasp Mannix had of American interests, whether he had any understanding of how American loans to the Allies in World War I had shifted the centre of world finance from London to New York. While the immediate cause of the American declaration of war on 2 April 1917 was the German violation of freedom of the seas through unrestricted submarine warfare, the increasing prosperity of the United States since 1914 was the result of its expanding trade in food and ammunition supplies to the Allies. Between 1914 and 1916, US trade with Britain and France rose in value from 823 to 3214 million dollars. In words that would gratify Americans of Irish descent, his predominant audience, Mannix said:

*You, at all events, are different from others. You did not go into the war for trade; you did not go into the war for territory; you did not go into the war for annexations. They give you [let you have] America, I believe, because they do not want it themselves. (Laughter). You had no secret treaties. ... No. You were a peace-loving people. You went into that war with clean hands, and you came out of it with a victory that probably would never have been secured but for you ... You allowed yourselves to be convinced that it was to be the end of all wars ...*

Mannix did not hesitate to ridicule the British military, suggesting even cowardice:

*Ah, yes, when they were in the middle of the war, with their backs to the enemy many times (laughter and applause), they did not tell you to mind your own business.<sup>28</sup>*

In spite of his sarcasm he claimed (as usual) to have ‘no enmity against England. If only it would do the just thing tomorrow I would give it absolution and a plenary indulgence’, arrogating to himself a role, as it were, by divine election.<sup>29</sup> He crossed from San Francisco on the Pacific to New York on the Atlantic from early June to the end of July, making inflammatory speeches not just

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> In Catholic theology, an indulgence remits temporal punishment in purgatory due to sin. A plenary indulgence wipes out the lot.



about the horror in Ireland but, unwilling to control his demagoguery, about US-British relations.

According to the worshipful Ebsworth in his biography: 'His [Mannix's] majestic figure, his magical voice, and the rhythmical, logical flow of his simple English captivated his American listeners as hardly any other orator in their history'.<sup>30</sup> While such hyperbole is ridiculous, there is no doubting the acclaim of those many people who chose to attend; it surprised even Mannix himself. He stopped at Los Angeles, Denver, Omaha, St Louis, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Albany in New York State, among other cities where, sometimes, as opportunity allowed, he received the freedom of a city. He took time to visit the Grand Canyon, where his preference for walking, rather than chancing his dignity by riding a mountain pony, had him lost for several hours before arriving at his chalet after nightfall. A scheduled but uneventful visit to Montreal in Canada alarmed the British Foreign Office in case he stirred up the French Canadians against the Empire.

At St Columba's Missionary College, Omaha, on 23 June, Mannix met de Valera, who entranced him not just by his apparent strategic grasp of the Irish cause, but by his steely character and manifest piety. He had gone to the United States in June 1919 to seek official recognition for an Irish Republic and to float a loan for its provisional government. Fascinated by the political realism of Machiavelli, de Valera carried in his pocket to America an edition of *The Prince*.<sup>31</sup> He stayed at the Waldorf Astoria when in New York (as did the Prince of Wales, the future King Edward VIII, during this period), having fallen out with Irish-American leaders over control of Irish affairs in the United States. De Valera's deviousness, self-aggrandisement and talent for bare-faced lying might have escaped Mannix, concealed as they were behind a mask of heroic integrity.<sup>32</sup> There would have been no discussion of Machiavelli. Mannix, one can believe, might not have discerned de Valera's penchant for 'constantly splitting and dividing [his compatriots] for his own purposes of power' and

30 Ebsworth, 228.

31 On de Valera's fascination with Machiavelli, see Timothy Patrick Coogan, *DeValera: Long Fellow, Long Shadow* (London, 1993): 118–20, 148.

32 See O'Farrell and Coogan's judgments of de Valera on p 58.



his manoeuvres to ensure that lieutenants like Collins would not become rivals for power.<sup>33</sup> De Valera stayed in the United States until December 1920, missing most of the Irish War of Independence, but he succeeded in gaining a generous loan of £6 million and much public applause, although not official recognition in spite of motions of support in Congress. President Wilson needed Great Britain to participate in the foundation of his League of Nations which was to ensure that there would be no more devastating global wars.

Unfortunately there is no record of Mannix's conversations with de Valera. They may have had cursory contact back in 1912 when de Valera applied successfully for a temporary position teaching mathematics at Maynooth. But Coogan is almost certainly mistaken in his biography of de Valera when he refers to Mannix 'as an old friend' in 1920.<sup>34</sup> Mannix had been too busy with his preparations for Melbourne to concern himself with minor administration at Maynooth. At Omaha, however, there seems to have been an instant rapport between these two commanding figures. Fr Arthur Vaughan, reviewing the meetings of Mannix and de Valera at Omaha, remarked: 'There is a remarkable resemblance between the two ... Of the same height and build, the facial markings are such as almost to lead one to class them as brothers ... The keen, penetrating eyes of the archbishop are equalled by those of the president of Ireland ... The nervous toying with the hands that betokens the ever-active brain is common to each man'.<sup>35</sup> There must have been recognition between Mannix and de Valera that their respective church and state roles could be complementary and that there was no need for rivalry between them.

Mannix saw de Valera as a cleric *manqué*; his faith and austerity would prove religiously edifying as well as effective in Irish secular life. Just as de Valera observed the deferential niceties due to

33 See note 31 above.

34 *The Advocate* of 26 December 1963 reproduces the Maynooth President's (Mannix's) letter offering de Valera a temporary appointment on the resignation of a Mr Henry Kennedy (physics and maths). It instructs de Valera to send testimonials and to see Kennedy himself 'as I am extremely busy'. De Valera's first recollection of Mannix was reported on Irish TV on 6 November 1963 and published in *The Advocate* of 14 November.

35 Quoted in Ebsworth: 445–6.



episcopacy, Mannix would have listened attentively to *Realpolitik* disguised as principle. In view of his superficial knowledge in political affairs, Mannix concluded that, in any role-playing of his own, it would be best to follow de Valera's lead. In view of the Irish hierarchy's condemnation of 'revolutionaries', de Valera in his turn saw that enlisting the casuistry of Maynooth's former professor of moral theology could become vital in easing the consciences of many republicans. They would want to accept their 'chiefs' tactics, strategies and ultimate objective but would be wary of excommunication.

### Rabble Rousing

In London the government was watching with growing concern Mannix's strident progress. What might he stir up in Ireland? The *London News* on 2 July 1920 predicted that he would soon be made a cardinal and believed that '[p]owerful influences among the Irish, American and Australian [*sic*] colleges in Rome' were working to make him Archbishop of Dublin. Westminster instructed its Foreign Secretary to ask the Vatican if it could find 'employment for Archbishop Mannix outside the United Kingdom'. At a garden party in London, according to Shane Leslie, King George V suggested to his fellow Britisher, Cardinal Gasquet, of the Vatican Archives, that a lofty honorific post in Rome might be found for Mannix. 'God forbid', replied Gasquet.<sup>36</sup> On 24 June the British Cabinet had considered prohibiting Mannix's return to Ireland but voted against doing so. No doubt, as *The Times* reported two months later, Hughes was advising from Australia that Mannix should be blocked from Ireland. But at this stage a ban would have been inopportune because Cabinet was trying both to pacify Catholic Irish rebels and to accommodate Protestant Ulster Unionists who had opposed even Home Rule. On 23 July the British Cabinet changed its mind.<sup>37</sup>

36 (Sir) Shane Leslie (1885–1971), a first cousin of Winston Churchill, member of Gaelic League, converted to Catholicism in 1908. See Murtagh papers; Ebsworth, 120. Cardinal Francis (Neal) Aidan Gasquet (b London 1846, d Rome 1929). Gilchrist 1982, 95, quoting Shane Leslie, *Cardinal Gasquet* (London, 1953): 16.

37 John B O'Brien, 'The British Government and Archbishop Mannix', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 93, no 252 (1988): 55–9.