Saccharin sanctity is not what a saint is about What Australia needs is a feisty, wise, clear_headed woman who will bring a determined leadership to the achievement of justice and mercy for the oppressed In Mary MacKillop, in spite of all the efforts to overlay her with commercial or pious constraints, we meet someone who staunchly refuses to sell out her love for this country and for all its inhabitants This collection of reflections shows the richness of her life and of the many other lives in a kaleidoscope of faiths that speak to us of that strange power called holiness It is a most welcome contribution to Australia's understanding of its first formal saint

Veronica Brady IBVM

The inspiring story of Mary MacKillop, Australia's first Catholic saint, strikes a strong chord. Her unique contribution to the history of free Catholic education for the poor and destitute was achieved through hard work, diligence, and a faith in God that guided her while she weathered criticism and obstacles from detractors in her very own church.

Rachael Kohn, The Spirit of Things, ABC Radio National

Mary MacKillop's canonization is first and foremost a recognition of the holiness of numerous others, unknown and unnamed, who lived and worked with this land_black and white, older and newer immigrants. This is surely part of her 'ecumenical' and even 'ecological' legacy.

John Chryssavgis, theological advisor to the Ecumenical Patriarch on environmental issues



The object of this book is to provide an op. portunity for voices of other religions to be heard as Australia celebrates its first Catholic saint Maru MacKillop of the Cross It is the first publication that seeks to bring together a representative collection of contributions Here are reflections on sainthood and he roes of faith from within different religious tra ditions and different Christian denominations The direction given to contributors was that

they illustrate how holy persons and heroes are esteemed in their own tradition and how this might frame that tradition's appreciation of Mary MacKillop From this, it is hoped that the collection will provide an example of how she might contribute to the wider Australian religious landscape Herein, the reader will find critical yet appreciative reflections from Catholic and Seventh Day Adventist to Jewish and Muslim writers Some have taken the brief as an opportu-

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In the Land of Larks and Heroes: Australian Reflections on St Mary MacKillop

Edited by Alan Cadwallader



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Recognising a Saint in the Land of Larks and Heroes

Alan Cadwallader

The canonisation of Sr Mary MacKillop on 17 October 2010 is being promoted as a significant milestone for Australia and not just for one Christian body within Australia. The small card widely distributed in the follow-up to her beatification boldly proclaimed her as 'The Australian People's Saint'. Amidst the long roll-call of tough, resilient often hidden heroes of the two hundred and twenty years of (mainly) white settlement and even longer ancestry of the tougher, even more resilient, sometimes more hidden indigenous peoples of the land, one woman has been singled out to receive a noteworthy recognition.

The reverse of that same card carries a prayer that 'her holiness soon be acknowledged by the universal Church'. The claim that Mary MacKillop is a saint for Australia's people, indeed peoples, calls for some investigation of the relation between 'universal' and 'Australian'. The tension between 'universal' and 'Australian' invites a serious reflection on what catholicity might mean in relation to sainthood in general and an Australian saint in particular, especially given that catholicity is often asserted to mean 'universal'. The etymology of the word 'catholic' is from the Greek phrase *kath holon*, 'according to the whole'.

This means of course that no one part can assert that it is the whole, even when it aspires to speak (truly) for the whole, whether that whole be understood as the whole church or a whole country. Indeed, there have been frequent accusations, not without evidence in church history, that 'catholic' is known more by what it rejects or excludes than by what it embraces.² From this, it might be argued that ecumenical (from *oikoumenê*, 'the inhabited world') has the capacity to restore the positive intent of 'catholic', even if that also remains at the level of aspiration rather than consummation. One of the great voices of the nineteenth century,

who is included on some religious calendars for remembrance, was Brooke Foss Westcott, Regius Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge. One of his favourite texts was from the opening of the epistle to the Hebrews: 'in many and varied ways God has spoken ...'. For him this meant that the truth of God was to be found in some measure everywhere, and indeed was still to unfold. If in the Incarnation, God gathers all these fragments up so that nothing is lost, then we can do no less if we are not to be impoverished in our vision of God and in the quality of our life, just as we are impoverished when we turn a fragment, or, for that matter, a period of history into the totality.³ And yet, the voices of other religious traditions have been muted in all the celebrations, musings and pronouncements about the recognition of Mary MacKillop as 'saint'.

The object of this book is to provide an opportunity for those voices to be heard. It is not the first offering of some non-Roman Catholic contributions on Mary MacKillop.⁴ But it is the first publication that seeks to bring together a representative collection of contributions. Here are reflections on sainthood and heroes of faith from within different religious traditions and different Christian denominations. The direction given to contributors was that they illustrate how holy persons and heroes are esteemed in their own tradition and how this might frame that tradition's appreciation of Mary MacKillop. From this, it is hoped that the collection will provide an example of how she might contribute to the wider Australian religious landscape.

Herein, the reader will find critical yet appreciative reflections from Roman Catholic and Seventh Day Adventist to Jewish and Muslim writers. Some have taken the brief as an opportunity to reveal more of the heroes and saints of their own tradition and how they came to be esteemed. Others have directly described how their own tradition esteems saints and heroes in general in order to bring distinct and evocative appreciations of Mary MacKillop, now given hues from a Protestant, Orthodox or Lutheran palette. But whether Baptist or Anglican or traditions beyond Christianity, the writers have extended the capacity of Australians to appreciate Mary MacKillop as an Australian saint and hero, albeit remaining within a religious framework.

The particularity of an Australian saint

The religious framework or perhaps we should say religious frameworks that enable an appreciation of Mary MacKillop as a saint, also affirm the

Australian identity of the Josephite founder. The 'Australian-ness' of Mary MacKillop was a key accent in January 1995 when Pope John Paul II pronounced her beatification. She

embodied all that is best in your nation and its people—a genuine openness to others, hospitality to strangers, generosity to the needy, justice to those unfairly treated, perseverance in the face of adversity and support to the suffering.

Of course, this is a selective declaration which, for all that it asserts a recognisable cultural ethos, also constrains that ethos to a limited set of virtues that cohere with one particular perspective.

However, a comparison of the essays of Mary Cresp and Merrill Kitchen herein shows very clearly that the same woman can be shaped and understood differently depending on the perspective from which one comes. Mary Cresp writes as a successor of Mary MacKillop in the leadership of the Sisters of St Joseph. In her handling of the history, Mary MacKillop displays many of the attributes that a Roman Catholic perspective treasures. Robert Gribben recognises that much of Mary MacKillop's way of living out the sanctity of her life was Roman Catholic, one might even say nineteenth century, in the form and expression of her piety, though he is quick to say that this in no way delimits the recognition of her life to those who provided the formal elements of that piety. Accordingly an alternate perspective, a 'Protestant' perspective as Merrill Kitchen puts it, draws out other attributes. Mary MacKillop's challenge to the standard gender requirements of the nineteenth century—an idealised woman submissive to the demands of patriarchy in society and church—resonates with a prophetic challenge to the status quo that is so dear to the heart of Protestantism, seen in the consciousness of gender raised by both Kitchen and the Baptist historian, Marita Munro. In this sense, those with no commitment to a defence of ecclesial position might articulate other elements of the Australian ethos and find traces of the larrikin, of suspicion of authority, of maverick independence and resourcefulness of spirit and an ethics of egalitarian equality beyond the straitening conformity of a pious individual morality. These too are part of the Australian inheritance. Indeed, as Merrill Kitchen argues, much of the life of Mary MacKillop, as a person who held particular values and was committed to various works, is formed in the particular cultural environment that characterised Aus-

tralia in the nineteenth century. Here religion and culture—Australian culture—coalesce.⁵

Mary MacKillop herself managed to work through a synthesis of her Roman Catholic tradition, her Scottish heritage and her Australian home. The part played by the land and peoples of Australia is essential to her formation as a saint. In this sense, 'Australian-ness' is affirmed as a critical component in the construction of her identity. The land that held Mary MacKillop, John Chryssavgis writes, is the land which provides, in itself, the very ascesis, the disciplined resilience, necessary for the shaping of a saint. This is the land that has held all its dwellers, from time immemorial forward to the rush of manifold immigrants in the last two hundred years. It is a land which holds the songs of those dwellers and which lowly hums that combined harmony to successive generations, moulding, whether attentive or not, all those who live in her. So whether we defy the severity of the land by surrounding ourselves in coastal ameliorations or immerse ourselves in its bracing and demanding inland rigour, we are one with Mary MacKillop in being shaped in the saintliness that the land delivers. 'God was in this place but we never knew' (cf Gen 28:16) is able to be affirmed and named, in part because, in the life of Mary MacKillop, saintliness is seen to be proper to this land, part of this land. In this sense, the canonisation of Mary MacKillop and / or the placing of her in a calendar of heroes and saints are a retrospective recognition that speaks to that larger recognition about the land. When Paul Gardiner, the Jesuit official biographer of Mary MacKillop, told Pope John Paul II that it was up to him to make a saint in Australia, the Pope replied, 'it's the Lord God that makes the saints.'6 It is significant, not only that the Pope saw that Mary MacKillop cannot be separated from a broader aggregate of saints but that the presence of saintliness in Australia was a work of God. The sainthood of Mary MacKillop therefore testifies to the saintliness of the land in which we, as Australians, live and by which we are nurtured and formed. In some measure then, Mary MacKillop is far more than a saint for Australia: she is a saint out of Australia, born of Australia.

The affirmation of a saint, as Lynlea Rodger and John Chryssavgis strongly affirm, points to how important the local context is. The presence of God in a particular place and time is part of the continuation of the embrace of creation that Christians call 'the Incarnation' (Jn 1:14). This has similarities to the Islamic tradition wherein, as İsmail Albayrak notes, the saints point to the thin veil between earth and heaven, between the living and the dead and therefore, the close proximity between the realm of God

and the realm of humanity. The particularity of an Australian saint, a human being stirring the dust of *our* land, points to the immanence of God, closer to us than we think.

Particularity is therefore an encouragement; but it can also present a problem. The specificity of nineteenth century history and language can offend or create distance because of its cultural difference and our consequent inability to identify with it. In this sense, the saintliness of Mary MacKillop will always come as *other* than our familiar experience, disturbing even when our experience confesses a present experience of 'holiness'. This is clearly seen in the Cresp and Ernst essays in this volume in the debate over the continued place of patronage in the schema of relationships in the church—that is, whether patronage, reliant as it is on the power differentials of Roman and medieval feudal models, is a fitting indicator of holiness for today, compared with a more egalitarian model of companionship.

This distance nonetheless requires and can draw forth an encounter with that which is other, provided that the goodwill or at least the preparedness for dialogue exists. In this sense a saint requires an act of faith, a commitment to engage; and, as with all acts of faith, there is a constant need for reiteration. This is most readily provided by a specific day of remembrance in a calendar of saints and pilgrimages to relevant sites. For those traditions that value the miraculous as an indication of holiness. such as we find in Roman Catholicism and Islam, and in some strands of Judaism, as Rachael Kohn points out, miracles can be seen as a bridging between time and place. For other traditions, such as the Seventh-day Adventists (shown in the essay on Ellen G White by John Skrzypaszek and Richard Ferret), the recitation of the undaunted expansion of the legacies of one person's contribution fulfills this function. But in a fuller sense, the dialogue with the other calls for a broad engagement with the life of a saint in the light of the many, and particular, contexts in which we find ourselves. The saint, in this sense, gains in saintliness (or, minimally, in an appreciation of her saintliness) precisely because those who come after are prepared to enter into a dialogue from their local contexts with one whose context was different in time if not in space. Holiness can, then, be made present through the engagement with the life of a past saint. Or, as the great novelist, Elie Wiesel, wrote, 'The very possibility of believing was a miracle in itself.⁷⁷

For the affirmation of a saint to retain authenticity, true faith retains a critical openness, which, at its most pointed, admits the possibility of

getting it wrong, even when it comes with the full authority of the church. This, for example, is clear in the case of St Simon of Trent, the medieval child whose murder was blamed upon the Jews and whose canonisation became an authentication of a highly unsavoury example of anti-Semitism.8 When the Roman Catholic church in 1965 delivered a revocation of its decision, it was clear that canonisation is not the end of the making of a saint but a station, albeit an important one. Likewise a growing suspicion hangs over St Olave, placed on Anglican calendars not only for the historical guerilla warfare that frustrated Viking incursions on English shores but also in an effort to foster Anglican-Lutheran relationships, especially with Scandinavian countries.9 Conversely, there is the continued debate over the validity of the anathematisation of Meister Eckhardt. 10 The irony in all these instances of a review of decisions mandated by the church is that this is precisely what is demonstrated in Mary MacKillop's experience of excommunication. She took it as a contingent, not an absolute decision. Accordingly, for Mary MacKillop's own sainthood to survive and indeed grow, it must be engaged by our negotiations, our encounters, our life experiences and our questions.

The engagement with the other that particularity requires and invites also works the other way. Consensus is not to be sought for its own sake or built into a monolithic totality. Consensus is frequently the very thing that a saint has fought against, indeed the fight is frequently the context that shapes a saint's resilience, perseverance and sheer toughness of costly commitment that only later is recognised as saintly. This is what Lynlea Rodger describes in her essay as 'those whose dissonance from the church has reformed the church. But our own consensus is also rightly questioned by the saint of time past, so that the saint rightly remains other to us, challenging the way we live, the values we hold and the integrity of our personhood. Indeed, the saint might yet rise up to shake down the consensus of modern views about her! This is neither to be decried nor allowed to lead to that sort of abdication of the responsibility of engagement which fosters a nostalgic replication of old patterns of holiness. In such an instance, the 'other' of oneself and the past saint disappears into a singularity that destroys, by absorbent syncretism, any free encounter and engagement.

Rather there is an invitation to dialogue. Inevitably this dialogue will enhance (or possibly, as we have seen above, detract from) the saintliness of a person. But only thus is there the fecund possibility that holiness will be vital, organic, lively rather than dehydrated into plastered piety. As

Lynlea Rodger boldly asserts, even disagreement over the way a saint is viewed is valuable. Indeed, Rachael Kohn's essay reveals that the vivacity of Jewish traditions about heroes and holy people lies in the differences of attitudes that the rich panoply of Judaism manages to hold.

The textuality of sainthood

The recognition of the particularity of a saint—of a saint's location within a particular time and place—also reminds us of the retrospectivity of our recognition. That is, we only recognise a saint *after* the fact. For Islam, this may not mean any recognition at all, for, as İsmail Albayrak reminds us, one of the key characteristics of a saint or holy person in his tradition is that saintliness, holiness is hidden. Rachael Kohn points out that, in some strands of Judaism, this hiddenness is strengthened by the resistance to knowledge about a holy person's burial place, Moses being the pre-eminent example (Deut 34:6).

Donald Nicoll, while Professor of History and Religious Studies in California, once recalled an early Sunday morning jog along a hill near Bethlehem. At a sharp turn he almost ran into a group of poor Palestinian workers climbing their way to a quarry-site. As he passed the last labourer and was about to turn another corner, he found, pressed into his sweaty palm, a big handful of raisins. Neither the Palestinian nor Nicholl had the time for recognition or the exchange of pleasantries. In a moment, both were gone to one another but also, in the prior moment, Nicholl had been the recipient of that hidden holiness which Islam calls *qalb nazhif*, purity of heart.¹¹ This hiddenness has affinities with what John Chryssavgis calls the silence that alone can appreciate and appropriate, indeed one might say, the silence that alone can approach holiness. It touches also on the affirmation of the humility of the saint, noted by a number of the contributors. Hiddenness is critical to an appreciation of Mary MacKillop not least because of the fifty years of marginalisation that the recognition of her sainthood was delivered, as accusations from within her own life—her excommunication, her dispute with Father Wood, her medicinal use of brandy—acted as a barrier to wider, or at least more official, recognition.

This hiddenness, silence and humility do not evaporate with the recognition of Mary MacKillop as saint but serve as a reminder of two fundamentals. Firstly, it chastens us that we need to be aware of other saints past and present who may be hidden from our observation, not the least because of our propensity to leap to judgments about others based on

stereotypes, hearsay or even episcopal edict. The writer of the letter to the Hebrews in the Christian bible reminded readers of the great cloud of witnesses that surround we who continue to seek to live truly in the present (see Hebrews 11). Some are known by name—and these are given by the writer; some further could be named the writer avers (Heb 11:32f). but the implication is that the great cloud is larger than can be named or even known—but there all the same. This has particular relevance to Australians whose formal recognition of saints is predicated on Western methods of textualisation—whether that be the formal Roman Catholic procedures of beatification and canonisation¹² or the traditions that rely on the use of calendars (such as Orthodox, Uniting Church and Anglican) or those that privilege a reiteration of written narratives (such as Baptist, Churches of Christ, Jewish, Islamic and Seventh-day Adventist). All these procedures inevitably privilege those with written texts, either from the hand of the affirmed saint or by a succession of those who write about her. It means that those whose lives are hidden from textualisation or whose modes of textualisation do not match dominant standards (as in many indigenous populations) will remain hidden, at least from those whose dominant mode of appreciation is through text.

Secondly, the hiddenness of a saint or holy person, even when she is textually raised up to the level of canonisation continues to point to the boundaries of that textuality. This not only admits the limitation of all language, whether juridical, theological or narrative to capture and express the saintliness of a person's life. It allows the power of a person's life to rise up and challenge the efforts of later textualisers to control the telling of the story or determine that a person's life can only be represented by a singular telling, a single image, controlled marketing and the like. One reviewer of the authorised biography lamented that 'the real woman and her work have been buried beneath her promoter's determination to stress the virtue, humility and obedience considered proper to a Roman Catholic saint'.13 Allie Ernst's Lutheran background, by comparison, searches out the sinner who yet testifies to and perseveres in the grace of God. Whatever textual perspective is adopted, fundamentally, the hidden power of a person's saintliness is ultimately to be appreciated by the stimulation of the viewer's own holiness—this applies as much to the contributors to this volume as to any one who honours, in whatever way, the life of Mary MacKillop. In this sense, the saint persistently remains open not shut down and therefore invites the one who engages her also to remain open.

The textualisation of a saint's life as a retrospective recognition of a hidden holy life can also be an affirmation of hope for our present day that there may indeed be saints among us, next to us on the train or bus, albeit wearing strange clothes and speaking in strange tongues, constantly calling and inviting us to see every person as marked by the presence of God. The wisdom of retrospectivity compels us to recognise that our present perceptions are always limited and contingent. It places an eschatological contingency over any finality of the present order of things—surely a guiding inspiration to perseverance, as Mary MacKillop displayed, in the face of institutional self-concern and hegemonic manipulations.

But this eschatological contingency also hangs over *any* perception and representation of Mary MacKillop today, whether that be canonised adulation or dismissive ignoring of her sainthood. It repudiates any effort to control images, wording, or prayers. It may even require repentance from those who use saints for political ends in the canonising process itself. As William Blake wrote long ago, 'A truth that's told with bad intent / Beats all the lies you can invent.'¹⁴ The holiness of a saint, the saintliness that is affirmed as gift of God only reduces the saint when it becomes a point of division. This is where the efforts of Allie Ernst and İsmail Albayrak to overcome the particular rupture between Roman Catholics and Protestants or Muslims over saints—that is, prayer to the saints for intercession and mediation—is particularly valuable.

The eschatological contingency which I have mentioned can also be an invitation to a generosity of expectation, namely that just as God, the holy, has been recognised in this place, in this person, so also God, the holy, awaits our recognition in times to come in this place, in this or that person. Kohn's essay reminds us that a saint or holy person or hero in one tradition might have their perseverance in holiness trained by opposition that stems from another religious not just denominational or infradenominational tradition. In this sense, the mark of holiness lies, as Mary MacKillop demonstrated, in the generosity of spirit shown even to her opponents.

There is therefore a need to admit that an eschatological contingency governs even the material presented here, both in its individual constituents and in the overall composition. The multiplicity of Australian voices needed to deliver a fuller resonance of the experience and recognition of holiness—that attractive otherness of individuals and places that speaks, for the spiritually-sensitive, of the ultimate attractive Other—would expand this book beyond its covers and margins. Religious and secular

voices not found here must also be heard. This book is but a contribution, partial and varied, not merely to an appreciation of Mary MacKillop but to an appreciation of that holiness that has been marked in ochred hues and dust-filled lines on Australia and its people. In this sense, catholicity is both now and not yet. It needs the canonisation, But it also needs the perspectives of those who have had no part in the formal canonisation process nor would see canonisation as the final, even necessary element in the recognition of Mary MacKillop. The universal to which catholicity at its best aspires and to which ecumenism points, is yet to come but has begun by the very calling forth of voices of all Australians to look and see and add their understandings of holiness and how that might be personified in Mary MacKillop.

The ecumenical dimension of sainthood

John Chryssavgis reveals the potential for a saint to be a place of ecumenical meeting. For that to occur there is a need for multiple voices to be invited and heard. Ecumenism therefore aspires to more than its own tradition of understanding even as it acknowledges that its own tradition is fragmented into a prism of spectral colours. The search for heroes and saints who can be recognised, emulated and from whom inspiration may come, goes beyond a narrow definition of Christian. Hence Jew and Muslim, inextricably part of the rich patchwork fabric of Australian society and religion, have stories to tell not only of the heroes and holy persons of their own respective traditions but also of what their own tradition contributes to the understanding of 'saints'. Catholicity or ecumenism is, in this sense, an aspiration that has a cosmic reach and is far from being realised in any one tradition. This means that there is a peculiarity or accent to Australian saints—they are catching up to a vision. Indigenous spirituality as much as the more formal religious traditions from which the contributors come, remind us how far there is to go. Saintliness, holiness, is an 'other' whose disturbing and winsome attractiveness calls us to the recognition of the limitations of our own perspectives and refractions. This collection, in spite of its claim to be ecumenical, is therefore incomplete, not only in the voices of traditions that, for sheer practical reasons, could not be called to make a contribution but also because the invitation to engage Mary MacKillop must remain open.

For those without belief and/or little interest in Mary MacKillop, the deeper ecumenism that affirms the interconnection of all things and the

divine infusion throughout that interconnection, recognises that the very use of theological language is itself inadequate. But what can be allowed, is that the winsome and disturbing 'otherness' of holiness by whatever description is given to it, is able to be recognised with or without theological language, with or without theological adherence. This saintliness, this holiness is a far cry from that repelling and repulsive masquerade of holiness that can only mouth and allow separation and an ark-like retreat from the world. The saint is always engaged with and shaped by the world that is engaged. The saint or at least the recognition of the saint is (to be) constantly reaching beyond what is recognised and affirmed even as it is invited to do so by what is recognised and affirmed. In the larger heroism and virtue of Mary MacKillop and in the ecumenical openness cultivated in the meeting with Roman Catholics in an appreciation of the saint, lies the capacity to witness an organic and vital growth in the sanctity of her life. This is not because the Roman Catholic Church has made a declaration, important as that is, but precisely because others have made a recognition of some or other aspect of Mary MacKillop's life for encouragement and emulation.

Moreover it allows, without fear of judgment or repudiation, those of Australian connection to feel no response, no common ground or companionship. This actually affirms the particularity, the local expression of sainthood. In that sense, quite rightly, Mary MacKillop speaks of Australia without being the sum total of Australia. But there stands the invitation for more local expressions of sainthood. Other heroes, other larks will be needed. Indeed, they have already begun to be recognised, as Robert Gribben and others have named them in their writings. These larks and heroes will offer more of the highest aspirations of what it means to be Australian, more of the expanse of that disturbing winsomeness that the more religious amongst us call saintliness.

Here we return to the title for the collection, an echo of one of Australia's foremost novels penned by Thomas Keneally. In the midst of the wrenching end to the wretched distortions that Australia's penal origins inflicted on this country, the hope of a different vision of the land is named. In the sainthood of Mary MacKillop, in the voices of the writers herein will be found testimony that this hope has gained strength, not just in anticipation of the future but also, perhaps more so, in a re-assessment of its past, in the clearing of the eyes to the holy already among us. That hope comes in a poem built into Keneally's story. It s a poem that carries all the particularity of a Gaelic mind set in a new particularity of an Aus-

tralian context, both infused with hope. It had been scrawled by one of the main characters, Halloran, who is destined for the hangman's noose and inspired by his companion, Ann, who precedes him to the rope. The poem is worth repeating, if only to carve a separation from the deadening hand of governing authority, who, in Keneally's novel, read it out, only to dismiss it to the fire:¹⁵

Let the sun cope golden
With the shoulders of my eaves
May the hale throats of Beauty's sons
Shake old eardrums and the summer's leaves

And when Beauty nods silver— Kine cropping the lushness of my edge— May the smiles of our shy grand-daughters Bring larks and heroes to our hedge.

Suggestions for further reading

Hackel, S (editor), *The Byzantine Saint* (London: Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1981).

Keneally, T, Bring Larks and Heroes (Australia: Cassell, 1967).

Mulder-Bakker, A B (editor), *The Invention of Saintliness* (London / New York: Routledge, 2002).

Nicholl, D, Holiness (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1981).

Notes

- 1. I have explored the conceptual issues of the relation between the universal and the local elsewhere; see 'The Local and the Universal: Anglican Appreciations of the Saints and Mary MacKillop' *Australian eJournal of Theology* 15 (2010).
- 2. See R Boer, *Criticism of Heaven: On Marxism and Theology* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2009), 219f (expositing the work of Antonio Gramsci).
- 3. See BF Westcott, On Some Points of the Religious Office of the University (London: Macmillan, 1873), 57-58, Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West (London: Macmillan, 1891), 397.
- 4. See, for example, Lady Mary Downer, 'Mary MacKillop and Joanna Barr Smith' in P Wicks (editor), *Mary MacKillop: Inspiration for Today* (Croydon, NSW: Trustees of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, 2005), 37-50.
- 5. On the 'coalescence' of religion and culture see R Fopp, *Enhancing Understanding: Advancing Dialogue: Approaching Cross-Cultural Communication* (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2008), xii-xy, 317.
- 6. C Dunne, Mary MacKillop: No Plaster Saint (Crows Nest, NSW: ABC, 1991), 76.
- 7. E Wiesel, Souls on Fire And Somewhere a Master (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), 302.
- 8. MC Thomsett, The Inquisition: a History (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), 119.
- 9. See my 'Australian Anglican Church Dedications and the Calendar of Saints' *Australian Journal of Liturgy* 5 (1995): 15-32.
- 10. See A Hunt, *The Trinity: Insights from the Mystics* (Collegeville, MI / Adelaide: Liturgical Press / ATF Theology, 2010), 73-96.
- 11. D Nicholl, Holiness (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1981), 149-50.
- 12. Canon 2104 and Canon 2116 are the prime canons that lay out the requirements; see Anneke B Mulder-Bakker, 'The invention of saintliness: texts and contexts', in A B Mulder-Bakker (editor), *The Invention of Saintliness* (London / New York: Routledge, 2002), 3-4.
- 13. P Foulkes' review of P Gardiner *An Extraordinary Australian: Mary MacKillop* in the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne's journal, *The Melbourne Anglican* Feb 1995, 12.
- 14. 'Auguries of Innocence' lines 99-100 in R S Ellwood (editor), *Readings on Religion:* From Inside and Outside (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 173.
- 15. T Keneally, Bring Larks and Heroes (Melbourne: Cassell Australia, 1967), 225.