

Bishop Jeremiah Joseph Doyle

1849-1909¹

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IN THE AREA OF PARK OPPOSITE ST CARTHAGE'S CATHEDRAL CAN BE FOUND A SMALL MONUMENT, ERECTED BY THE LISMORE CITY COUNCIL, TO HONOUR THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE FIRST BISHOP OF LISMORE, JEREMIAH JOSEPH DOYLE. WHILE THIS MONUMENT GIVES THE ESSENTIAL DETAILS OF BISHOP DOYLE'S LIFE AND LISTS SOME OF HIS ACHIEVEMENTS, THERE ARE IN LISMORE MANY MORE MONUMENTS TO THIS MAN, MANY OF WHICH GO UNNOTICED.

- When Lismore people make a telephone call, for example, do they realise that one of the main instigators of the telephone service for this region was Bishop Doyle?
- When Lismore people make a cup of tea or coffee are they aware that it was Bishop Doyle's idea that a secure water supply for the city be created at Rocky Creek?
- When Lismore people discuss the rail link from Casino to Tweed Heads, would they know that Bishop Doyle used his influence to have that line established?
- When Lismore people visit the Base Hospital do they appreciate that Bishop Doyle was the first chair of the Hospital Board and that because of his financial support of the project he was made a life member?
- As people enter Lismore from the north and are met with the splendid sight of St Carthage's Cathedral, do they know that they are seeing the fulfilment of Bishop Doyle's dream for the city?
- When the people of Lismore hear the chimes from the Cathedral bells are they conscious that the citizens of Lismore presented these in Bishop Doyle's memory?

WHO WAS THIS MAN WHO HAD SUCH AN IMPACT ON THE HISTORY OF THE LISMORE DIOCESE AND CITY? WHY DID HE COME HERE? WHERE FROM? WHAT MOTIVATED HIM?

These are some of the questions which come to mind as we mark the hundredth anniversary of his death on June 4 this year and the answers to some of the questions are not easy to come by. This was a man who kept meticulous records – his diaries abound with details of places visited, donations given, people baptised... but rare is the entry which provides an insight into the mind and



Bishop Jeremiah Doyle

heart of the man. His personal thoughts and feelings have to be extrapolated from the testimony of others or from public documents such as letters to the newspaper. Withal Jeremiah Joseph Doyle remains a private person whose actions bear witness to his greatness of character.

We know he was born in Kilmurry, County Cork, Ireland, in December 1849. We know he was educated first at the National School near his native village and later at Mt Melleray, Waterford, by the Cistercian monks. His studies for the priesthood were undertaken at All Hallows College Dublin, where he was ordained in June 1874 at the age of 25.

His coming to the Northern Rivers was the direct result of a visit to All Hallows by the newly-appointed Bishop of Armidale. Bishop Timothy O'Mahoney was looking for priests who would be willing to serve in his diocese which at the time extended from Port Macquarie to Tweed Heads and inland beyond the Liverpool Plains to the Namoi and Barwon Rivers. Two students volunteered: one was Patrick O'Connor who subsequently became the third Bishop of Armidale; the other was Jeremiah Doyle.

Not long after his ordination he set out to keep his promise but the journey to Australia was not without incident. The ship on which he was sailing struck a rock and was wrecked off the coast of Spain. Undoubtedly he lost all his possessions but, characteristically there is no mention of this in his diary – simply *disaster Sept 30th 1874 – in Latitude 43.3 Longitude 11.20 in Bay of Biscay near Finisterrre*. This did not deter his purpose, however and two months later he left from Gravesend to resume the voyage to Australia, arriving in Melbourne on Saturday 30 January 1875.

Ambiguous circumstances awaited him in Armidale. Bishop O'Mahoney had been accused of clerical misconduct and was preparing to go to Rome to defend his case. The young priest was to spend only six months under the leadership of the Bishop to whom he had volunteered his services five years previously. Undeterred, however, he began immediately to do the work for which he came to the diocese. From his base in Armidale he travelled extensively to minister to Catholics at Walcha, Glen

¹ This article is based on material found in the following two sources:

1. D'Arcy, Mother Stanislaus, *Bishop Doyle of Lismore – A Memoir, Lismore, 1909*. 2. Kelly, E., *pvm., My Cause is Just, Toowoomba, 1999*

All references, unless otherwise indicated, are found in one or other of these sources.

Morrison, Bendemeer, Kentucky, Salisbury Plains, Uralla – all within a relatively short distance – but also farther afield to Grafton, Glen Innes, Inverell and Tenterfield. While this record is in itself impressive it becomes even more so when we remember that his chief mode of transport was horseback or on foot when the going was too difficult! Let us not forget, as well, that the celebration of Mass required fasting from midnight. This was indeed a punishing schedule and was Father Doyle's *modus operandi* for two years. Things changed in 1877 when Bishop O'Mahoney accepted an appointment to a diocese in Canada and Archbishop Vaughan of Sydney was made administrator of Armidale. He it was who appointed Jeremiah Doyle to the Northern Rivers district – with apologies for sending him to such an outpost of civilisation. Thus, on the fourth anniversary of his ordination – June 24, 1878, Father Doyle left Armidale bound for the Richmond and the Big Scrub, arriving five days later at Casino via Nymboida and Grafton.

Catholics on the Northern Rivers – 4% of the total population and comprising 280 families at the time of his arrival – were generally of Irish extraction, relatively poor and engaged in farming or timber-getting. Casino had been established as the centre of a pastoral region in 1867 with a resident priest and, as well as in Casino, churches had been built at Swan Bay, Wardell and Lismore. Doyle chose to make Lismore his base, possibly to allow him easier access to the regions to the north. Not that Lismore had much to recommend it. At the time it was little more than a village in the Big Scrub, although land had been purchased there for church buildings. In his writing Doyle mentions *an abundance of weeds, myriads of mosquitoes and countless pine logs*. Bridges across the rivers were non-existent; roads were little more than tracks along which the bullock drivers coaxed teams dragging their loads and the presbytery was a tent.

His agenda was clear: build a presbytery, collect funds to pay off the £900 debt on the church at Casino but, before all else, visit the people in his district to bring them Mass and the Sacraments. In September he headed north through the Big Scrub to the Tweed region where he selected the site for a church at Murwillumbah. The pattern thus established continued. He travelled the length and breadth of his region, acquired land for churches, opened schools and as is often the case, as a reward for his hard work, was given even greater responsibilities. When Bishop Torreggiani took leadership of Armidale diocese in 1879 he immediately confirmed

Father Doyle's appointment as priest in charge of the Richmond district and by 1882 had elevated him to the rank of Dean.

The Church in Australia was not alone in recognising his talent. It is recorded that in 1885 he was considering returning to Ireland to become rector of the seminary of All Hallows. Cardinal Moran and the Bishops of NSW had other ideas. Plans were afoot to cut off the coastal area of the Armidale diocese and constitute a new diocese with its centre at Grafton. At the Plenary Council meeting in Sydney at the end of that year Jeremiah Doyle was chosen to be the first bishop of the new diocese. His name was sent to Rome and in 1887, with the diocese formally constituted, Jeremiah Joseph Doyle was consecrated Bishop of Grafton by his friend James Murray, Bishop of Maitland and the Bishop of Armidale, Dr Torreggiani.

Of course there was much rejoicing among the people of the Northern Rivers over the honour afforded to their pastor. The Lismore people donated his crozier; the ladies of the district gave his ring, pectoral cross and chain and the Presentation sisters presented an alb, a rochet of Irish lace and the Episcopal throne and canopy for the sanctuary. Lismore, however, was loath to surrender its priest to another parish. It is related that 'a large influential deputation of the leading Catholics of Lismore and district requested him to make his residence in Lismore'.

Despite these entreaties he was enthroned as Bishop of Grafton in October 1887. The *Clarence Examiner* carried the following account of his arrival and the subsequent ceremony.

A large crowd congregated at the Corporation Wharf at the foot of Prince Street to welcome Dr Doyle on his landing from the steamer 'Iolanthe'. Shortly after... the notes of St Mary's Church bell announced that the steamer was close at hand and, passing the convent and church grounds, the pupils of St Mary's High School were ranged on the bank of the river... On arrival at the wharf, the Bishop who was accompanied by a number of prominent church members... was conveyed in the Mayor's sociable and pair to the church. A procession of the attendants was formed. ... At the church the school children formed in lines two-deep from the vehicle to the church and into the latter the Bishop entered. After a short interval the ceremony of installation took place, accompanied by a Te Deum.



The following year he left Lismore to reside in Grafton. Soon afterwards, however, he set in train a process which culminated in Lismore being made the Episcopal centre of the diocese. He was no doubt influenced by the request from the Lismore people, but more so by the knowledge that the district had grown in population and that Lismore was a flourishing township with a promising future. His diaries record that, having visited the entire diocese and assessing the possibilities, resources and prospects of all the towns, he judged that Lismore was destined to become the chief town in the district. Although he was not formally constituted Bishop of Lismore until June 1900 he was calling Lismore 'home' and proclaiming St Carthage's the pro-cathedral as early as 1891. As well, he had begun to extend the Bishop's house and to make plans for the laying of the foundation stone of a cathedral. Cardinal Moran came from Sydney the following year to officiate at the foundation stone ceremony; other Church and civic dignitaries were in attendance. Despite the torrential rain which fell on the day, the future seemed assured.

Let us pause at this point of the chronicle to examine some aspects of the character of Lismore's first Bishop.

THE CHURCHMAN

Doyle was, first and foremost, a great churchman. From the time of his arrival in Australia he was aware of the needs of the whole church – not simply his parish or his diocese. He kept in contact with priests and bishops in Sydney, Brisbane and further afield and insisted on travelling to Sydney to make his annual retreat. This exposed him to a wide spectrum of ideas and experience and it also made the church leaders aware of his potential. The Bishops gathered at the Plenary Council of 1885 were presented with a paper written by Dean Doyle which expressed concerns about the current state of Catholic education, explored the necessity for training religious teachers and proposed that Bishops have an advisory council. It is evident that the Bishops respected the ideas of this young priest. He was appointed to important committees and, when the new diocese of Grafton

was proposed, they were quick to nominate him as its Bishop-elect. Asked to give an assessment of his performance as a pastor, his Bishop, Bishop Torreggiani wrote:

He has carried out the duties of head of missions... with the greatest success

He does not proceed to change a decision except for a very good reason

He displays the greatest prudence

Nothing was ever said against him, whether by his superiors or his subordinates, which is amazing

It is not surprising that his superiors were anxious to elevate such a wise and holy man to the episcopate!

THE BUILDER

While the principal monument to Bishop Doyle the builder is St Carthage's cathedral, it must be remembered that the building of schools and churches was one of his chief preoccupations from the time he arrived in Australia. In September 1877, for example, he laid the foundation stone of his first school building – St Mary's Armidale. His arrival in the Northern Rivers heralded the commencement of building activity, starting with a presbytery to replace the tent in which he was originally housed. On his first visit to the Tweed district he purchased land for a church. By 1881 he had the building of the Ballina church well under way and in April of that year he had purchased property in Lismore. It seems he was planning ahead for a splendid church for Lismore. In 1881, on a visit south, he took particular note of the church at Boorowa and sketched its details and dimensions in his diary. By 1885, knowing that the Presentation sisters were on their way to Lismore, he began a building program in earnest, enlarging the church, building a school, convent and boarding school. This was his biggest project up to that time and he financed it by the sale of livestock donated by parishioners. Records show that families such as Flaherty, Bugden, Pidcock, Meehan, O'Connor, Sexton, Bruggy, Meaney and Flood promised a heifer, a bullock, a steer or a horse to be auctioned for the cause.



Laying of the Foundation Stone of St Carthage's Cathedral, 4th October, 1892. Bishop Jeremiah Doyle stands to the left. On the right the three prelates are Bishop James Corbett of Sale, Cardinal Patrick Moran, Sydney and Archbishop Thomas Carr, Melbourne. Wardell's framed perspective view rests on the stone.

Wardell's original perspective view of the completed cathedral

The Convent and College were ready for the Presentation Sisters when they arrived from Ireland in August 1886. St Carthage's school was opened October of that year. But that was just the beginning. Once in motion the building program gained momentum. In the period between 1901 and 1905, for example, churches were opened in Ballina, Byron Bay, Casino, Burringbar, Woodburn and Riley's Hill; presbyteries were built in Maclean, Cowper, Coraki, Bangalow and Wardell and a school and convent were opened in Murwillumbah. An impressive record of five years' work!

The events of the night of January 2 1905 when the buildings of the church, the convent and St Mary's College in Lismore were reduced to ashes are well known. What is not recorded, however, is the heartbreak that Bishop Doyle must have experienced when he saw the fruit of 20 years' work destroyed in so short a time. It is testimony to the character of the man that he could rise above his personal disappointment and immediately set about rebuilding, first a convent to accommodate the sisters and then the Cathedral. His plan was decisive and ambitious. The insurance from the fire was paid directly into the convent fund. To cover the expenses of rebuilding the cathedral, he proposed at a meeting on Easter Sunday, April 23, borrowing £5,000. Needing three guarantors for the loan, the Bishop received the immediate support of two parishioners but a third was not forthcoming. With the situation looking particularly bleak and the hope of the realisation of his dream rapidly diminishing, how he must have welcomed the generosity of the Presentation Sisters whose signature on the bond provided the necessary security.

Work began almost immediately. By the end of May the foundations of the Cathedral were restored and the first brick was put in place in the new Cathedral wall. Next the foundation stone of the Convent was laid. To obtain the necessary finance for the projects the Bishop set himself a gruelling schedule. He travelled the length and breadth of the diocese, visiting every parish, to request donations – money, livestock, anything of value. The outcome was quite unprecedented. In a little over two years, the convent was completed; on August 18, 1907, in the presence of Cardinal Moran and amid great rejoicing, the new Cathedral was blessed and opened. And, just as he had visited parishes to request donations to the building fund, the Bishop subsequently made a series of thank you visits to these same parishes to acknowledge the people's contributions.

As a finishing touch for the Cathedral, during his visit to Dublin in 1908 Bishop Doyle visited a foundry and ordered a set of bells. This was to be his personal gift to the people of Lismore and to the diocese. It did not happen as he planned, but the bells were duly installed in his memory and can be heard to this day – a fitting reminder of the great man.

THE EDUCATOR

In his address to the people of Grafton in 1887, their newly-enthroned Bishop made the following statement encapsulating his philosophy of education.

The first and most important question which claims my attention is the education of the young – to see that the little ones are brought up in the faith of the fathers.

The history of his administration of the diocese indicates that this philosophy inspired his practice. Records show that from the time of his arrival he devoted his energy to education and schools. He inspected schools, paid catechists, studied curriculum. In response to the move to make education in New South Wales 'free, compulsory and secular' he made every effort to secure religious congregations to assist him in seeing that 'the little ones' were



indeed instructed in 'the faith of their fathers'. Having welcomed the Sisters of Mercy to Grafton in 1884, he immediately began collecting funds to build a convent in Lismore and searching for a community of sisters to conduct a school there. By 1886 he was able to welcome the Presentation nuns, install them in the convent and support their educational work in St Carthage's school and St Mary's College.

His interest in education, however, was not confined specifically to schools. He was also involved in drawing up a syllabus of Christian Doctrine and producing a catechism. What went on in the classroom and the quality of educational resources also attracted his attention. This interest, no doubt was behind his being elected to

a committee to formulate an 'Australian Series of Catholic School Books' and to prepare a standard of proficiency for use in the Catholic Schools.

With regard to the latter, we have a first-hand account of just how high the bar was set. One of the Casino Sisters, writing to her sister who was a Sister of Mercy in London describes it as follows:

We have a new and very difficult Standard of Proficiency for the Primary Schools of Australia (Catholic) arranged by our Bishop Dr Doyle and the other Bishops. The higher classes are required to have a thorough knowledge of Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography and Drawing, Singing at Sight, Tonic Solfa, Euclid, Algebra and Latin for the boys and French for the girls... besides a full knowledge of Christian Doctrine, Bible and Church History.¹

Bishop Doyle's first *ad limina* to Rome took place in February 1891. For him this visit went far beyond reporting to Rome on developments in his diocese. It also took in more than a trip to Ireland to spend time with family and friends. His diary shows that

² Letter from Sr M Joseph Donegan to Sr Benigna Donegan, April 5 1891. Unpublished manuscript.

he made this a voyage of discovery – a fact-finding mission. He visited 42 schools in Canada, the United States, Ireland, Scotland and England, gleaning from them, no doubt, impressions which helped shape the ideas he subsequently tried to put into practice in his diocese. During his next overseas visit in 1900 he also spent a fortnight visiting schools.

In the early years of Australian Federation education was a pressing political issue. A point of interest with regard to current moves towards formulating a national curriculum is the decree from the Third Plenary Council of Bishops which took place in 1905. It was decided that until a national system of education was established for Australian schools, the Catholic schools in each state were to conform as far as possible to the standard laid down for the Public schools of that state. Without doubt the views of Jeremiah Joseph Doyle were influential in debating this issue.

Another matter to which he turned his attention was the establishment of teacher training colleges for the religious who were teaching in the schools. The fact that both the Presentation Sisters and the Sisters of Mercy established their own training schools in the diocese suggests that he used his influence to ensure that schools in his diocese were staffed by professionally qualified and competent religious teachers.

In 1886 when the Presentation sisters came to Lismore there were five schools in the diocese which were staffed by religious congregations and where 679 students were being educated. Twenty years later there were fourteen such schools with 1851 students. Statistics such as these speak for themselves of his leadership of and interest in education.

A CIVIC FIGURE

I hold that anyone who has special gifts or training that he can use for the benefit of the community should do so. I have always done my utmost and will continue to do so for the benefit of the town and its citizens.

Taken from the address of Bishop Doyle on the occasion of the opening of the telephone exchange in Lismore, the words quoted above exemplify his attitude towards engaging with the issues of the day. He knew that he possessed 'special gifts' and 'training' and he willingly used these 'for the benefit of the community'. This was recognised beyond Catholic circles. In a testimonial following his death, a writer to the *Northern Star* remarked that:

there was not a public meeting held in the town he was not present at... and his subscription was always ready for any deserving movement.

A few instances substantiate this claim.

- In 1878 he was influential in meetings leading to the establishment of the Agricultural and Industrial Society which held its first exhibition in 1885. He was one of the first presidents of this Society.
- In 1879 he was chosen as the president of the committee for a hospital in Lismore. He guided the project through to the opening of the hospital in 1883 becoming a life member of the Hospital Committee by the payment of £20.

- He helped establish the School of Arts by supporting the local member in obtaining a special grant for the buildings.

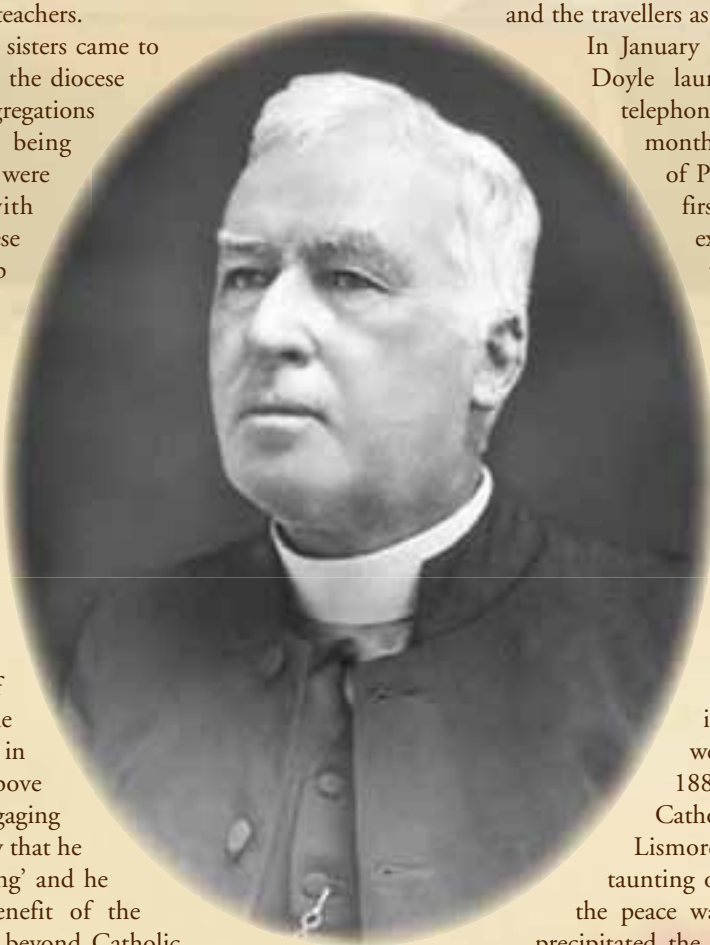
His most remarkable civic achievements, however, were obtaining a telephone exchange for Lismore and achieving a rail link between Casino and the Queensland border.

Work towards establishing a railway line from Lismore to the Tweed via Byron Bay began with a public meeting in 1881. Progress was tortuous and was fraught with political issues and enquiries. When in 1890 Parliament approved of the first section of this railway, he saw this as an impetus for further action. In 1894 he expressed his delight to be able to travel from Murwillumbah to Lismore by rail – *Deo gratias for this important advance!* In 1903 he was on the first passenger train from Lismore to Casino and later on the first passenger train from Tweed Heads to Brisbane. But his efforts with regard to the railways were not universally applauded. When St Kevin's church at Byron Creek was opened in 1894, a large contingent travelled by rail from Lismore to attend the ceremony. A disaster was narrowly averted when Bishop Doyle, sensing that sabotage might be afoot, took measures to have the train stopped before it ran into a large post which had been placed in a position where it could cause maximum damage to the train and the travellers as well.

In January 1898 at a public meeting, Bishop Doyle launched the idea of obtaining a telephone exchange for Lismore. After ten months' relentless lobbying of Members of Parliament he met with success: the first conversation through the Lismore exchange was recorded. His role in the project was officially acknowledged when, on November 25 of that year, the exchange was officially opened, making Lismore one of only six country towns in NSW which had continuous service.

Lismore at the time of his arrival in the district was rife with sectarian conflict and the Irish often clashed with the English and Scots. He made it his business to challenge the sectarianism without being inflammatory: in fact his chief weapon was conciliation. In October 1886 a fight between Orangemen and Catholics threatened to break out in Lismore. This was more than simple taunting or jeering – a major disturbance of the peace was imminent. The incident which precipitated the situation is too complicated to be examined at this point. What is important is the role of the Bishop who restrained the Catholics, staying with them throughout the entire time of tension to prevent outbreaks of violence. His efforts earned him a letter of thanks from the Colonial Secretary for his *great assistance and untiring exertions in the cause of peace and order on the occasion of the late riots at Lismore.*

Ever forward-looking, in 1890 he began campaigning for a reliable water and electricity supply for Lismore. He talked about Rocky Creek as having potential for a reservoir, wrote letters to the *Northern Star* and used the opportunity of the opening of the telephone exchange to express his hope *within the lives of those before me, the present wasted power of our waterfalls will be used to shed light and generate power throughout the district.* He would, no doubt, have been gratified to know that the site he identified as





Our Lady's Chapel where Bishop Doyle is buried

being ideally suited for the purpose was utilised 60 years later.

Many years after his death a writer in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (13/04/1939) made the following observation about Bishop Doyle.

A singularly gifted master-mind [who] immediately saw the possibilities of this immensely dowered district, with an almost super prescience and he performed herculean work in its development.

Perhaps the greatest tribute to Bishop Doyle's civic involvement is the decision at a meeting convened by the mayor soon after his death. A motion was passed whereby the citizens of Lismore would pay for the bells which Doyle had commissioned on his previous visit to Dublin. They were to be his personal gift to the Cathedral and the city but he died before they were arrived in Australia. In a simple statement in the *Northern Star* at the time of his death, it was declared that the Bishop *had always endeavoured to fulfil the duties of his citizenship*. Hence the decision to donate the bells.

THE PASTOR

It is clear that people loved Jeremiah Joseph Doyle. They respected him and were happy to work with him on the projects he initiated. That he had a deep pastoral care for members of his flock is evidenced in the following extract from a letter written in 1892 by one of the pioneer Sisters of Mercy, telling of the death of her blood sister, Mother Joseph.

On Wednesday our beloved Bishop paid her a visit, a few hours after his arrival from Europe. He was deeply grieved to find her so low.

*He pontificated at the Solemn Requiem after driving twenty miles fasting. When I thanked him he said "I would have come 1,000 miles to her."*²

His dealings with the Sisters right from the time of their arrival demonstrate a genuine pastoral care, coupled with an ease of manner such that they could write:

- *Dean Doyle is the priest at Lismore. He came to see us about a fortnight after our arrival. He says we have made rapid strides with the children.*³

- *they [the Presentation Sisters] will find a good kind friend and Father in Dean Doyle*⁴.
- *You will have a visit from our kind good Bishop... he says that he must tell our friends what good children we are. But ours to thank him for his kindness to us.*⁵
- *The bishop will be leaving for Rome in February. I will ask him to call if he goes to London. He is a fond father and friend to us, – a great man for schools and education.*⁶

These observations from one group of women could certainly be multiplied. His actions towards the Presentation Sisters, making his house available to them after their convent was burned down illustrate the same pastoral sensitivity. His kindness to his people, his insistence on paying just wages and repaying debts promptly, his appreciation of the efforts made to assist him in fundraising corroborate this.

And he cared in a similar fashion for the spiritual welfare of all his people. By 1904 he could rejoice that Sunday Mass was in the scope of every Catholic in the district and that each parish had a resident priest.

CONCLUSION

On the morning of June 5 1909 the people of Lismore received the distressing news that their Bishop had died. On the previous evening he had suffered a cerebral haemorrhage. The townspeople were understandably shocked. It is recorded that flags were placed at half-mast and the windows of many businesses were draped in black.

Thousands visited the body... on Saturday night and all day Sunday.

Visitors from all over the diocese came to Lismore for the solemn Requiem. The Cathedral could not accommodate the crowds of people who came to pay their last respects and the Cathedral grounds were filled with those who failed to gain entrance. Many of the official mourners were from other denominations. They joined the priests and the people of the Diocese in the funeral procession to the grave in front of the altar in the Lady Chapel in the Cathedral. Tributes came from all the parishes in the diocese, from Sydney, from Rome and from the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches, all of them praising the manner in which Jeremiah Doyle had lived his life in the service of God and the people. Later in the week the Mayor and Council placed on record their

sincere regret at the irreparable loss the people of Lismore and surrounding districts have sustained through the death of its highly respected and honourable citizen.

Subsequently they decided to meet the cost of the bells which the Bishop had ordered for the Cathedral.

As the centenary of Bishop Doyle's death brings into the spotlight the exceptional qualities and notable achievements of this gifted and saintly man, we, who have inherited his legacy, unite in thanksgiving for the lasting contribution he has made to our lives. As one writer observed:

of him it can be justly said that he was true to himself, true to the Church of which he was a member, true to his fellow citizens and, in being true in all those things he could not help being true to his adopted land... His memory will live as long as Lismore endures.

³ Letter from Sr Aloysius Donegan to Reverend Mother, March 23 1892. Unpublished manuscript

⁴ Letter from Sr Angela Aloysius Curtis to Reverend Mother, September 14 1884. Unpublished manuscript.

⁵ Letter from Sr Angela Aloysius Curtis to Reverend Mother, October 30 1884. Unpublished manuscript.

⁶ Letter from Sr M Joseph Donegan to Sr Benigna Donegan, April 5 1891. Unpublished manuscript.

⁷ Letter from Sr M Joseph Donegan to Reverend Mother, December 28 1890. Unpublished manuscript.